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THE

MODERN PART

OF AN

Universal History,

FROM THE

Earliest Accounts to the Present Time.

Compiled from

ORIGINAL AUTHORS.

By the AUTHORS of the ANCIENT PART.

VOL. XXIII.

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THE

MODERN PART

OF

Univerſal Hiſtory.

CHAP. LXX.

The Hiſtory of Italy. Continued.

SECT. XIII.

Tranſactions in the Council of Baſil.

THE ſchiſm being thus terminated, after it had continued fifty years and ten months, the legate, before he left Spain, held a council at Tortoſa for reſtoring diſcipline, the ſeſſions being prorogued to the beginning of the following year. Martin ſent one of the cardinals as his legate a latere to be preſent at the general chapter of the Franciſcans held at Aſſiſi, with a full authority of reforming the order in the head and members, and to repreſs the power of the Huſſites; who, at different times, had made irruptions into Miſnia, Sileſia, Moravia, Luſace, and Franconia. In the following year he created cardinal Julian his legate a latere in Germany, with a full authority of carrying on the ſacred war. As this cardinal was remarkably eminent for his prudence, eloquence, and learning, Martin publiſhed another bull, appointing him to preſide, in his name, at the council to be held at Baſil, in conſequence of the de- A.D. 1431.

crees of those of Constance and Sienna. This bull was dated on the 1st of February, and twenty days after the pope was seized with an apoplexy, of which he died, in the sixty-third year of his age, and thirteenth of his pontificate.

Eugenius IV. is elected.

The fourteen cardinals who were in Rome at the death of Martin, entered the conclave on the 1st of March, and next day elected Gabriel Condelmero, of an ancient Venetian family, cardinal-priest and bishop of Sienna, who, assuming the name of Eugenius IV. was consecrated on the 11th of the same month (A). Immediately after his election a Franciscan treacherously conspired against his life, by exciting animosities betwixt him and the Colonnæ, relations of Martin, and by endeavouring to seize the castle of St. Angelo by surprize, with the intention of delivering it to that family. The designs of the Franciscan being discovered, he was seized and put to death; after which execution, Eugenius put an end to the tumults, by concluding an accommodation with the Colonnæ. During this intestine disturbance, the pope had written to cardinal Julian, confirming his legation in Germany against the Bohemians, and regulating what regarded the holding of the council at Basil. The cardinal, being desirous to proceed against the Hussites before he went to the council, earnestly solicited the German princes to send the quota of troops to the general rendezvous, which had been fixed upon, the former year, in a diet at Nuremberg. But although the expedition had been appointed for the 24th of June, yet, upon account of the delays of the allies, the army did not assemble before the 1st of August; when, according to some authors, it amounted to forty thousand horse, and fifty thousand foot, while others affirm, that it consisted of a hundred and thirty thousand men. Julian in the mean time, sent the auditor of the sacred palace, and the general of the Dominicans, to Basil, to open the council in his name, and in that of the apostolic see, and soon after entered Bohemia with a German army, which, in return for the barbarities committed by the Hussites, ravaged their territories without mercy. But, after they had advanced a considerable way into the kingdom, Procopius, who had

He confirms the legation of cardinal Julian;

(A) Eugenius came to Rome during the pontificate of his uncle Gregory XII. who made him his treasurer, and afterwards bishops of Sienna, and then a cardinal.

af-

assembled his forces, attacked them with such impetuosity, that, after a weak resistance, they were entirely defeated, with the loss of their artillery, provisions, and baggage; amongst which was the pope's bull, and the legate's cross and vestments, which served for subjects of derision to the victors[a]. After this victory the Hussites ravaged Moravia, Austria, and Silesia, and likewise made an irruption into Hungary. Cardinal Julian, despairing to reduce them by force, upon his return to Nuremberg, proposed to the emperor to invite them to the council of Basil; and, soon after arriving at that city, he wrote to the Bohemians from thence, offering them a safe-conduct, and a free conference upon the articles of their faith, before the general council.

who enters Bohemia with a German army, which is entirely defeated.

This council, according to the decrees of that of Constance and Sienna, ought to have assembled on the 2d of March, without any citation: accordingly, on that day, a Benedictine abbot, with some other clergy, assembled at Basil, and declared that they were ready to wait for other prelates, and in the mean time would consult together for the safety of the Christian people. On the 23d of July, the two deputies sent by Julian solemnly opened the council, and the cardinal himself arriving in October, by the authority of the fathers then assembled, wrote to the Catholics in the neighbourhood of Bohemia, not to enter into any treaty with the Hussites. The offering a free conference to the Bohemian secretaries, and some other proceedings of the council, began already to give umbrage to the pope; therefore, on the 12th of November, he sent a full power to Julian to dissolve the council, and to summon another to meet at Bologna within eighteen months (B), alleging, as his reasons for this

A general council held at Basil;

which the pope desires to be dissolved.

[a] Cochl. Hist. Huss. lib. vi.

(B) Martin, a little before his death, had created four cardinals, who were then absent from Rome. As Eugenius suspected they were not in his interest, he endeavoured to exclude them from the college, and for that purpose, on the 23d of October, published, that those, who were promoted to the cardinalship in a private consistory, should not be accounted cardinals, till they had received the ensigns of their dignity; namely, the red hat, the title, and ring, and that even then they could not have an active voice in the election of a pope, or in any other public affair, till the pope had granted them leave, and solemnly opened their

this tranſlation, that he was informed few prelates had arrived at Baſil; that there was not a ſafe acceſs to the city, on account of the war betwixt the dukes of Auſtria and Burgundy; that many of the citizens were Huſſites, and perſecuted the Catholics; and that the Greek emperor and patriarch, who propoſed to treat of an union with the Latin church, had deſired that the council might be transferred to Bologna. The pope wrote on the ſame ſubject to the emperor; but Sigiſmund, who had entered Lombardy with the intention of receiving the Italian and Imperial crowns, returned an anſwer to the reaſons alleged by the pope. He declared, that the reformation of manners, and re-union of the Huſſites to the church, ought to precede any treaty with the Greeks, who would even deſpiſe the Latin church when they obſerved it corrupted and divided; that, if the council was diſſolved, the Huſſites would triumph; and that all Germany would be infected with their doctrines, ſome of which already began to meet with approbation from divers princes and ſtates, who had concluded a truce with the ſectaries. Cardinal Julian likewiſe heſitated to execute the pope's orders; but, conſidering that the number of prelates and deputies of the kings and princes was daily increaſing, and that the continuation of the council was abſolutely neceſſary to quiet the troubles in Germany and Bohemia, he determined to proceed, as the pope had not peremptorily required him, but only given him a power to diſſolve the council: he accordingly appointed the firſt ſeſſion to be held on the 14th of December. Sigiſmund, before he paſſed the Alps, had ſent his deputies to Baſil, and appointed the duke of Bavaria as protector and defender of the council. The firſt ſeſſion was held according to appointment; in which, after the celebration of maſs, and the performance of the uſual prayers and cere-

Cardinal Julian continues the council.

mouths. In conſequence of this bull, Dominicus Capranica, one of the new promoted cardinals, was not allowed to enter Rome; but being, nevertheleſs, received as a cardinal by the council of Baſil, Eugenius began to be apprehenſive leſt his authority ſhould be attacked by the fathers, and himſelf treated in the ſame manner as John XXIII. had been by the council of Conſtance. This ſhutting of the mouth has ſince been declared to be only a ceremony, to teach the new cardinals modeſty and reſerve at their firſt entrance into the conſiſtory (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

monies

monies, the biſhop of Coutances aſcended the pulpit, and read the decree of the council of Conſtance for the celebration of general councils, and other writings confirmed by the authority of the popes Martin and Eugenius, appointing the city Baſil for the place of convocation of the preſent council. He then proceeded to declare the purpoſes for which the preſent aſſembly had met, and read ſeveral decrees of former councils for the ſecurity of the members, for regulating the manner of proceeding in the ſeſſions, and for preventing diſturbance and diſputes about precedency. The miniſters and officials of the council being then appointed, the ſeſſion was diſmiſſed.

The emperor is crowned at Milan.

Mean while the emperor, having received the iron crown at Milan, proceeded to Parma, where he ſpent the winter. Eugenius likewiſe, continuing fixed in his reſolution to remove the council from Baſil, on the 18th of December publiſhed a bull, with the conſent of the ten cardinals, diſſolving that council by the plenitude of the apoſtolic authority, and appointing another to be held eighteen months afterwards at Bologna. The reaſon he gave for this ſtep, was the invitation given to the Bohemians to confer upon the diſputed articles, which he alleged was injurious to the apoſtolic authority, and to the councils of Conſtance and Sienna, by which theſe ſame Bohemians had been already ſolemnly condemned, and therefore, according to the canons and decrees of the fathers, ought to be denied all farther audience. Eugenius was intreated by the emperor, and Henry, king of England, to revoke this decree; and a certain doctor publiſhed a treatiſe, juſtifying the invitation given to the Bohemians. Cardinal Julian likewiſe wrote with great freedom to the pope, urging the neceſſity for celebrating the council at Baſil, declaring that it could not be diſſolved without the greateſt ſcandal, and that it ought to be ſupported, even though Rome and the patrimony of the church were ſure to be loſt; that to raiſe thirty thouſand crowns, that were demanded for the Bohemian war, he ought to ſell the croſſes and chalices; and that, if he did not revoke his bull, there was very great danger of a ſchiſm, as the fathers at Baſil were determined to continue the council. Accordingly, the fathers there aſſembled, on the 21ſt of January, publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them that they were firmly determined to continue the council which had been lawfully aſſembled, and would not leave Baſil till they had completed the work for which they had come together,

A.D. 1432.

The pope diſſolves the council by the plenitude of his power.

The fathers at Baſil refuſe obedience to his bull.

together, deſiring all men to aſſiſt them, and enjoining the prelates, under the penalties of the canons, to haſten to the council.

The prelates of France declare for the council;

In conſequence of this letter, the clergy of France aſſembled at Berry; and having declared, in ſeveral propoſitions, that the council was lawfully aſſembled, and ought not to be transferred, they exhorted the king to ſend ambaſſadors to the pope, to intreat him to order the council to be continued, and in their own name appointed the archbiſhop of Lyons to ſolicit his holineſs. They likewiſe intreated the king to allow the prelates of his kingdom to go to the council, and to ſend his deputies thither, granting a fourth part of a tythe of the eccleſiaſtical revenues for their expences. A few days before the prelates of France had publiſhed their propoſitions, the ſecond ſeſſion of the council was held at Baſil, on the 14th of February, in which, after maſs, and the uſual prayers, the biſhop of Periqueux aſcended the pulpit, and read the decrees of the council; among theſe was one, declaring that, upon the authority of the apoſtolic ſee, and the decrees of the councils of Conſtance and Sienna, the ſynod of Baſil was lawfully aſſembled. That no doubt of its authority might remain, he then read two propoſitions from the decrees of the council of Conſtance; one importing, that a general ſynod, lawfully aſſembled, received its authority immediately from Chriſt, and ought to be obeyed by the higheſt dignity, the pontifical not excepted; the other, that whoever ſhould refuſe obedience to its decrees ought to be puniſhed. In the third ſeſſion, held on the 29th of April, the proceedings of the council with Eugenius and the cardinals were read. Upon hearing that the pope, moved by falſe information, had by a bull ordered it to be diſſolved, they had ſent ſeveral nuncios to his holineſs, petitioning, but without effect, the revocation of that bull; the fathers, therefore, upon the authority of the decrees publiſhed in the former ſeſſion, warned the pope to revoke the ſaid bull, and to come perſonally to the council within three months, or, upon a lawful impediment, to ſend his legates with full power; they likewiſe cited the cardinals to come to Baſil within the ſame time, otherwiſe they would provide for the neceſſities of the church as the Holy Spirit ſhould direct.

who ſummon the pope and cardinals to come to Baſil.

Their legates, who had been ſent to Germany to invite the Bohemians to ſend deputies to the ſynod, after ſeveral difficulties, at length prevailed with the Huſſites

to

to appear at the diet at Egra, which was held on the 27th of April. They declared their willingness to appear at the council of Basil, to prove their four propositions by the authority of the scripture and the doctors of the church (C); but they demanded several princes and nobles as hostages for the security of their deputies at the council. The Catholics thought the demand of hostages dishonourable, and insisted that it was a presumption in the Hussites to undertake to reform the church; but that they ought implicitly to submit in every thing to the decision of a general council; which last proposition was rejected with disdain by the Hussites, who thought it absurd, that divine and self-evident truths should be subject to human decisions, or that they should chuse their most bitter enemies for their judges, who had already unjustly condemned them, and those truths, unheard [b]. At length it was agreed, that, for the security of the Bohemian deputies, the council should grant a safe-conduct, in the most ample terms, and the princes and deputies of the cities then present should engage their word and honour for their safety.

The deputies of the council have a conference with those of Bohemia at Egra.

The council being informed of the proceedings of their deputies at Egra, on the 20th of June held the fourth session, in which they granted a safe-conduct to the Bohemians, and appointed a nuncio to go to the emperor in Italy, to desire him to grant them his imperial protection. As Eugenius at this time was dangerously ill, the council decreed, that, if the see should happen to become vacant, the future pope should be elected no where else but at Basil, and that the pope, during the continuance of the council, should create no new cardinals; they then ordered a bull or seal to be made for the letters and acts of the synod, and, as they did not approve of the nomination of the cardinal of Foix, by Eugenius, to be vicar and governor of Avignon, they granted that com-

The council grants a safe-conduct to the Bohemians.

[b] Epist. Boem. & Morav. ad Christ. Fid. ap. Rer. Boem. Scrip. p. 233.

(C) Their four articles were these: that the eucharist should be administered in both kinds; that the Gospel should be preached freely and publicly; that the clergy should be deprived of all dominion; and that public and heinous crimes ought to be severely punished and extirpated, by those to whom it belongs (1).

(1) Conc. Labb. cap. xii. p. 482 & seq.

miſſion to Alphonſus, cardinal of St. Euſtachius. In the fifth ſeſſion, held on the 9th of Auguſt, the judges were appointed for the cauſes relating to the faith, and a decree was made, prohibiting the members to be called from the council to the Roman court. Four nuncios arriving from the pope, they were admitted to a public audience. Theſe having expatiated upon the advantages of peace and union, and the authority of a pope above a council, declared, that, as Eugenius could not, on account of his bad health and other reaſons, quit Italy, he offered the council the choice of any city in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate for holding their ſeſſions, and, upon their fixing the place, he would not prorogue their meeting, but immediately go thither in perſon. The council refuſed to comply with the pope's requeſt. They affirmed that their authority was ſupreme, and that thoſe, who endeavoured to diſſolve them, ſinned againſt the Holy Ghoſt, and created a ſchiſm in the church. In the next ſeſſion, held on the 6th of September, at which were preſent, beſides the legate, two cardinals and thirty-two mitred prelates, the proctors of the council ſtood up, and accuſed the pope of contumacy, becauſe he had not revoked the bull for diſſolving the council, nor had appeared perſonally, or by others, within the time appointed at the third ſeſſion. The council, however, at that time deferred any farther proceedings againſt the pope and the cardinals, as the nuncios of Eugenius declared that they could produce reaſons juſtifying their abſence.

Several decrees againſt the authority of the pope.

The ſeventh ſeſſion was held on the 6th of November, in which was renewed the decree of the fourth ſeſſion, that a pope ſhould not be elected any where but at the place of the council's reſidence. In the eighth ſeſſion, held on the 18th of December, ſixty days more were granted to Eugenius; within which time, if he did not revoke his bull for diſſolving the council of Baſil and convoking another, the fathers would proceed againſt him without any farther warning or citation. They then declared all his promotions and ordinations of churches to be null; ordered the patriarchs and biſhops to come to the council under the penalties preſcribed in the canons, and the cardinals under the pain of loſing their benefices. They decreed, that, during the continuance of the council of Baſil, no other council could be convoked, and that the pope could not deprive thoſe of their benefices who adhered to, or were preſent at, the council of Baſil, nor lay new taxes on the territories of the

Roman

Roman church or others, under any pretence, nor alienate or mortgage them; and any such acts were declared null. It is probable the council was encouraged to these proceedings by the countenance of the emperor; who, on the 22d of November, published a bull, declaring, that, as he had from the beginning favoured the council of Basil, so he would still protect it to the utmost of his power. This bull was dated from Sienna, where Sigismund had resided several months, having been occupied the whole summer in small skirmishes with the forces of the Florentines and Venetians, the pope himself favouring them, being apprehensive the emperor, after his coronation, would exert himself still farther in defence of the council of Basil [c].

A.D. 1433.

While the emperor was soliciting the pope by letters and messengers to agree to his coronation, the deputies of the Hussites set out from Bohemia for Basil, where they arrived on the 4th of January with great pomp, attended by three hundred armed gentlemen, the people crouding the walls and the streets through which they were to pass, and looking with astonishment at their fierce and martial appearance [d]. Being introduced to the council, cardinal Julian made a long discourse to them, recommending peace and union; and as the catholic church, which could be no-where better represented than in a general council, could not err in the faith, he exhorted the Bohemians, as sons of the church, to hearken to her voice, by submitting to the decrees of the council of Basil. Rockysanus, one of their deputies, answered in a few words; after expressing his gratitude to God for his favours, and to the legate and council for their hospitality and kindness, he desired a day might be appointed when they could be heard upon their four articles. The council assigned the 16th of the month, when Rockysanus began his discourse on the first article, which he continued for three forenoons successively; Nicolas, the Taborite, discoursed upon the second article for two days; and Udalricus, a priest of the Orphans, expatiated upon the third article for two days also. Lastly, Peter Payne, an Englishman, illustrated the fourth article in three forenoons. The Catholics then proceeded to their defence. John de Ragusa, general proctor of the Dominicans, spent eight days in answering the first article;

The deputies of the Hussites arrives at Basil.

[c] Blond. dec. iii. lib. 9. Rainald, ad an. 1432, n. 20.
[d] Æne. Hist. Boem. cap. 49.

Ægidius

Ægidius Carlerius, dean of Cambray, discoursed four forenoons on the second article; and Henry Kalteisan, a Dominican, employed three days in discussing the third article. Lastly, John Palomar, archdean of Barcelona, declaimed three days on the last article. The Hussites not being convinced by these answers of the Catholics, Rockysanus impugned the discourse of the Ragusan for six days: and, one dispute begetting another, they debated fifty days without any appearance of an accommodation [e]. At length the duke of Bavaria, the protector of the council, proposed to terminate their differences by a friendly conference; but this method also failing, and the Bohemians urging to return, both parties agreed, that the council should send deputies to treat with the Hussites in a diet to be held on the 7th of June. Accordingly the fathers named ten of their most learned brethren, who, on the 14th of April, set out for Prague with the Bohemian deputies [f].

Besides these proceedings with the Hussites, the council, in the ninth session, which was held on the 22d of January, had solemnly taken the emperor under their protection; declaring all the censures published against him by the pope to be null and void, and ordering all his subjects to obey him as formerly. In the following session, held on the 19th of February, the proctors of the council again accused the pope of contumacy, and some prelates were appointed to draw up the process against him. Though no persons appeared at this session for the pope, yet a few days after three legates arrived at Basil from him, with proposals to transfer the council either to Bologna or to some other city of Germany, to which proposal the council would not agree. He himself in the mean time, after the departure of these legates for Basil, thought proper to confirm the council by a bull, which he published two days before the sixty days were elapsed. Notwithstanding this condescension, in the next session, held on the 27th of April, the council published several decrees to the prejudice of the papal authority. They confirmed the decrees of the council of Constance for holding of synods. They determined that the pope was bound to come to the council in person, or by his legates, as well as all others who had that privilege, under pain of being, ipso facto, suspended from the pontificate, and other benefices and dignities, unless they repented

The pope is accused of contumacy.

[e] Cochl. Hist. Hussit. [f] Æne. Hist. Boem. cap. 50.

within

within four months; that a council could not be transferred or diſſolved by a pope, without the conſent of two-thirds of the members; and that, for the future, the popes ſhould be obliged to ſwear to obſerve theſe decrees. At this period, the ſynod received a letter from the emperor, dated at Viterbo, informing them that the pope had appointed legates to preſide at the council in his name; but as ſome interruption had prevented their journey, he had ſent others in their room, whom Sigiſmund intreated the council to receive with reſpect. Notwithſtanding this letter, the fathers at Baſil rejected the pope's bull confirming the council, as captious and deceitful, and would not admit the deputies appointed by him to preſide; alleging, that, by their commiſſion, they came rather to hold a new council than to confirm that which was already held.

The emperor is crowned at Rome.

Mean while in Italy a peace was concluded betwixt the duke of Milan, and the Florentines, Venetians, Lucceſe, and other allies on both ſides. Sigiſmund having ſworn to two cardinals at Viterbo, to defend the Catholic faith and the holy ſee, to make no treaty with heretics, ſchiſmatics, Turks, and pagans, and to renew the privileges and donations granted by his predeceſſors to the Roman church, the pope at length conſented to his coronation. He was accordingly received at Rome with great pomp, and crowned on Whitſuntide with the uſual ceremonies. Having continued ſome time in that city, and created ſeveral knights, he returned through the territories of the Venetians, to whom he was now reconciled; and, croſſing the Alps, arrived at Baſil on the 11th of October.

The deputies of the council arrive at Prague.

During theſe proceedings in Italy, the deputies of the council arrived at Prague, and, in a numerous aſſembly of the Bohemian nobles, clergy, and commoners, held on the 7th of June, propoſed an union with the clergy, previous to the diſcuſſion of the four articles. But the Bohemians abſolutely refuſing to agree to this propoſal, the deputies then required that they would draw up the articles in what manner they thought proper to be ſent to the council. This requeſt was complied with, and, on the 11th of Auguſt, the Bohemians delivered their four articles to the deputies, together with the conditions of the union; namely, that they would obey their legal governors in every thing as far as they were bound by the law of God; but if a council, a pope, or the prelates, ſhould command what was prohibited by God, or omit what was written

written in the canon of the Bible, they would not obey; and that, after the concluſion of the union, the council ſhould forbid all princes and prelates to ſcandalize the Bohemians as heretics, or to commit hoſtilities againſt them. The deputies having departed from the council, the Bohemian nobles, during their abſence, rejected the arbitrary authority of Procopius, and, by the advice of Mainard of Newhouſe, choſe one of the nobility as their annual governor, and appointed ſeveral others as his counſellors, to whom they truſted the adminiſtration of the government. The Taborites and Orphans in the mean time ſtill acknowleging Procopius, under his command beſieged Pilſen, while ſome of them ravaged Hungary, and others aſſiſted the Poles in their war againſt the Teutonic knights. Soon after the deputies returned to Bohemia with the remarks of the council upon the four articles.

The council make alterations in the articles of the Bohemians;

The council had made ſome alterations in the three firſt, that were immaterial: and as to the euchariſt, they gave permiſſion to the Bohemians, namely to thoſe who had arrived at the years of diſcretion, to communicate under both kinds, on condition that their prieſts ſhould always declare to the communicants, "that they ought firmly to believe, that the fleſh of Chriſt is not under the bread alone, nor his blood under the wine alone, but that he is wholly under each kind ſeparately." After much diſpute on both ſides, theſe alterations in the articles were at length agreed to by the Bohemian nobles, who ſent three deputies to Baſil to inform the council of their ſubmiſſion. The fathers received the news with great joy, and drew up the treaty of peace under the title of Compactata; which was agreed to by the nobles, and ſome years afterwards received by all the Huſſites.

who at length ſubmit to the church.

The council of Baſil, during theſe tranſactions with the Huſſites, were not unmindful to ſupport their authority in oppoſition to the pope. Being informed that he had publiſhed a bull, declaring all their proceedings null and void, excepting in thoſe things which he had allowed them to treat of, in the twelfth ſeſſion, they intended to proceed to his depoſition: but, in regard to the emperor's requeſt, they granted him ſixty days more, within which time if he did not revoke his proceedings againſt the council, they declared him, ipſo facto, ſuſpended from all adminiſtration of the pontificate in ſpirituals and temporals. A decree was likewiſe made for the legal election and confirmation of biſhops and prelates, without any reſervations, and according to the eccleſiaſtical canons,

canons, concerning age, learning, and manners, thereby putting a ſtop to annates. In the next ſeſſion, which was held on the 11th of September, the proctors of the council again accuſed the pope of contumacy; but the fathers, at the interceſſion of the duke of Bavaria, granted him thirty days more. At this ſeſſion two nuncios appeared from the pope, who brought with them two bulls from his holineſs. By one, Eugenius confirmed the council from its firſt opening for the extirpation of hereſies, wars, and bad morals, as though no tranſlation or diſſolution of it had ever been ordained, on condition that the legates, whom he had appointed, ſhould preſide at the ſeſſions; and all decrees made by the council, againſt the authority of the pope, cardinals, or others adhering to him, ſhould be reverſed. The ſecond bull gave authority to three prelates to demand the ſaid revocation of the proceedings of the council, and to revoke and declare null all that had been done againſt the council by the pope.

The pope annuls the proceedings of the council.

As the fathers at Baſil ſtill inſiſted, that nothing they had done could or ought to be revoked, Eugenius annulled their decree, made in the twelfth ſeſſion, againſt the pope and the cardinals. A long letter was publiſhed, addreſſed to all the faithful, in defence of the pope, aſſerting that the fathers at Baſil were greatly deceived, when they imagined that a general council was ſuperior in every thing to a pope; and concluding with an exhortation to the princes and faithful, to adviſe the council at Baſil to admit his legates, and, in caſe they ſhould refuſe to comply, to oppoſe them to the utmoſt of their power. The pope afterwards diſowned this letter; but the fathers judging it, as well as others, to be genuine, on the 11th of October, aſſembled in the church to proceed finally againſt the pope, when news being brought of the arrival of the emperor, they deferred the affair for ſome days, and went out to meet him. In the fourteenth ſeſſion, which was held on the 7th of November, and at which the emperor was preſent, the term for proceeding againſt Eugenius was again prorogued ninety days, on condition, nevertheleſs, that within that time he ſhould adhere to the council, and revoke all that he had decreed againſt it, eſpecially the laſt three letters, and likewiſe confirm all its proceedings. On the 26th of the ſame month was held the fifteenth ſeſſion, in which ſeveral decrees were made, appointing provincial ſynods to be celebrated every three years, and dioceſan aſſemblies twice

or

The emperor receives an embassy from the Turks at Basil.

or thrice, or at least once, in a year. At this or the preceding session, must have happened what we find related by Krantz, namely, that the king of the Turks, having not only concluded a truce but agreed to a perpetual peace with the emperor, sent a solemn embassy to the council to have the treaty confirmed. The ambassadors brought very rich presents for the emperor, who, after the business for which they had come, was concluded, dismissed them with magnificent gifts for their master[g].

The duke of Milan seizes the church patrimony.

Mean while the duke of Milan, imagining that the pope had favoured the Florentines, and his own countrymen the Venetians, in the late war, and finding that his authority was greatly lessened by the opposition of the council, he sent all the bishops in his dominions to Basil. Under pretence of marching an army into Apulia, he seized the Picene territory, and several other places of the ecclesiastical state, pretending that he had received a letter from the council, constituting him their vicar in Italy. He likewise detached another army, under the command of Fortebrace, who took possession of Tivoli, and made himself master of the greatest part of Campania. Very few cities of the patrimony continuing faithful to the church, and the Romans seeming to threaten a revolt[h], Eugenius in this extremity at last consented to adhere to the council, and about the middle of December published a bull, according to the form prescribed in the fourteenth session, revoking all his proceedings against it, and declaring it lawfully assembled. This bull being read in the sixteenth session, which was held on the 5th of February, the fathers declared that the pope had thereby satisfied the citation and request of the council; and on the 24th of April, the legates of the pope incorporated with the other members of the council, but not in their public character: they were likewise obliged to swear to act faithfully, for the honour of the council, and to defend its decrees, particularly that of the synod of Constance, about the superiority of a council over a pope, and not to depart from Basil without leave. Accordingly in the next session, which was held on the 22d of the same month, the legates, together with cardi-

A.D. 1434.

The pope adheres to the council.

[g] Saxon. Krantz. lib. ii. cap. 22. an. 1433.

[h] Rain. Annal. Eccles. tom. xviii. an eod. Blond. dec. 3. lib. 5. Platina in Vit. Eugen. Pogg. Hist. Flor. ap. Murator. tom. xx. p. 384. Leon Aret. Comment. ut supra.

nal

nal Julian, were allowed to preside, but without any coactive jurisdiction, and saving the manner of proceeding hitherto observed in the council, and with the proviso that all acts should be passed under the council's seal. The eighteenth session was held on the 24th of June; when, the emperor being absent, the fathers renewed the decree of the council of Constance, concerning the authority of a general council over a pope; and, at the same time, received a treatise composed by the patriarch of Antioch in support of that doctrine.

Mean while the pope was harrassed by various misfortunes[i]. Fortebrace having, by the assistance of the Colonnæ, taken possession of Ponte Molle and the Flaminian gate[k], the Romans were prevailed upon to revolt, and had resolved to seize the pope. Eugenius, being informed of their design, disguised himself in the habit of a benedictine, and embarking in a small bark, sailed down to Ostia, but not without great danger from the Romans, who pursued him, and shot several arrows into his vessel. At Ostia he went on board a galley, and sailed to Pisa, then he repaired to Florence; from whence he wrote to the council, informing them of what he had suffered, and confirming his former purpose of countenancing their proceedings. The Romans in the mean time plundered all his effects, imprisoned his nephew cardinal Condelmero, and endeavoured to get possession of the castle of St. Angelo, but without effect. The council having received the pope's letter, sent two cardinals, as their legates, into Italy, to accommodate all differences betwixt Eugenius and the duke of Milan, and to prevail with the revolted cities to renew their allegiance[l]. About the same time three deputies having arrived at the council, from the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople, to treat of an union with the Latin church, after several private conferences betwixt them and the legates, and other members of the council, it was agreed that an œcumenical council should be held either in Calabria, Ancona, or any other maritime city, at Bologna, or Milan, or Buda, Vienna, or, lastly, in Savoy; and if the Greek emperor could not be prevailed upon to come to Basil, then the fathers of the council should go to any city the Greeks should chuse, within a month after the arrival of the eastern prelates, that those

Is obliged to fly from Rome in disguise.

Deputies arrive at Basil from the Greek emperor.

[i] Blond. dec. iii. lib. 5 & 6. [k] Rain. Annal. Eccles. ut supra. [l] Sigon. Vit. Nicol. Alberg. cap. 14.

of

of Basil should send eight thousand ducats for defraying the expences of assembling the eastern prelates at Constantinople; that the western church should support those of the East at the council, to the number of seven hundred persons, and bear the expence of their voyage both in coming and returning. These, and some other less material articles, being agreed to, were approved and confirmed by the council in the nineteenth session, which was held on the 7th of September, and afterwards ratified by the pope. In the same session a decree was published, whereby the Jews were compelled to hear sermons, and several former decrees were renewed, prohibiting all communication with them in faith, manners, conversation, commerce, dress, or lodging.

The Hussites, who had agreed to the compactata, defeat the Taborites.

The synod having been informed that the Orphans and Taborites, who had refused to agree to the compactata, had been attacked and entirely defeated by the other party, under the command of Mainard, together with the Catholics, they sent twelve deputies to Ratisbon, who had several disputes with those of Bohemia of the party of the Taborites, who insisted that, for the sake of uniformity, the Catholics should be compelled to communicate under both kinds; but their demand was rejected by the emperor, and the other deputies [m]. Sigismund at the same time complained to the deputies of the council against some proceedings of the fathers, that were derogatory to his authority; namely, that, while he was in Italy, they had written to the duke of Milan to restore the patrimony of the church, and not to the emperor, although the emperors had granted that donation to the popes; that, while he was at Basil, the council had sent a cardinal to France, and others to the pope, without giving him notice; and that they had assumed the cognizance of causes that did not belong to their jurisdiction, particularly the dispute between the two pretenders to the duchy of Saxony. As he could not allow of these proceedings, he declared he had therefore left Basil; but if the council would diligently attend to the reformation of manners, he would come most willingly, even from paradise, to assist at their deliberations [n].

A.D. 1435. What satisfaction the emperor received from the council is uncertain; but the following year we find he desired the fathers again to appoint deputies to treat with the

[m] Windec. cap. 102. Æne. Hist. Boem. cap. 51. [n] Spond. Annal. ex Act. Binian.

Bohemians. His requeſt was complied with; and on the 23d of January the deputies departed from Baſil for Beronne in Bohemia, the place fixed for the congreſs. The day before they departed the twentieth ſeſſion was held, in which ſeveral decrees were made againſt the concubinage of the clergy. Mean while Eugenius, being informed of the death of the queen of Naples, ſent a nuncio immediately into that kingdom, requiring the nobles and people not to give their allegiance to any prince, but to him who ſhould be confirmed by the apoſtolic ſee. This meſſage was not agreeable to the Neapolitans, who declared that they would accept of no king but René, duke of Anjou, who, upon the death of his brother Lewis, had been adopted by the late queen, and was at this time priſoner to the duke of Burgundy. Before his arrival, Capua, and ſome other places in that kingdom, were ſeized by Alphonſus, king of Arragon and Sicily, who on this occaſion renewed his pretenſions to the crown of Naples. Hoſtilities ſtill continuing betwixt the troops of the duke of Milan and thoſe of the pope, and the Venetians and Florentines, Piccininus, the duke's general, had formed a plot with the biſhop of Novara to ſeize Eugenius, when he ſhould go to the country for the ſummer°; but their deſign being diſcovered, the biſhop was apprehended and ſent back to Milan, his life having been ſpared at the interceſſion of the cardinal Albergatus, who ſoon after paſſed the Alps, to be preſent at the famous congreſs held at Arras, for negotiating a peace between the kings of France and England and the duke of Burgundy. The general council likewiſe ſent ſome cardinals and prelates to be preſent at this congreſs. On the 21ſt of May, they gave a mandate to the cardinal of Arles, who was commiſſioned by the pope to go to Arras, ordering him to cauſe the libraries and archives of the univerſities, churches, and monaſteries, to be ſearched, for books relating to the conception of the Bleſſed Virgin, and to ſend ſuch as he could find to the council.

Several decrees againſt the concubinage of the clergy.

The twenty-firſt ſeſſion was held on the 9th of June, in which a decree was made, prohibiting, for the future, the payment of any money, under any pretence or name whatever, for the confirmation of elections, and admiſſions; or for the proviſion, collation, or inveſtiture, of

Annates are aboliſhed by the council.

° Blond. dec. iii. lib. 6.

any churches, monasteries, dignities, benefices, or ecclesiastical offices; or for a benediction, pall, or ordination, allowing only a competent salary to the writers, abbreviators, and registers of the letters, for their trouble: whoever acted otherwise were declared to incur the penalty of simony, and ordered to be punished by their superiors; and, if the decree was violated by any pope, a complaint was ordered to be made to a general council. Regulations were likewise made in the same session, concerning the modesty and gravity to be observed in celebrating divine service. Besides the above mentioned decree, abolishing annates or first fruits, others were made in the general congregations, ordering the collectors of the revenues of the apostolic chamber to come to the council, to give an account of their receipts and disbursements, and annulling all appeals of causes that had been decided by the council. These decrees were not passed without long and warm disputes, the legates of the pope protesting against the injustice of the proceedings of the fathers, in not previously communicating these matters to his holiness: but their opposition was without effect; for the council having published the decrees, sent two legates to Florence, to obtain the concurrence of Eugenius. John de Bachenstein, one of the legates, declared, that if the pope would acquiesce in the demands of the council, they would provide for his holiness and the cardinals, by some more honourable means; but if he would not concur, they would, nevertheless, cause their decrees to be inviolably observed. Eugenius sent his answer to the council by two nuncios, who discoursed warmly in favour of the apostolic see, and remonstrated against the injury done to it by abolishing annates; but they were answered by cardinal Julian, in the name of the council, who refused absolutely to revoke the decrees, which were the occasion of a new breach betwixt the fathers and the pope. About this time the council sent nuncios to Constantinople, to intreat the emperor to agree to the articles that had been concluded with his deputies, and to prevail with him, if possible, to consent to celebrate the œcumenical council at Basil. The fathers having, about this time, taken cognizance of a dispute betwixt the republic of Venice and the patriarch of Aquileia, ordered the republic to restore all the possessions which it had usurped from the patriarchate, under pain of an interdict against the state, and a sentence of excommunication against the doge, senate,

Their decree is opposed by the pope.

The Venetians contemn their authority;

nate, and nobles; but, notwithstanding this sentence, the republic neglected to make any restitution.

A.D 1436.

While the authority of the council was contemned by the Venetians, it was on the other hand courted by Alphonsus, king of Arragon, who, not being able to prevail with the pope to favour his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, in resentment, resolved wholly to addict himself to the council: he therefore wrote to the fathers, desiring them to send one to take the government of Rome, and of the patrimony of the church, as he was resolved to reconquer and restore both. At the same time he charged Eugenius to adhere to the council, and not to oppose him in taking possession of Naples, otherwise he must blame himself for the consequences. Whether the council was influenced by these declarations of Alphonsus, is uncertain; but in the twenty-third session, held on the 24th of March, they altered the bulls then in force, with regard to the manner of election of a pope and conclave, prescribing a form of an oath to be taken by the pope at his election, to be renewed every year on the same day, or the day of his coronation. By this oath the pope obliged himself to observe the decrees of all general councils, particularly that of Basil, and to endeavour to the utmost of his power to extirpate the heresies, reform the manners, and procure peace to Christendom, and the frequent celebration of general councils. Several other articles were added, prescribing the manner of reforming the pope's family, and the Roman court; and concerning the administration of the patrimony of the church. In the next session, held on the 12th of April, one of the nuncios having returned from Constantinople, and informed the council that the emperor had at length agreed to hold the œcumenical council in some maritime city of Italy, the fathers published a safe conduct for all the Greeks who should come to that assembly; and at the same time granted plenary indulgences, with full remission of all sins once in life, and at the point of death, to all those who should grant one week's expences of their family towards the holy purpose of the union of the Greeks: but that the indulgences might not seem to be given away entirely for money, some pious works were also enjoined; nevertheless, the legates of the pope exclaimed against the decree as a base and venal prostitution. Eugenius afterwards sent two cardinals, as his legates, to Basil, to make fresh remonstrances against the decrees concerning elections, confirmations,

which is courted by the king of Arragon.

New restrictions laid upon the pope and cardinals by the council.

Indulgences granted by the council, to defray the expences of the Greeks.

annates, and indulgences, and to desire the fathers to appoint the place for celebrating the council with the Greeks, offering, if they would agree with him as to the nomination of the place, and transfer themselves thither directly, to give sixty thousand crowns towards the expences of the eastern prelates; which sum, he affirmed, was more than the indulgences would raise. This offer, however, was rejected by the council, who persisted in their own justification, and answered, that it was not yet proper to determine the place for the œcumenical council.

An entire reconciliation is effected betwixt the Hussites and the emperor;

During these disputes with the fathers at Basil, Eugenius had again got possession of Bologna, and, by the prudence of the archbishop of Florence, who commanded his troops, had recovered several places which had been seized by the king of Arragon. About this time likewise the deputies of the council, who had been sent the former year into Bohemia, and had broke off the conferences upon a dispute about settling the article concerning the usurped church-lands, now assembled, with those of Bohemia, at Iglavia, where a complete reconciliation was effected betwixt the Hussites and the church. Though one of the deputies had brought with him from the council a mitigation of the article rejected the year before by the Bohemians; yet, from Æneas Sylvius, one of the members of the council, it would appear, that the reconciliation was chiefly owing to a private treaty between the Hussites and the emperor, which last promised, that the church-lands should be possessed by the present occupiers, till they were redeemed by money; that the exiles, monks, and nuns, should not be permitted to return to Bohemia; that the pope should have no authority to dispose of the churches in that kingdom; and that Rockysanus should have the archbishoprick of Prague [a].

who is crowned at Prague.

The Bohemian deputies were dismissed with magnificent presents, and the emperor soon after proceeding to Prague, was crowned in that city with great solemnity; but he quickly violated the private treaty, by recalling and protecting the monks, expelling Rockysanus from Prague, and acting by force against the remains of the Taborites, to whom he had granted a five years protection [b].

A.D. 1437. While Sigismund, by his perfidy, was rendering himself odious to the Bohemians, the dissensions revived with

[a] Æne. Sylv. Hist. Boem. cap. 52. [b] Idem. ibid, Spond. Annal. hoc an.

great

great warmth betwixt the council and the pope, about determining the place for celebrating the œcumenical council. Eugenius wanted to fix upon some city in the ecclesiastical state, or in Tuscany: but in the twenty-fifth session, held on the 7th of May, the majority of the fathers decreed, that the council should be celebrated, if possible, at Basil, or at Avignon, or, lastly, in Savoy; that for the support of the Greeks, all ecclesiastics, even the pope and cardinals, should give a tenth of their revenues: and as the city of Avignon offered to lend seventy thousand florins of gold, they mortgaged so much of the money, to be raised by the indulgences for their payment. These decrees were published by a factious party of the council, who had seceded from the presidents, and celebrated the session by themselves. They were by far the most numerous, but among them there were very few prelates of any rank. As they had refused to be present at the deputations and general congregations, the other party, who adhered to the presidents and legates, fixed upon Florence, or Utinum, in Friuli, for the residence of the council, or any other safe place mentioned in convention betwixt the pope and the Greeks, which could soonest furnish the money, and fit out the gallies, for transporting the eastern prelates. Both parties persisting obstinately in their opinions in the above session, they sat apart, and each ratified their own previous resolutions; but the decree of the minority was confirmed by Eugenius, who appointed a nuncio to go, with two others of that party of the council, to Constantinople.

The council at Basil divided into factions, who publish separate decrees.

About a month after their arrival, the nuncios, of the factious part of the council, landed from two gallies of Avignon, and intreated the emperor to come to that city, or Basil, or Savoy, declaring, that, before he could reach Italy in the ships of Eugenius, that pope would be deposed; but if he would agree to sail with them to any of the three places above mentioned, the princes, whose letters they brought, would furnish succours against the Turks. The Greek emperor, however, notwithstanding these declarations, adhered to the other party, and in the end of November embarked, with several prelates, for Venice, on board nine gallies furnished by the pope. During these proceedings at Constantinople, the factious party of the council having been informed that Eugenius had confirmed the decree of the minority, were greatly irritated against him; and in the twenty-sixth session, held on the

Nuncios sent by each party to Constantinople.

31st of July, they published a monitory, accusing him of several crimes, and citing him and his cardinals to appear within sixty days. In the following session, held on the 25th of September, they declared the late creation of the archbishop of Florence to the cardinalate to be void, as being contrary to a decree of the council; they likewise annulled the decree appointing Florence, or Utinum, for the residence of the œcumenical council, as being sealed clandestinely, and against the appointment of the council; and to procure the favour of the emperor, they wrote to him, informing him of their proceedings against Eugenius, and desiring him to protect the council by his authority. Sigismund, who was then languishing in his last illness, and died a few months afterwards, in the seventieth year of his age, wrote to the fathers to act with more moderation, to cease their proceedings against the pope, and to take care lest, instead of uniting the Greeks, they should occasion a schism among the Latins. Notwithstanding this advice, the sixty days granted to the pope being elapsed, the council, in the next session, which was held on the 1st of October, declared Eugenius guilty of contumacy, the other party protesting against their proceedings, and the deputies of Spain declaring their dissent, in the name of their king and the prelates of their nation.

Eugenius transfers the council of Basil to Ferrara.

Mean while Eugenius, being encouraged by the success of his nuncios at Constantinople, on the 16th of September published a bull, wherein, after recapitulating the violent proceedings of the council, he transferred it, by the plenitude of his power, immediately to Ferrara, which city he assigned for the future œcumenical council. The fathers at Basil, instead of giving obedience to this bull, in the twenty-ninth session, held on the 12th of October, published a decree, wherein, having accused the pope of being the author of the dissension, they declared the translation and dissolution of the synod to be null, and charged the pope to revoke his bull, which, if he did not do within four months, they declared him, ipso facto, suspended: they likewise prohibited, under pain of excommunication and interdict, any one from going or sending to Ferrara, or from acting contrary to the decrees of the council of Basil.

A D. 1438. On the 22d of January, the fathers at Basil celebrated the thirty-first session, in which they published three decrees; by the first, they annulled all frivolous appeals to the

the Roman courts, and ordained, that thoſe who were above four days journey from Rome ſhould terminate all their ſuits at the places of their proper reſidence, and all legal appeals ſhould be carried to Baſil, and not to the pope. By the ſecond, they prohibited the pope from granting any reſervations of benefices, and ordained that livings ſhould be given only to prudent and learned men. The third was expreſly againſt Eugenius, whom they ſuſpended from the pontificate, aſſuming the adminiſtration thereof to themſelves, and appointing three perſons out of each of the nations as adminiſtrators of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. At this ſeſſion, and ſome weeks before, there were great conteſts and confuſion among the fathers. Cardinal Julian, and the other cardinals, being apprehenſive of a ſchiſm, left Baſil about the beginning of January. The cardinal of Arles, who alone remained, was created preſident by the fathers, who cited the archbiſhop of Tarantaiſe, and the two nuncios that had been ſent by the minority to Conſtantinople; the firſt for having put to the torture a deputy of the duke of Savoy, ſent by the council into Greece; and the two laſt for having falſely called themſelves nuncios of the council to the Greek emperor.

he is ſuſpended by the council of Baſil.

In the mean time, ſeveral prelates having aſſembled at Ferrara, in conſequence of the citation of Eugenius, cardinal Albergatus, who had been appointed legate à latere by the pope, preſided at the firſt ſeſſion, which was held on the 10th of January. Here it was decreed, that the council of Ferrara was lawfully aſſembled, as that of Baſil had been transferred for neceſſary and juſt reaſons; that it ought to endeavour to procure the union of the Greeks, and to accompliſh thoſe matters which had been begun, but not finiſhed, by the council of Baſil; all the tranſactions of which, after the tranſlation, were declared null, excepting thoſe which regarded the Bohemians, if they were confirmed by the council of Ferrara; laſtly, all were abſolved from the oaths they had taken to the council of Baſil[c]. A few weeks after, Eugenius went to Ferrara, and having in a general congregation complained of the injurious proceedings of the council of Baſil, declared, that if he had done any thing amiſs, he ſubmitted willingly to the correction of the fathers. He then regulated the order of ſitting in the aſſemblies; and preſiding in the ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 15th of February, he not only declared the ſeditious decrees of the council

[c] Spond. Annal. ex Cod. Vatic. & Act. Patrician.

of Baſil to be null, but alſo that thoſe who continued at that aſſembly had incurred the penalties of excommunication, and privation of dignities and benefices, which they were rendered incapable of poſſeſſing for the future. All thoſe who were aſſembled at Baſil, under pretence of the council, were ordered to depart, under pain of excommunication, within thirty days, after which time the magiſtrates of the city were ordered to expel them, under the ſame penalty; which was alſo denounced againſt thoſe who ſhould carry any merchandize or proviſions into the city, if the above mentioned perſons ſhould continue contumacious. The Greek emperor and patriarch, with the prelates of that church, having about this time arrived at Venice, ſent five deputies to the pope, to inform him of their arrival; and ſoon after ſailing up the Po, they landed at Ferrara, where they were received with the greateſt honours by Eugenius and the cardinals [d] (F). The pope, at the intreaty of the emperor, ſent nuncios and letters to the kings and princes of Chriſtendom, exhorting them to ſend their deputies to the council within four months. In the mean time, the fathers at Baſil, in their thirty-ſecond ſeſſion, which was held on the 22d of March, condemned the conventicle, as they called it, at Ferrara, and declared, whatſoever ſhould be done in it by the ſuſpended pope, or in his name, to be null and void, at the ſame time denouncing penalties againſt thoſe who repaired to Ferrara.

The Greek emperor, with the eaſtern prelates, arrive at Ferrara.

The œcumenical council is opened in that city.

Their decrees, however, were deſpiſed by the others, who appointed the œcumenical council to be opened at Ferrara on the 9th of April, on which day, both the Latins and Greeks having aſſembled in the church of St. George, and being ſeated, according to the order previouſly agreed upon (G), a decree of the patriarch of Conſtantinople

[d] Chalcond. lib. i. & vi. Phranz. lib. ii cap. 14. Spond. Annal. ex Act. Concil.

(F) The Greek prelates would not condeſcend to kiſs the pope's feet; ſome of them gave him only a common ſalutation, and others kiſſed his hand and cheek (1).

(G) There were great diſputes betwixt the Greeks and Latins about the order of ſitting. The pope propoſed that the Latins ſhould ſit on one ſide of the church, and the Greeks on the other, and that he himſelf ſhould be ſeated at

(1) Spond, Annal.

the

ſtantinople was firſt read, by which he declared, that he conſented to the celebrating of an œcumenical council at Ferrara, to which aſſembly he ordered all who were concerned either to come or ſend, within four months, under pain of excommunication. Another decree of the pope was then read, to the ſame purpoſe, and both received the aſſent of the fathers (H). After Eaſter, the Latin fathers propoſed to employ the time, till the arrival of the deputies of the princes, in examining the controverted doctrines betwixt them and the Greeks; to this propoſal the eaſtern prelates, after ſome difficulty, aſſented, and twelve perſons were choſen on each ſide, who aſſembled twice a week, and diſputed about purgatory, and the bleſſedneſs of ſaints; but, after they had ſpent two months in thoſe diſputes, they left the queſtion undecided.

The emperor Albert and the German princes agree to a neutrality, with regard to the diſputes betwixt the pope and the council of Baſil.

Mean while, the imperial throne being vacated by the death of Sigiſmund, the German electors, having aſſembled at Frankfort, choſe Albert, duke of Auſtria, as emperor. After his election, a general diet being held in the ſame city, it was agreed to adhere both to the pope and the council of Baſil, but not acknowlege the decrees of either party againſt the other. This determination, which was called the German neutrality, offended both Eugenius and the fathers of Baſil: however, as Albert renewed the

the head before the altar, in the middle betwixt both; but this was objected to by the Greek emperor, who claimed that place as due to him. At length, it was agreed that the pope ſhould ſit at the head of the Latins on the right ſide of the church, and the emperor at the head of the Greeks on the other, and that the book of the Goſpels ſhould be placed, with lighted tapers, betwixt the heads of St. Peter and St. Paul, upon a throne erected before the altar.

Beſides the proxies of the eaſtern patriarchs, there were preſent, according to Krantz, the metropolitan of Kiovia and of all Pruſſia, with ſeveral Muſcovite and Ruſſian prelates, and a retinue of two hundred horſe. The metropolitan of the Georgians was likewiſe ſaid to be preſent, and deputies from the emperor of Trebiſond, and from the Iberians and Walachians (1).

(H) The patrician acts call this the third ſeſſion, counting the two that preceded the coming of the Greeks; but others begin the firſt ſeſſion only at the 8th of October, when the diſpute commenced about the proceſſion of the Holy Spirit. The council itſelf is known by the name of the Florentine, having been transferred to that city on account of the plague, which raged in Ferrara.

(1) Krantz 12. Wandal. 7. Spond. Annal.

ſafe-

safe-conducts, granted by his predecessors to the council, they, in return, gave him all the money raised in Austria by the indulgences, for the journey of the Greeks. At the same time they proceeded with their usual violence against the pope; and having confirmed their former decrees, and those of Constance, concerning the power of a general council above a pope, and declared that those who asserted otherwise were heretics, the proctors of the council produced one hundred and fifty articles of accusation against Eugenius, which they offered to prove by witnesses, and public documents. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the deputies of the kings of France, Spain, England, and other princes, these articles of accusation were received in a general congregation, and ordered to be proved by witnesses within thirty days, but, before that time was elapsed, twenty-two witnesses were admitted to prove the articles of accusation. The king of France, in the mean time, being uncertain what course to take in the disputes betwixt the pope and the council of Basil, assembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom at Berry, and by their advice published the pragmatic sanction, by which he acknowleged the legality of the council of Basil, and in some measure its authority. We say, in some measure, for they did not receive its decrees absolutely, but with certain modifications, to render them more consonant to the customs and usages of the kingdom; all those, however, were received simply that tended to retrench the authority of the pope. The king, by an edict, ordered this pragmatic sanction to be observed inviolably through his dominions; but as the clergy of France thereby usurped an authority, not only above a pope, but also above a general council, it was soon after abrogated both by Eugenius and the king [e].

A neutrality also observed by the Gallican church.

During these transactions in France, the German princes, in a diet held at Nuremburg, proposed to the deputies from the council of Basil, that to determine all disputes, a third place should be chosen for holding a general council, at which should assemble the prelates from Basil and Ferrara, with the pope and the Greeks. The deputies of the council declared that they had no authority to agree to that proposal, but demanded only that the diet would approve of the decrees of the council against Eugenius. The princes refused to grant their request; but declared, that they would still adhere to the neutra-

[e] Gaguini Hist. Franc. lib. x.

lity

lity concluded at Frankfort. The deputies of the kings of France, England, Arragon, and Portugal, and of the duke of Milan, were of the same opinion [f]; and the deputies of the council still refusing all the terms of accommodation that were offered, another diet was appointed to be held on the 1st of March at Franfort, which assembly, on account of the plague, was afterwards convoked at Mentz [g].

Disputes between the Greek and Latin fathers.

Mean while the Greeks, finding that none of the prelates came from Basil, and that few or none arrived from any other place, made some objections to the council of Ferrara; but these scruples being removed by Eugenius, who asserted that, where he was with the cardinals, and the emperor and patriarch of Constantinople, with the legates of others, there was an universal synod, they agreed to celebrate the sessions, and to dispute, in the first place, upon two points, namely, whether it was lawful to add any thing to the creed, and whether the addition, "and from the Son," was just. As the pope was distressed with the gout, the first session was held on the 8th of October, in a large chapel of his palace, and six disputants were appointed by each party. Bessarion of Nicea, one of those on the side of the Greeks, made a long and eloquent harangue, which is still extant, wherein, after invoking the protection of God, he commended the emperor, the pope and the fathers, for their pious intentions, and exhorted them to constancy and perseverance, till the union should be accomplished. Nothing else was done in this session; and in the second, which was held three days after, the archbishop of Rhodes, for the Latins, made another speech in praise of the pope, the emperor, and the whole council: after which it was ordained, that the disputes should be carried on by syllogisms, and the option being given to the Greeks, either to impugn or defend, they chose the first, and left the Latins to answer their objections. The five following sessions, which were all held in the same month, and several other private congregations, were spent in debating upon the expression "and from Son." The Greeks opposed that addition, as contrary to the decrees of the first general councils, which prohibited any addition to the creed; but the Latins asserted, that it was not so much an addition as an explanation of the word "from the Father," and urged that

[f] Dumont, tom. iii. p. 48. Dupin, tit. xii. p. 54. [g] Æne. Sylv. Comment. de Gest. Conc. Basil.

the

the Nicene fathers had taken the liberty to add explications to the Apostles Creed, and other councils had done the same to the Nicene (I). The same dispute was continued in the five following sessions, held in the month of November, in which the Greeks at last granted that it was lawful to explain the words of the Creed, but not to add that explanation to the Creed itself. The same dispute was the subject of the three following sessions; at the first of which arrived the deputies from the duke of Burgundy; but as they neglected to salute the emperor, that prince threatened to dissolve the council if they did not give satisfaction for the insult; wherefore, at the intercession of the fathers, they were prevailed upon, at the next session, to pay their compliments to the emperor. At the following session, Mark of Ephesus endeavoured to conclude the dispute by a very long discourse; but still the matter was left undecided, cardinal Julian declaring, that, if the Greek should produce ten arguments, he would advance ten thousand.

The Greeks being unmoved by the arguments of the Latins, and finding them equally uninfluenced by their's, began to think of returning home, and proposed, as their final concession, that the words in dispute should be admitted in a definition apart; but the Latins refused to agree to this proposal, urging that, since the words were admitted as orthodox, they ought not to be expunged from the Creed. As the plague raged at this time in Ferrara, the pope proposed to transfer the council to Florence, but to this expedient the Greeks made great objections; at last, however, they gave their consent, on these conditions: that the council should not be transferred from Florence, but he concluded within four months; that they should be furnished with provisions; and that eight months stores should be sent by the pope to Constantinople. Accordingly, in the sixteenth session, held on the 11th of January, the translation of the council was published, and the fathers immediately after proceeding to Florence, held the seventeenth session in that city, on the 26th of February, in which, after a long dispute betwixt the emperor and cardinal Julian, it was agreed, that the two parties, for the future, should dispute in private assemblies; but this method was observed only a few weeks; for in the six following sessions, held in the

A.D. 1439.

The council is transferred to Florence.

(I) This whole dispute is continued at full length in the acts published at Rome and in Germany by Binius.

month

month of March, the public diſputations were again reſumed, firſt concerning the meaning of the word "proceſſion," and afterwards about the acceptation of the words "nature, eſſence, ſubſtance, ſubſiſtentia, and hypoſtaſis," in the Divine Perſons, how far they meant the ſame thing, and in what reſpects they differed. After theſe ſeſſions the emperor aſſembled all the Greek metropolitans in the lodgings of the patriarch, who had been confined for ſome time by ſickneſs, and laid before them the calamities which would befall the Greek empire, if the ſchiſm was not terminated: he therefore exhorted them to lay aſide their diſputes, and find out ſome method for an agreement, eſpecially as the Latins, by the addition of the words "and from the Son," did not acknowlege two principles. The greateſt part of the Greeks, being influenced by this exhortation of the emperor, did not diſpute in the two following ſeſſions, but only attended to the diſcourſes of the Latins in proof of their doctrine; and afterwards holding a great many conferences in the lodgings of the patriarch, they at length unanimouſly agreed, that the Holy Spirit proceeded from the Father and from the Son, as from one principle and one ſubſtance. This opinion being committed to writing and delivered to the pope, was approved by him and the Latins, who, as a teſtimony of their joy, embraced the Greeks with great affection.

The union is accompliſhed with the Greeks.

Eugenius then propoſed to terminate the other points wherein the two churches differed, namely, concerning the fire of purgatory, and uſing leavened or unleavened bread in the ſacrament of the euchariſt, and the ſupremacy of the Roman ſee. Their deliberations were interrupted by the death of the patriarch of Conſtantinople, which happened on the 9th of June; but a few days after, the debates being reſumed, an union was likewiſe effected in theſe points. The Greeks agreed as to the pains of purgatory, but would not determine abſolutely whether it was fire, darkneſs, a whirlwind, or any thing elſe; they allowed that either leavened or unleavened bread may be conſecrated in the euchariſt; they likewiſe acknowleged in general the ſupremacy of the pope, but would not allow of appeals to him from other patriarchal ſees, or that he had a power of celebrating œcumenical councils without the emperor and patriarchs. In the next ſeſſion a decree was drawn up, wherein theſe reſtrictions were mentioned in general terms, which decree was ſubſcribed by the pope, the cardinals, and ſeveral Latins prelates,

lates, and by the emperor, the proxies of ſeveral patriarchs, and fourteen metropolitans. The pope then deſired that the Greeks would chuſe a ſucceſſor to the patriarch of Conſtantinople, whom he might confirm, and to whom he would give a large ſum to ſupport his dignity, promiſing likewiſe to remove the Latin patriarch of that title; but the Greeks refuſed abſolutely to agree to that propoſal, alleging that the patriarch muſt be choſen at Conſtantinople, by the whole province. The union being thus accompliſhed, the pope publiſhed a letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, informing them of the tranſactions: beſides what had been ſtipulated with the emperor, he promiſed, upon an emergency, to furniſh twenty armed gallies for ſix months for the defence of Conſtantinople, and to ſolicit the Chriſtian princes to ſend him ſuccours by land. Before the departure of the emperor, which happened towards the end of July, deputies arrived at Florence from the patriarch of Armenia, to treat of an union. Eugenius, with the approbation of the ſynod, appointed three cardinals, and ſome doctors, to confer with the deputies; and, after frequent conferences, the Armenians profeſſing to hold and approve the doctrines that were held and taught by the Roman church, Eugenius delivered to them a decree, containing a ſummary of the Roman faith.

During theſe diſcuſſions at Ferrara, the German princes, in a diet held at Mentz, propoſed to oblige the council of Baſil to put a ſtop to the proceedings againſt Eugenius. Although this propoſal was approved by the deputies of ſeveral princes of Europe who were there preſent, yet thoſe from Baſil would not conſent to it, and left the city. After their departure the legates of the pope arrived, and ſolicited the princes to reject the council of Baſil; but their ſolicitations not being hearkened to, they proteſted againſt the proceedings of the diet, and departed. Mean while the fathers at Baſil, to ſtrengthen the article againſt Eugenius, drew up eight propoſitions, which they called the Truths of the Catholic Faith, tending to prove that the pope was a heretic, becauſe he had preſumed to diſſolve the council, contrary to the monitory of the fathers. Theſe propoſitions occaſioned great clamour and uproar in the council, ſo that the confuſion and noiſe reſembled the concourſe of two armies in an engagement. After long and vehement debates, which are mentioned at large by Æneas Sylvius, one of the members [h], the violent

Great confuſion in the council of Baſil;

[h] Æneas, ibid.

party

party found means by fraud to publiſh the articles in a general congregation. The cardinal of Arles then appointed the thirty-third ſeſſion to be held on the 14th of May, at which none of the prelates of Spain, and only about twenty-one of the other nations, would conſent to be preſent; but as there were a great many prieſts, the cardinal cauſed them to bring the relics of the ſaints into the aſſembly, and ordering them to ſupply the place of the abſent biſhops, he read the decree, confirming the above propoſitions. The deputies of the emperor, and of other princes, appeared a few days afterwards at the general congregations, and deſired the fathers to agree to ſome third place for the council; but their requeſt was denied, and Eugenius was ordered to be cited againſt the 23d of June, to hear his ſentence. The thirty-fourth ſeſſion was celebrated on that day, and Eugenius being called by two biſhops, and not appearing, was declared guilty of contumacy, and depoſed from the pontificate; all Chriſtians were abſolved from his obedience, and prohibited from adhering to him, under the pains of hereſy and ſchiſm, and the loſs of all their honours, benefices, and dignities (K). The ſame day the fathers deliberated whether they ſhould immediately proceed to an election of another pope; but notwithſtanding the plague raged at that time in Baſil, it was reſolved to delay the election for two months; accordingly a decree for that purpoſe was publiſhed in the thirty-fifth ſeſſion, held on the 8th of July; and it was added, that, by the departure of any prelates from Baſil, the council ſhould not be reckoned diſſolved, without the conſent of two-thirds of thoſe that remained. Eugenius in the mean time, being informed of their proceedings, renewed his former decree againſt them; and in a general ſeſſion, held on the 5th of September, condemned the Truths of the Catholic Faith, in the ſenſe they were taken in by the council of Baſil, as being contrary to the Scriptures, the fathers, and the council of Conſtance.

which depoſes Eugenius.

The fathers at Baſil, before they were informed of theſe decrees of Eugenius, celebrated their thirty-ſixth ſeſſion on

(K) According to Patricius there were preſent at this ſeſſion only ſeven biſhops, whereas for depoſing a private biſhop twelve are neceſſary. About this time the emperor, and the kings of England and France expoſtulated with the council in behalf of the pope (1).

(1) Epilog. Act. Patrician. Spond. Annal. ex Cod. S. Victor.

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the 16th of October, in which they published a decree confirming the imaculate conception of the blessed Virgin (L). Although the diet of Mentz had appealed from their decree against the pope to a future general council, and the emperor Albert had proposed a reconciliation, yet they resolved immediately to proceed to a new election. In the thirty-seventh session, which was held on the 22d of the same month, they decreed, that the election should be made in the council by the cardinal of Arles, and thirty-two other ecclesiastics, whether prelates, priests, or deacons; that the election should not be valid, unless two-thirds of the electors concurred; and that the person elected should swear to believe and maintain the catholic faith, and to observe and execute the decrees of the councils of Constance and Basil. The thirty-two electors being accordingly nominated in the thirty-eighth session, held on the 27th of October, they entered the place assigned for the conclave; and nine days after, upon a scrutiny, Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was found to be duly elected. This prince, five years before, had resigned his dominions to his two sons, and, with six of the nobles, had assumed the habit of a pilgrim, and chosen a most elegant retreat at Rapallia, upon the banks of the lake of Geneva. Although he was still a layman, had been married, and was not dignified with the title of doctor, yet, in the thirty-ninth session, the council confirmed his election, and appointed the cardinal of Arles, with twenty-five others, as their legates, to carry their decree to the duke, who, with great difficulty, was prevailed upon to give his consent. At their earnest intreaties he at length submitted; and assuming the name of Felix V. laid aside his beard and pilgrim's habit, and being dressed in the pontifical ornaments, was consecrated in the church of the monastery of St. Maurice, on the 17th of December. Eugenius, upon hearing of the intrusion of Felix, thought proper to strengthen his own party by a new creation of cardinals: accordingly in the general council and public consistory, he nominated seventeen from the different nations of Europe, two of whom were Greeks, who had continued in Italy after the conclusion of the union.

The duke of Savoy is elected pope at Basil;

and takes the name of Felix V.

The emperor Albert having died in Hungary, the electors assembled at Frankfort, and chose Frederic, duke

(L) Spondanus relates, that, upon publishing this decree, so great was its efficacy, the plague immediately ceased at Basil!

of

of Auſtria, as his ſucceſſor. The legates of the council at Baſil appeared at that diet, and intreated the new emperor and the German princes to renounce the neutrality, and acknowlege Felix; but the Germans ſtill adhered to their former reſolutions, and declared that they would endeavour to procure the peace of the church. Mean while the fathers at Baſil, in the fortieth ſeſſion, which was held on the 25th of February, publiſhed the conſent of Felix, and ordered all Chriſtians to yield him obedience. That their new pope might come to Baſil, with ſome appearance of dignity, they granted him a power to create nine cardinals, even before his coronation; nevertheleſs they found fault with his bull, appointing the cardinal of Arles legate à latere and preſident of the council, and ordered it to be eraſed from the regiſters, and to be drawn up in other terms. Eugenius, in the mean time, in a public ſeſſion held on the 21ſt of March, at Florence, denounced an anathema againſt the duke of Savoy and all his adherents, as heretics and ſchiſmatics, if they did not repent within fifty days. The fathers at Baſil, in their forty-firſt ſeſſion, held on the 21ſt of July, condemned this ſentence of Eugenius as ſcandalous, ſchiſmatical, and heretical. Next day Felix, who a few weeks before had arrived at Baſil, was ordained biſhop by the cardinal of Arles, and afterwards crowned with great ſolemnity In their forty-ſecond ſeſſion, held on the 5th of Auguſt, they ordained, that, for the ſupport of Felix and his court, the fifth penny of the real value of all benefices, both ſecular and regular, ſhould be paid to his collectors for five years, and for five years more the tenth penny, under pain of ſuſpenſion and interdict. In favour of Germany they exempted all benefices that did not exceed five marks of ſilver, and allowed, that if any nation found itſelf aggrieved by the above tax, it might make a compoſition with Felix. Soon after, in a general congregation, they publiſhed a long letter, addreſſed to all the faithful, ſupporting, by many arguments, the authority of a council above a pope, and urging them to yield obedience to Felix [i] (M).

A.D. 1440.

Frederic III. is elected emperor.

Eugenius denounces an anathema againſt Felix and his adherents.

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[i] Monſtrelet, vol. ii. ad an. 1439.

(M) Both Eugenius and Felix, at this time, were uſing their utmoſt endeavours to have their authority acknowleged by the different princes of Europe. According to Æneas Sylvius, France, England, Spain, Italy, and Hungary, ſubmitted to Eugenius; Savoy, Switzerland, Baſil, Straſburgh, Ca-

The Greeks renounce the union concluded at Florence.

The Greek emperor having returned to Conſtantinople, the clergy, the monks, and the reſt of that city, refuſed to celebrate divine ſervice with thoſe who had returned from Italy, or to mention them in their prayers; a refuſal which cauſed great confuſion in that church, and occaſioned a delay in electing the patriarch, none being found who would accept of that dignity [k]. Other authors relate, that, by the perſuaſions of Mark of Epheſus, who never aſſented to the propoſitions concluded upon at Florence, the Greeks would not accept of the union; and that even thoſe, who had been in Italy, quickly renounced the articles to which they had aſſented in the œcumenical council, notwithſtanding the endeavours of cardinal Condelmero, who had been ſent as legate to Conſtantinople [l]. The metropolitan of Ruſſia, who had been created a cardinal by Eugenius, upon his return was likewiſe treated with indignity, and impriſoned at Moſcow [m]. Mean while Eugenius, having received an accuſation againſt his general, cardinal Vitelleſchi, that he had entered into a ſecret treaty with the duke of Milan, and intended to ſurpriſe Florence, and ſeize the pontificate, he ſent orders to the governor of the caſtle of St. Angelo to entice him within the fortreſs, and to detain him priſoner. He was accordingly ſurpriſed, but endeavouring to defend himſelf, he received ſome wounds that occaſioned his death. His ſucceſſor was Lewis, archbiſhop of Florence, and patriarch of Aquileia, who having defeated and entirely routed the general of the duke of Milan, at Anglaria, was created a cardinal [n] (N).

About

[k] Turcogrec. Theodoſ. Zygomalæ, lib. i. [l] Chalcond. lib. vi. Anton. tit. xxii. cap. 2. [m] Michov. Rer. Polon. lib. iv. cap. 57. [n] Aretin. Comment. ap. Murator. tom. xix. p. 942. Volater. lib. xxii.

min in Pomerania, and Albert, one of the dukes of Bavaria, adhered to Felix. The king of Arragon, the Poles, and thoſe of Bretagne, only acknowleged the council; and Germany embraced a neutrality, neither abſolutely acknowleging the council, nor the two competitors for the pontificate.

(N) This year cardinal Branda made an attempt at Milan to aboliſh the office of St. Ambroſe, and to introduce the Roman. To forward his deſign he expelled the Ciſtertian monks, and introduced the Carthuſians; but the citizens complaining to the duke, the Ciſtertians were reſtored. The cardinal nevertheleſs, having got into his poſſeſſion the book of the Ambroſian rites, ſuppoſed

About this time an abbot arriving at Florence, from the patriarch of the Jacobines, in Egypt, to treat of an union, he was heard in a general congregation on the last of August. After several other conferences, a decree was drawn up and published in the twenty-ninth session, held on the 5th of February, containing an exposition of the Roman faith, which, by a public instrument written in Arabic and Latin, the abbot accepted, and received in the name of the patriarch and all the Jacobines °. Soon after Eugenius sent legates to the diet, which was convoked at Mentz, to consult about means to terminate the schism. At this assembly likewise arrived the cardinal of Arles, and two other new cardinals of Felix. But the princes declared that they would not acknowlege the cardinals, nor admit the cardinal of Arles as legate à latere, to which dignity he pretended. After long disputes, the deputies from Basil at length consented to drop their pretensions, and to act only as legates of the council. Both parties were then heard by the diet for several days alternately; but as they proposed no means of union, the diet, together with the ambassadors of the emperor, the king of France, and other princes, resolved that, to procure the peace of the church, a general council ought to be convoked in some other city than Basil or Florence; and if either of the popes refused to name the place, the emperor should appoint six cities in Germany and six in France, one of which should be chosen for the place of the council, which should absolutely meet on the 1st of August of the following year.

The Jacobines in Egypt embrace the Roman faith;

The council of Basil, after the return of their deputies, held their forty-third session on the 1st of July, in which they published a decree, appointing the celebration of the feast of the Visitation of the blessed Virgin. About the same time Eugenius received a letter from an Ethiopian

° Spond. Annal. ad an. 1441.

posed to be written by that saint's own hand, and carefully preserved in the church of St. Thecla, on Christmas day he caused divine service to be celebrated according to the Roman office; which step so exasperated the citizens, that they ran with torches to his house, and threatened to set it on fire, if he did not restore the book. The cardinal, terrified by their menaces, threw the manuscript to them from the window, and next day fled from Milan (1).

(1) Corius, p. 5.

A.D. 1442. abbot, settled at Jerusalem, professing the subjection of his church to that of Rome, and informing him that the emperor of Abyssinia, commonly called Prester John, proposed to send ambassadors to the council of Florence, not with an intention to dispute, but to receive the judgment of the pope in matters of faith [p]. In consequence of this letter, Eugenius, in the thirtieth session, held on the 24th of April, transferred the council, with the consent of the members, from Florence to Rome, to be continued in the Lateran church within fifteen days after his return to that city. The fathers at Basil took an occasion from this new translation to accuse the pope, alleging, that he had returned to Rome to prevent his being compelled to celebrate a council in Germany. They celebrated the forty-fourth session on the 9th of August, in which they published a decree, concerning the entire restitution of all those who had been robbed of their benefices on account of the council, ordering the usurpers and detainers to be expelled by the assistance of the secular arm.

which is also received by the Abyssinians.

The pope and the council of Basil send deputies to the diet of Frankfort.

Mean while the cardinal of Arles and two cardinals of Felix appeared as their deputies at the diet held at Frankfort, where the emperor presided. Frederic proposing to go to Aix la Chapelle, to receive the German crown, appointed several bishops to hear the arguments of the deputies of both parties. Upon his return, the diet finding that the deputies only repeated the arguments used the former year at Mentz, resolved still to adhere to the neutrality, and proposed the celebration of a council in some other city than Basil or Florence. The emperor arriving in the neighbourhood of Basil, after several conferences prevailed with the fathers to agree to a translation of the council. He then entered the city, and had an interview with Felix, to consult of the means to procure the peace of the church, after which he departed [q]. Felix likewise quitted the city, and went to Lausanne, on pretence of re-establishing his health, promising to return to the council in the spring. Eugenius in some measure likewise complied with the demands of the emperor, declaring, that, though to doubt the authority of the council of Florence was to oppose the catholic faith, yet, in regard to the German princes, upon his arrival at Rome he would assemble a greater number of prelates to consult whether it was expedient to celebrate another coun-

[p] Spond. Annal. ad an. 1442. p. 303.

[q] Goldast de Stat. Imper.

cil,

cil, and in the mean time would send his legates into Germany.

The pope about the same time sent cardinal Julian as his legate into Hungary, to mediate a peace betwixt the party that adhered to the infant, son of the late emperor Albert, and the other faction, who had conferred their crown upon the king of Poland; and to excite them both against the Turks, who were then besieging Belgrade with an immense army. He likewise denounced an anathema against Francis Sforza, who had usurped several places in the ecclesiastical state; but this censure being despised by his adversary, he had recourse to temporal arms, and in a short time recovered the territory of Picenum [r]. In the beginning of the following spring, he left Florence and proceeded to Sienna, where he continued six months During his residence in this city, Alphonsus, king of Arragon, who the year before had conquered Naples, proposed a reconciliation with him, on condition that he confirmed his new conquests. The king at the same time was negociating with Felix, who, on condition that he adhered to the council of Basil, promised to confirm his adoption by queen Jane, and the title of his kingdom, and to give him two hundred thousand crowns to recover the patrimony of the church. Alphonsus accepted of these conditions; but his ambassadors in the mean time obtaining better terms from Eugenius, he again started new difficulties with Felix, and, on the 14th of June, concluded a treaty with the pope, who offered to give him the kingdom of Naples, and to absolve him from the payment of all the money which he owed to the apostolic chamber, on condition that Alphonsus should take the oath of allegiance to him, restore the towns belonging to the church which he had seized, and send six gallies against the Turks, and four thousand horse against Francis Sforza. Some other articles were agreed upon, with regard to the liberty of ecclesiastics, and the privileges of the subjects, as they had been settled by William II. The pope likewise legitimated Ferdinand, the king's natural son; but to prevent his being reproached with such a concession, he stipulated that the bull should not be published during his life [s]. Immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, Alphonsus published a letter, declaring, that he acknowleged Eugenius as the undoubted vicar of Christ, and ordering

A.D. 1443.

The pope recovers some of the patrimony, and gives the investiture of Naples to Alphonsus.

[r] Rag. Hist. lib. viii. ap. Murat. tom. xx. p. 415. [s] Surit. Hist. lib. xv. cap. 18. 32.

all his ſubjects to yield him obedience. He likewiſe wrote to the prelates of his dominions who were at Baſil, deſiring them to quit that city; and he, together with the Venetians, Florentines, and other Italians, exhorted the emperor to agree to the celebration of a general council at the Lateran.

The council of Baſil conſents to a tranſlation to ſome other city.

The council of Baſil in the mean time ſolicited the return of Felix; but he replied, that he found it more for the advantage of his cauſe to reſide at Geneva or Lauſanne, and at the ſame time intreated them to relax the decree againſt the creation of cardinals. After much diſpute, the fathers at laſt granted his requeſt, and in the forty-fifth ſeſſion, held on the 13th of May, they decreed, that another general council ſhould be celebrated after three years in the city of Lyons, which city had been choſen by Felix, to whom they granted a power of ſhortening the term. Nevertheleſs, they declared that the council of Baſil was not thereby diſſolved, but that they intended to continue it in that city, provided the magiſtrates did not violate the ſafe-conduct which they had formerly granted. This is generally reckoned the laſt ſeſſion of the council of Baſil, both the printed and manuſcript acts concluding at this period. Nevertheleſs ſome prelates remained five years longer both at Baſil and Luſanne, although there is ſcarce any author that takes the leaſt notice of their proceedings. Several of their decrees tended to remove the groſs corruptions and abuſes which at that time deformed the Chriſtian religion; but in their proceedings againſt Eugenius, they ſeem to have been influenced more by faction and reſentment than by motives of piety. Not long after Eugenius proceeded from Sienna to Rome; but inſtead of being received with acclamation, the day after his arrival the people threatened to mutiny, as the taxes had lately been doubled, and a new duty laid upon wine. To appeaſe their murmurs the pope called out in the ſtreet, declaring that he aboliſhed the late exactions; and he wrote to the princes of Europe, informing them of his intention to celebrate a general council in the Lateran church [t].

The pope returns to Rome.

A.D. 1444. Having this year ordered a cruſade to be preached againſt the Turks, many volunteers went into Hungary from France and Germany, by whoſe aſſiſtance Uladiſlaus gained a ſignal victory over the infidels, and purſued them as far as the confines of Thrace. On the news of theſe ſucceſſes great preparations were made by the pope

A cruſade preached againſt the Turks.

[t] Platina in Vit. Eugen.

in

in Italy to carry on the war. In conjunction with the Venetians, Genoese, and the duke of Burgundy, he sent a fleet of seventy gallies to the Hellespont, under the command of cardinal Condelmero, to prevent the infidels from receiving any succours from Asia. Amurath being informed of the great preparations against him in Europe, and hearing likewise of the revolt of some provinces in Asia, prevailed with the king of Hungary to agree to a truce for ten years; then he passed the Hellespont, and marched against the rebels. Eugenius was greatly offended with the king for agreeing to any treaty with the infidels, and absolved him from the oath, which he affirmed he was not at liberty to take without his permission. Cardinal Julian likewise insisting, that now was the time for extirpating the Turks from Europe, Uladislaus was prevailed upon to renew the war, and marched with his army into Lower Mæsia; but Amurath, having bribed the Genoese to transport his army over the Hellespont, attacked the Hungarians at Varna, and gained an entire victory, Uladislaus and cardinal Julian being among the number of the slain[u]. Eugenius, in the mean time, sent deputies to the diet of Nuremberg; but the German princes still adhered to their former resolution. About this time Abdalla, archbishop of Edessa, arriving at Rome, in the name of the Syrian patriarch and nation, to treat of an union, the pope celebrated the thirty-first session in the Lateran, where a decree was published, explaining the three doctrines in which the Syrians differed from the Roman church, namely, concerning the procession of the Holy Ghost, and the two natures and two wills in Christ. This decree was accepted in the public session by the Syrian deputy, in the name of his nation.

A.D. 1445.

The emperor sends an embassy to the pope.

Next year Æneas Sylvius arrived at Rome as an ambassador from the emperor, and, in an elegant discourse, having asked pardon for what he had done and written against Eugenius at Basil, explained the purport of his embassy; which was to desire the celebration of a council in Germany; but the pope refused to grant his request. Deputies arriving from the Maronites and Chaldeans in Cyprus, professing their submission to the Roman church, Eugenius, in a general congregation, published a decree in their behalf. While Eugenius was receiving the submission of the Maronites in Cyprus, his authority was opposed by the catholics in the same island, the king not

[u] Gobel. Comment. lib. i. Æneas Sylv. Europ. cap. 5.

only refuſing to grant the archbiſhoprick of Nicoſia to the perſon appointed by the pope, but even expelling him the iſland, and throwing the pope's nuncio into priſon. However, ſoon after, at the ſolicitation of the maſter of the knights of Rhodes, the king admitted the archbiſhop, and ſet the nuncio at liberty [w].

A D. 1446. About this time, the pope having depoſed the electors of Cologne and Triers, in reſentment for their adherence to the council of Baſil, the other electors, offended at his preſumption, aſſembled at Frankfort, and entered into a treaty of union, importing, that, if Eugenius did not annul the ſentence of depoſition, aboliſh the grievous taxes with which he oppreſſed Germany, and acknowlege the ſupremacy of councils, according to the decrees of that of Conſtance, they would then adhere to Felix. They deſired the emperor to accede to their treaty, but he refuſed, and only conſented to petition the pope to reverſe the ſentence. Æneas Sylvius accordingly having repreſented to the pope the danger of a general ſchiſm in Germany, he agreed to revoke his decree, and ſent two legates to another diet, held in the ſame city, in the month of September, with full authority to grant every thing to the Germans that might facilitate the union, without prejudice to the apoſtolic ſee. The fathers, who ſtill remained at Baſil, likewiſe ſent their deputies to this diet. Before their departure they declared, that they would convoke a general council, and would transfer themſelves to whatever city the emperor and electors, or their ambaſſadors, ſhould name in the approaching aſſembly. Great diſputes aroſe in the diet upon ſeveral points, but chiefly with regard to the treaty of union betwixt the electors, which the legates inſiſted upon being annulled before they would begin the negociations. The German princes refuſing to comply with their demand, Æneas Sylvius propoſed ſome articles as a medium, by which the intereſts of Germany and the pretenſions of the pope might be

A.D 1447. reconciled. Theſe propoſitions were embraced by the diet, who appointed ambaſſadors to proceed to Rome to obtain the approbation of the pope. The ambaſſadors, upon their arrival, were received with great honour, and three days afterwards had an audience in a private conſiſtory, where Æneas Sylvius, in the name of the reſt, propoſed the four articles agreed to in the diet: firſt, that a general council ſhould be convoked, and the place

The Germans renounce the neutrality, and adhere to Eugenius;

[w] Boſ. Hiſt. Rhod. tom. ii. lib. vi.

and

and time for its meeting be determined; that the pope should confirm by a bull the declaration of his legates concerning the pre-eminence and authority of general councils; should redress the grievances of the German nation; and, lastly, should revoke what had been done to the prejudice of the two electors. The reconciliation being effected in a few other conferences, during the absence of Eugenius, who was sick, the ambassadors were admitted into his bed-chamber, and, after they had made their submission to him as pope, he delivered the bull into the hands of Æneas, by which he confirmed a great many things concerning benefices and annates, which had been decreed by the council of Basil after the schism, absolving all those who had adhered to that council after its dissolution, if they returned to the obedience of the apostolic see within six months. He promised to convoke a general council within ten months, provided he could obtain the consent of the sovereigns of Europe; if not, he offered to assemble another within eighteen months, in a city that should be judged convenient. He acknowleged the authority of councils truly œcumenical, without declaring whether they were superior to a pope or not, and he received that of Constance in the same manner as it had been received by Martin V. and his successors: finally, he promised to redress the grievances of the German nation, and to re-establish the archbishops and electors[x]. Eugenius survived the publication of this bull but sixteen days, and died on the 23d of February, in the sixteenth year of his pontificate. He is said, by Platina, to have been a great patron of schools and learned men, though not very learned himself; and to have favoured the monks, to whom he granted many privileges; but he is accused of inconstancy and a love of war[y].

who dies a few days after at Rome.

On the eleventh day after the death of Eugenius, eighteen cardinals entered the conclave, and unanimously chose Thomas of Sarzana, so called from a little town in the territory of Genoa, where he was born. He had been created a cardinal a few months before, by Eugenius, upon his return from the last diet of Frankfort, and is said at first to have refused the pontifical dignity; but, at the intreaty of all the cardinals, he submitted, and, assuming the name of Nicholas V. in memory of cardinal Al-

Nicholas V. is elected.

[x] Comment. Pii II. lib. i. Anton. lib. xxii. cap. 11. Rer. Mogun. tom. i. p. 762. Rainald. ad ann. 1446. [y] Platin. in Vita Eugen.

bergati,

bergati, who had been his great patron [z]. He was conſecrated on the 16th of March. While the cardinals were in the conclave, one Stephen Porcaro, a Roman knight, aſſembled a number of citizens in one of the churches, and exhorted them to aſſert their liberty, or, at leaſt, to limit the power of their governors; but the archbiſhop of Benevento oppoſing his propoſal, the ſedition was prevented. Eugenius having, for ſome time before his death, been engaged with the duke of Milan, and the king of Naples, in a war againſt the Florentines, Alphonſus had arrived with his army at Tivoli, in his route to Tuſcany; but hearing of the pope's death, he deliberated whether he ſhould advance or return. At length, Nicholas having ſent a cardinal to Ferrara to treat of a general peace, Alphonſus, the duke of Milan, the Venetians, and the Florentines, ſent their deputies thither; but their conferences were broke off by the ſudden death of the duke of Milan. Nicholas, in the mean time, ſent cardinal Carvajal as his legate into Germany, to notify his election to the emperor, who aſſembled the ſtates of the empire at Aſchaffenburgh, where the neutrality was finally aboliſhed, and Nicholas acknowleged as lawful pope [a], the emperor, ſoon after, publiſhing a decree for that purpoſe. About the ſame time the king of France, who likewiſe deſired to acknowlege Nicholas, held a congreſs at Lyons, at which were preſent the archbiſhops of Cologne and Triers, the deputies of the other electors, with thoſe of the kings of England and Sicily, and the cardinal of Arles, with others from Felix. After ſome conferences they proceeded to Geneva, where Felix was; and, with his conſent, compoſed ſome articles, which, if Nicholas would agree to, Felix promiſed to abdicate.

A.D. 1448. *The Poles ſend an embaſſy to Rome.*

Mean while Nicholas received an embaſſy from Poland, deſiring a tax of ten thouſand florins to be raiſed upon the eccleſiaſtics for a war againſt the Tartars: the hundredth penny was likewiſe demanded, and a remiſſion of St. Peter's pence, and the right of conferring all the benefices in Poland. The pope only granted their firſt demand, and allowed the king to ſupply ninety vacancies in the province of Gneſna. He alſo confirmed, by a bull, ſome articles that had been agreed upon betwixt his legate and the emperor, with regard to the method of proviſion of vacant benefices in the empire; and, being informed of

[z] Platin. in Vita Nichol. lib. ix. in fin.

[a] Leibn. part i. p. 77. Cochl.

the

the disturbances in Bohemia, he appointed the same cardinal as his legate in that kingdom. The states of the kingdom being then assembled, the Hussites, who were the most powerful party, demanded of the legate to confirm the compactata concluded at Basil, and to confirm the archbishoprick of Prague upon Rockysanus. The legate, refusing to grant these two points, was immediately obliged to quit the kingdom. Mainard, administrator of the kingdom, being accused of an intention to destroy their privileges, and subject them to the emperor and the pope, they formed a conspiracy against him, and admitted George Podebrad, the chief of the Hussites, into Prague, who, having imprisoned Mainard, assumed the administration of the government, in which he was afterwards confirmed by the young king Ladislaus. During these proceedings in Bohemia, the deputies from the king of France, and the other princes, arrived at Rome, with the articles agreed to at Geneva. Nicholas received them with great honour, but refused to confirm all the articles. However, he agreed to some of them, which being afterwards presented to Felix, he consented to abdicate.

His legate is obliged to quit Bohemia.

The remains of the council of Basil, which had been obliged to quit that city and retire to Lausanne, determined to shew their authority in terminating the schism; accordingly, on the 23d of April, they published a decree, permitting Felix to resign the pontificate. As a grateful acknowlegement for the assistance he had given to the persecuted church, they created him a cardinal and bishop of Subino, and perpetual vicar and legate of the apostolic see in the terrritories of the duke of Savoy; ordaining, that he should enjoy the next rank to the pope; should use every where ensigns of his legation, and should not be obliged to appear personally at the court of Rome or general council. They then ordered all Christians to obey Nicholas, and dissolved the council. The news of this event was received at Rome with great joy, the people riding through the streets all night with torches, and calling out, "Long live Nicholas!" The pope likewise ordered supplications in the Vatican, and, on the 16th of June, published three bulls; by the first of which he confirmed all promotions, elections, or settlements whatever, formerly approved by Felix, or the councils of Basil and Lausanne; by the second he restored all those who had been deprived of their dignities or benefices by Eugenius for adhering to the council of Basil; and, by the third, he declared null and void all that had been done and written

A.D. 1449.

Felix abdicates, and the council of Basil is dissolved.

written against Felix and his adherents, and ordered all such writings to be abolished, and expunged from the registers of Eugenius and all other places. As the duke of Milan had died without a will, or any lawful heir, his dominions became immediately the subject of dispute, and, notwithstanding the utmost endeavours of Nicholas to procure a peace, hostilities still continued betwixt the Venetians and Francis Sforza, the last of whom having married the natural daughter of the late duke, pretended to be his heir. Francis having stormed Placenza, and obliged the Venetians to agree to a peace, turned his arms against the Milanese; and, in the beginning of the following year, having obliged the city of Milan to surrender, he was soon after acknowleged as duke [b].

SECT. XIV.

Transactions of the Popes. The Turks take Constantinople; and make a Descent in Italy.

A.D 1450. NICHOLAS was chiefly desirous of pacifying Italy, that the pilgrims, who should visit Rome on account of the jubilee, might meet with no interruption. In consequence of his bull for that purpose, this festival began to be celebrated at Rome with great solemnity, at Christmas. Immense crouds of people of both sexes arrived at that city during the whole year; the pope, who, with his cardinals, visited the sacred places almost every day, being obliged frequently to shorten the term of fifteen days visitation appointed for foreigners; by that expedient to lessen the great concourse of strangers, who were frequently trampled to death. Towards the end of the jubilee, Æneas Sylvius arrived at Rome from Naples, and, in a public consistory, declared the intentions of the emperor to come the following year to Italy to receive the imperial crown. He likewise desired the pope to agree to celebrate a general council in Germany, and informed his holiness, that, at Naples, he had concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt the emperor and Eleonora, the niece of Alphonsus, and sister to the king of Portugal. The pope, having received a bad impression of the designs of the emperor, did not seem to relish his journey into Italy;

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

[b] Anton. tom. xxii. cap. 12. Pog. Hist. Flor. ap. Murat. tom. xx. p. 424, 425.

but

but Æneas Sylvius dispelling his apprehensions, he agreed to the proposal of the emperor, and created Æneas bishop of Sienna [d]. This prelate, soon after his return to Germany, was sent by the emperor into Bohemia, as his ambassador to the states, who had assembled at Beneschaw, and threatened to elect another king, as Frederic had refused to part with his pupil Ladislaus. Æneas, by his eloquence, had such an influence upon the states, that they not only declared themselves satisfied with the proceedings of the emperor, but appointed several nobles of their kingdom to accompany him in his journey to Italy [e]. A.D. 1451.

The indulgences of the jubilee year sent to Germany and Poland.

About the same time the pope sent cardinal Cusanus as his legate into Germany, to dispose of the indulgences of the jubilee year, to raise money for the Turkish war. For the same purpose he sent another legate into Poland, ordering that every one should put the half of that money, which he would have expended in his journey to Rome, into a public coffer, and that the half of the money so collected should be given to the king as a subsidy for the war against the Turks; that one half of what remained should be given to the queen to be bestowed in dowries to poor maidens, and the other half sent to the pope to repair the churches of Rome [f]. In consequence of the murmurs of the people, he afterwards reduced his share to an eighth of the whole. Being likewise informed of the death of Amurath, emperor of the Turks, and the succession of his son Mohammed II. a young prince of great ambition, and an implacable enemy of the Christians, he wrote to Constantinople, reproaching the Greeks with the breach of the union concluded at Florence, and requiring them to abandon the schism, if they expected any assistance from the western princes [g]. The Greeks, notwithstanding the calamities with which they were threatened, seem to have had no inclination to unite with the Roman church; for this same year they wrote to the Bohemian Hussites, commending them for rejecting the Roman innovations, and preserving the ancient faith, in which they exhorted them to persevere; at the same time desiring them to unite with them, not according to the pretended and erroneous union concluded at Florence, but according to the immutable decree delivered by the fathers, and observed by the Greeks [h].

[d] Bzov. Annal, ad ann. 1451. [e] Æneas Sylv. Hist. Boem. cap. 58. ejusd. Epist. 129. ad Card. Carvajal. [f] Michov. lib. iv. cap. 59, & 65. [g] Spond. Annal. hoc ann. [h] Ext. apud Rerum Boem. Script.

Mean

A.D. 1452. *The emperor enters Italy, and is crowned at Rome.*

Mean while the emperor, having settled the affairs of Germany, entered Italy with the young king of Bohemia, and a large body of nobility, who, to prevent giving umbrage to the pope and the states of Italy, came with a very small military escort. He was received every where with great honour, and at Sienna was joined by the young empress, who had arrived by sea from Lisbon. Proceeding with her to Rome, he arrived at that city on the 9th of March, where he was received by thirteen cardinals, all the clergy and magistrates, with great ceremony, and conducted to the steps of St. Peter, where the pope waited for him in his pontifical ornaments. Nicholas, a few days after, by the plenitude of his power, conferred upon him the crown of Lombardy, and, on the 16th of March, he was solemnly crowned emperor of the Romans, after having taken the usual oath to the pope. The empress being likewise crowned, Frederic proceeded with her to Naples to visit her uncle Alphonsus, who entertained them for two weeks with great magnificence. Upon his return he created the marquis of Este, duke of Modena and Reggio, at Ferrara; and, proceeding from thence to Venice, was received with great magnificence by that republic, and soon after returned to Germany.

Frederic, during his residence at Rome, proposed a general expedition against the Turks, for the assistance of the Greeks, against whom Mohammed was making immense preparations [i]. This motion, however, produced no good effect; for, excepting a few auxiliaries from the Venetians and Genoese, the Greeks received no assistance from any other European states. The Turkish emperor advancing against Constantinople in the beginning of April, with an army of two hundred and fifty thousand men, and a fleet of three hundred and twenty ships, on the 29th of May took that city by storm, killing forty thousand men, making sixty thousand captives, and thereby putting an end to the Greek empire [k]. After the city had been pillaged for three days, Mohammed published an edict, promising his protection to the Christians who should return to Constantinople. He not only allowed them to elect a new patriarch, but, according to the custom observed by the emperors, presented the person elected with a golden pastoral staff, enriched with diamonds, and conducted him, with acclamations, to his palace.

A.D. 1453. *Constantinople taken by the Turks.*

[i] Æn. Epist. 399. [k] Phra. lib. iii. & alii plur.

The

The pope, upon hearing of the loss of Constantinople, renewed his exhortations to the Christian princes to unite their arms against the infidels. For this purpose, in the following year, a diet was held at Ratisbon, at which was present the duke of Burgundy, who was very zealous for the expedition; but the emperor not seeming to interest himself with warmth in the design, nothing material was effected [l]. It was only agreed to hold another diet at Frankfort in the month of September, to apply to the French for a body of horse, and to request the Italians to fit out a fleet for Greece and Asia. Almost all the kings and princes of Europe were invited to send their deputies to the diet at Frankfort. In the mean time one Simonetus, an Augustine friar, by his frequent exhortations, at length prevailed with Sforza, the Venetians, and Florentines, to conclude a peace, which was afterwards ratified at Naples by Alphonsus, and Dominicus Capranius, cardinal of the Holy Cross. An alliance being likewise concluded betwixt all the states of Italy, except the Genoese, for twenty years, each party agreeing to refer their future disputes to the decision of the pope, and not to renew hostilities against one another, unless authorized by an apostolic bull [m]. During the negociations at Naples the diet was celebrated at Frankfort, and, by the persuasions of Æneas Sylvius, the assembly agreed to grant ten thousand horse and thirty-two thousand foot to the Hungarians; after which resolution, the electors of the empire, and the princes of Germany, had a conference with the emperor at Neustadt, to consult of the means for raising the troops; but their deliberations were interrupted by the news of the death of the pope, which happened on the 22d of March. Nicholas is celebrated by the historians of those times for his great liberality, especially to learned men. He was at great pains and expence in procuring the ancient Greek authors, and causing them to be translated into the Latin tongue; and likewise sent learned men into all the kingdoms of Europe, to search the monasteries and churches for the manuscripts of the Latin authors [n].

Calixtus III. is elected.

A few days after the death of Nicholas, the eighteen cardinals who were at Rome entered the conclave, and the greatest number of them proposed to elect cardinal Bessarion, one of the Greeks who had remained in Italy after the council of Florence; but the archbishop of Avignon object-

[l] Comment. Pii II. lib. i. sup. Platin. in Vita Nichol. V.

[m] Pog. Hist. apud Murat. ut

[n] Idem ibid. Spond. Annal.

ing

ing to him as a neophyte, or new convert, and urging the danger of a schism, he was set aside, and Alphonso Borgia, a cardinal-priest, was elected, who took the name of Calixtus III. Alphonso was born of a noble family, at Sativa, in Spain, and having distinguished himself by procuring the abdication of Ægidius, the successor of Peter de Luna, he was created bishop of Valentia by Martin V. Eugenius IV. promoted him to the cardinalate for his services in effecting a peace betwixt him and Alphonsus, king of Naples, and, at his promotion to the pontificate, he had now entered the 77th year of his age, and was very decrepid. However, immediately after his coronation, he engaged by a solemn vow to make war upon the Turks, and, to execute that design acted with great spirit. He sent legates and preachers into the different provinces of Europe, to excite the Christians to a crusade against the infidels; imposed a tythe upon all ecclesiastical persons, of whatever dignity, for the support of that war; wrote to the king of Persia and to the king of the Tartars to attack the Turkish provinces in Asia; and, ordering sixteen gallies to be built at Rome, sent them, under the command of cardinal Lewis, patriarch of Aquileia, to attack the islands and maritime places in the Archipelago. Several princes of Europe likewise expressed uncommon ardor for that expedition. The king of Naples and the duke of Burgundy took the cross, promising either to go in person, or to send a body of troops against the infidels. The emperor, about the same time sent Æneas Sylvius to Rome to congratulate the pope upon his promotion, and to promise his assistance against the Turks.

He acts with great vigour against the Turks.

Difference between him and the king of Naples.

The king of Naples and Arragon, however, instead of fulfilling his vow against the Turks, quarrelled with Calixtus, whom he did not find so compliant with his inclinations as he expected. As the pope had formerly been his counsellor, and had obtained the cardinalate by his interest, the king imagined that his demands would meet with no denial, and therefore desired not only the eventual investiture of Naples for his natural son Ferdinand, but also the possession of the March of Ancona, and several other places in the ecclesiastical state. The pope refusing to grant these demands, Alphonsus conceived a great resentment against him, which continued during his whole life °. Calixtus, notwithstanding the enmity of the king

A.D.1456.

° Comment. Pii II. lib. ii. Spond. Annal. Rainald. ad ann. 1456.

of

of Naples, did not abate in his zeal againſt the Turks. In the beginning of the following year he ordered proceſſions to be made, and prayers to be uſed over all Europe, againſt the infidels, with the offer of large indulgences. He had the ſatisfaction to find that his endeavours were not altogether unſucceſsful; for, though the Chriſtian princes gave little attention to the cruſade, yet John Capiſtran a Franciſcan, who had made himſelf famous by his preaching in Germany, marched from thence at the head of forty thouſand cruſaders, and, joining the Hungarian army under the command of Hunniades, raiſed the ſiege of Belgrade, killing forty thouſand of the enemy, and taking two hundred pieces of cannon. Not long after this event the pope created nine cardinals, among whom was Æneas Sylvius. In the following ſpring, having received a letter from Hungary, informing him that Mohammed had entered into an alliance with the ſoltan of Egypt, was aſſembling an immenſe army to renew the ſiege of Belgrade, and had ſworn not to retire till he had taken the city, although he ſhould hear of the loſs of half of Aſia, he wrote to the emperor and the king of Naples, urging them to ſend ſuccours to the Hungarians.

An army of cruſaders marches to the relief of Belgrade.

A.D. 1457.

His information, however, was falſe, for the Turkiſh emperor marched into Albania againſt Scanderbeg. But, if the Hungarians had been invaded, the Chriſtian princes were not at all in the humour of giving them aſſiſtance. Alphonſus, king of Naples, equipt a conſiderable fleet, under pretence of joining that of the pope, but he employed it in invading the territories of Genoa. The kings of Caſtile, Denmark, and Poland, allowed the pope's collectors to carry off one half only of the tax raiſed by the tithe and indulgencies, and retained the other as a ſupply againſt their particular enemies [p]. The king of France is accuſed by S. Antoninus and Æneas Sylvius of having totally miſapplied the money that was raiſed againſt the Turks. Antoninus affirms, that he ordered it to be depoſited with ſome faithful perſons, to be afterwards expended in paying the French ſoldiers that ſhould engage in the cruſade; but, in reality, he equipt a ſmall fleet, and made a deſcent on the Engliſh coaſt at Sandwich [q]. According to Æneas, the ſon of Renè, duke of Anjou, employed twenty-four gallies, that had been built at Avignon by the cardinal legate, in an expedition againſt

The Chriſtian princes do not ſecond the efforts of the pope.

[p] Marian. lib. xxii. cap. 18. Krantz, 8 Dan. 30 & 33. Idem 12, Wandal. 33. [q] Anton. tom. xxii. cap. 16. ſect. 1.

The Germans make great complaints against him, and expel his nuncios.

the kingdom of Naples[r]. The Germans likewise, thinking themselves greatly aggrieved, made loud complaints against the proceedings of the pope; they accused him of violating the concordata, and quite exhausting the kingdom by his excessive taxes. Several princes and prelates had therefore proposed to enter into a pragmatic sanction, the chief articles of which were, that the Germans should not be obliged to obey the apostolic see, and that no money should be carried from thence to the court of Rome. Calixtus ordered Æneas Sylvius to justify his proceedings to the Germans. The cardinal accordingly wrote not only to the emperor, but to the chancellor of the archbishop of Mentz, answering particularly all the articles of their complaints. The Germans, however, still remained dissatisfied; one James Wimpheling published an answer to the letters of Æneas[s], and the bishop of Wurtzburgh not only took the money from the collectors, but expelled the pope's nuncios from his territories, in which proceedings he was countenanced by the archbishop of Mentz.

The pope in the mean time sent other two gallies to join those under the command of the patriarch of Aquileia, who had recovered several islands from the Turks, and taken and sunk a great many of their ships. About
A D. 1458. the same time the peace of Rome being greatly disturbed by the family of the Ursini, who had recourse to arms to assert their right to a certain territory, Calixtus appointed his nephew Borgia governor of Rome, and general of the church forces. Soon after, being informed of the death of Alphonsus, king of Naples, he immediately conferred several wealthy bishopricks in that kingdom, which authority he durst not use during the life of the king. He likewise declared the kingdom of Apulia vacant by his death, and fallen to the apostolic see, charging Ferdinand, on pain of excommunication, not to concern himself with it, or assume the name of king; and warning the princes and states of the kingdom, under the same penalty, not to adhere to his interest. Ferdinand at first endeavoured to soothe the pope by letters and embassies; but finding him inflexible, he appealed to a future council, and assembled an army, with which he proposed to march to Rome; but he was quickly freed from his inveterate enemy by death, which overtook him on the 7th of August,

The pope, upon the death of the king of Naples, claims that kingdom.

Dies at Rome.

[r] Comment. Pii. II. lib. iv. in prim. Rer. Ger. edit. Freher.

[s] Extat. tom. ii.

in

in the the third year and fourth month of his pontificate [t] (P).

Calixtus being interred with the usual ceremonies, the cardinals entered the conclave, and on the third day chose for his successor Æneas Sylvius Picolomini, who took the name of Pius II. and was consecrated on the 5th of September (Q). He immediately wrote to all the Christian princes,

Pius II. is elected.

t Surit. lib. xvi. cap. 48, & seq. Platina.

(P) Calixtus, during his short pontificate, was very earnest in promoting his relations, having on the very day of his election created two of his nephews cardinals, one of whom was afterwards pope, by the name of Alexander VI. The brother of this last he created duke of Spoleto, and appointed him governor in the ecclesiastical state, proposing likewise to give him large possessions in the kingdom of Naples. But being prevented by death, the Romans obliged his nephew, the duke, to fly to Civita Vecchia, where he soon after died (1).

(Q) Æneas Sylvius Bartholomeo Picolomini was born on the 18th of October 1405, at Corsignano, a small town in the territory of Sienna, which he afterwards erected into a bishop's see, by the name of Pienza. His parents had been banished from Sienna, and lived in mean circumstances at Corsignano, where Æneas, while he was at school, was obliged to assist in the management of a farm. He was educated, however, with great care; and, having finished his academical studies at Sienna and Rome, when he was but twenty-six years of age, he went with cardinal Capranica, as his secretary, to the council of Basil. He was afterwards secretary to other prelates, and was sent by cardinal Albergati to Scotland. Upon his return he was honoured by the same council with the offices of referendary, abbreviator, chancellor, and agent-general, and was sent several times as their deputy to Strasburg, Frankfort, Constance, Trent, and Savoy. He was secretary to the anti-pope Felix V. and afterwards to the emperor Frederic III. who honoured him with the poetical crown, and employed him in different embassies to Rome, Milan, Naples, Bohemia, and elsewhere. In the midst of these negociations, he always found leisure to publish some treatise or other, and was so delighted with writing, that, even after he was pope, in the midst of his great occupations, and although he was afflicted with the gout, he could not desist. When he perceived the factious and violent proceedings of the council of Basil, he deserted that party, and, not-

(1) Ciacon. & Platin. in Calist.

princes, informing them of his election; which gave great joy to the emperor, the kings of Spain and Naples, and particularly to the duke of Modena, who expreſſed, by fire-works and a magnificent tournament at Ferrara, his gratitude for the ſervices formerly done him by Æneas with the emperor. Pius, being very deſirous of oppoſing the progreſs of the Turks, propoſed to form a general league againſt them, and for that purpoſe convoked an aſſembly, or convention of all Chriſtian princes and free ſtates, to meet the following year, on the 1ſt of June, at Mantua. He ſent cardinal Beſſarion, as his legate, to the emperor, to excite that prince to act with vigour againſt the Turks; and, after ſome heſitation, he gave the title of king to George Podiebrad, who, upon the death of Ladiſlaus, had been elected by the Bohemians; but, though he had profeſſed his obedience to the Roman church, he was ſtill ſuſpected of inclining to the Huſſites, by which ſect he had hitherto been ſupported. In the mean time Pius endeavoured to quiet the diſturbances in Italy. Notwithſtanding the remonſtrances of Renè, duke of Anjou, formerly adopted by the queen of Naples, he confirmed the kingdom of Apulia to Ferdinand, the preſent poſſeſſor, and ſent cardinal Urſini to perform the ceremony of his coronation [u].

He gives the inveſtiture of Naples to Ferdinand.

A.D. 1459. In the following year, having appointed the prince of Colonna governor, and cardinal Cuſa legate of the city, he left Rome in order to proceed to Mantua; but, before

[u] Spond. Annal.

withſtanding the activity he had ſhewn in oppoſing the intereſts of Eugenius, he was eſteemed by that pope, who appointed him his ſecretary. Nicolas V. created him biſhop of Trieſte, and, upon his reſigning that ſee, appointed him biſhop of Sienna, and employed him as his nuncio in Auſtria, Hungary, Moravia, and Bohemia. During the pontificate of Calixtus III. who created him a cardinal, he reſided chiefly at Rome, having, as he confeſſed himſelf, during all the time of his former ſervices, ſcarce acquired ſo much as would purchaſe a pair of ſhoes. His works, with his life prefixed, were publiſhed in one volume at Baſil, in 1551. The commentaries of John Gobeline, his ſecretary, which were generally believed to be written by himſelf, were publiſhed at Rome in 1584, and afterwards at Helmſtadt in 1700 (2).

(2) Joan. Anton. Campan. in Vit. Æn. Platin. Ciacon.

his

his departure, he made a decree, with the conſent of the cardinals, that, if he ſhould happen to die without the city, his ſucceſſor ſhould not be choſen any where elſe than at Rome. He likewiſe left ſome cardinals, auditors of the rota, and advocates, to judge the cauſes that ſhould come before the Roman court in his abſence. He proceeded by ſlow journies to Corſignano, and from thence to Sienna, which city he erected into a metropolitan, creating his nephew Antonio the firſt archbiſhop. While he remained in that city, he received the ambaſſadors of the emperor, the kings of Caſtile, Portugal, and Hungary, and of the duke of Burgundy, and ſeveral German princes. The Germans complained, that he had given the title of king of Hungary to Matthias, the ſon of the general Hunniades, although the barons of that kingdom had choſen the emperor. But Pius alleging that Matthias had been ſolemnly acknowleged by the ſtates, and was in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, conſequently had a right to the title of king, which had been conferred upon him by Calixtus, the Germans acquieſced, and, together with the other ambaſſadors, yielded obedience to him as pope publicly in the church. The ambaſſadors from Bohemia, that they might not by their ſubmiſſion offend the party of the Calixtins, yielded obedience to the pope in a private conſiſtory. This inſtance of regard to that ſect confirmed the ſuſpicions of the catholics, that George Podiebrad had not acted ſincerely in abjuring its doctrines: the ambaſſadors of the Sileſians, who had proteſted againſt his election, now declared to the pope that they would not obey him, and demanded the aſſiſtance of his holineſs to protect the Catholic religion in their province. Pius promiſed to write to the king to deſiſt from hoſtilities againſt them, and to remit all diſputes concerning religion to the apoſtolic ſee, declaring that, if he refuſed to obey, he would uſe other means to ſecure their religion[w]. He then proceeded from Sienna to Florence, and from thence, by Bologna and Ferrara, to Mantua, where, a few days after his arrival, he opened the convention on the 1ſt of June. Ambaſſadors had arrived from the deſpot of Morea, and from Cyprus, Rhodes, Leſbos, Albania, Epirus, and ſome ſtates on the coaſt of Illyria; but they all came to requeſt ſuccours, excepting the Raguſans, who offered auxiliaries againſt the infidels. The duke of Cleves, ambaſſador from the

Receives ambaſſadors from the emperor and other Chriſtian princes.

A convention held at Mantua.

[w] Comment. Pii II. lib. ii.

duke of Burgundy, at the preſſing inſtances of the pope, engaged for two thouſand horſe and four thouſand foot, to be maintained at the expence of the duke of Burgundy during the continuance of the war. Ambaſſadors likewiſe arrived from the Florentines, Sienneſe, Lucchеſe, and Bologneſe, offering ſuccours on their part; the duke of Modena, excuſing himſelf on account of ſickneſs, ſent his brother, who, in his name, offered three hundred thouſand crowns for the expedition; the duke of Milan came perſonally to the aſſembly, and ſettled his quota of auxiliaries: the Genoeſe, though they durſt not concern themſelves in a public manner, as they were then under the dominion of the king of France, yet promiſed in private to concur with the Italian ſtates. The ambaſſador of the king of Naples took an oath in his maſter's name, whereby he promiſed to engage perſonally in the cruſade, and the Venetians ſent their ambaſſadors, and promiſed to contribute largely to the expedition, if the other Chriſtian princes would engage not to deſert them during the continuance of the war. It was then unanimouſly decreed, that the war ſhould be carried on, both by ſea and land, by an army of fifty thouſand men, and a fleet of forty gallies, and eight ſmaller ſhips; that the clergy of Italy ſhould pay the tithe of their revenues for three years, the laity the thirtieth, and the Jews the twentieth, of their whole effects. Soon after, ambaſſadors arrived from the king of France, and from Renè, pretender to the crown of Naples, who refuſed to engage in the cruſade, unleſs the Engliſh would conclude a peace, but complained of the favour ſhewn by the pope to Ferdinand in prejudice of the right of Renè. Pius recriminated againſt the French, who, in prejudice of the apoſtolic ſee, had publiſhed the pragmatic ſanction in their kingdom; and finding that he could expect no aſſiſtance from them or the Engliſh, who were engaged in civil diſſenſions, he ſent a legate à latere to ſolicit the emperor and German princes to furniſh the forty-two thouſand men that had been promiſed at the diet at Frankfort during the pontificate of Nicholas. The Germans, before they would agree to this demand, held another diet at Nuremberg; however, nothing was concluded at that aſſembly, and the affair was put off till the following year[x].

A general alliance is formed againſt the Turks.

[x] Plat. in Paneg. in Laud. Beſſar. Muller. p. iii. cap. 24.

Pius

Pius having consulted the prelates and cardinals who were present on the 16th of January, published a decree, condemning and prohibiting, under pain of excommunication and interdict, all appeals to future general councils, as contrary to the canons, and ridiculous, as appealing to what did not exist, and as they nourished rebellion against the apostolic see, and confounded all ecclesiastical discipline, and the hierarchical order [y]. A few weeks after, having made an elegant discourse to the ambassadors of the princes and states, he dissolved the convention, after it had continued eight months, an end being thereby put, not only to their deliberations, but also to all farther thoughts of executing what had been agreed upon. From Mantua Pius returned to Sienna, where, with the consent of the sacred college, he created six cardinals, among whom was his nephew, Francis Picolomini, then a student at Perugia. About the same time the cardinal Cusa, who enjoyed the bishoprick of Brescia in commendam, having been imprisoned by Sigismund, duke of Austria, with whom he had for several years been at variance, Pius excommunicated the duke; and hearing that he contemned the anathema, he cited him to give an exact account of his faith. Sigismund appealing from this citation to a future council and a future pope, Pius published another sentence against him, declaring him guilty of sacrilege. Gregory Heimburg, syndic of Nurem, published an appeal against this last sentence, which exposed him to the resentment of the pope, who denounced an anathema against him, and ordered all his effects to be confiscated [z]. The pope, about the same time, was engaged in disputes with the kings of Castile and Poland. As the bishop of Leon, who had come as ambassador from the king of Castile, died at Sienna, Pius appointed the cardinal of St. Sixtus as his successor, but the king would not allow him to take possession. The king of Poland likewise refused to confer the church of Cracow upon the person nominated by the pope, but caused his chancellor to be elected by some of the canons; and although the pope had ordered the person appointed by him to be received, under pain of excommunication, the king, nevertheless, opposed him with such vigour, that he was obliged to drop his pretensions, and the chancellor remained in quiet possession [a].

A.D. 1460.

The pope condemns appeals to future general councils.

Difference betwixt him and the kings of Castile and Poland.

[y] Comment. Pii II. lib. ii. & iii. [z] Æn. Epist. 120 & 400. [a] Cromer. lib. xxiv. Michov. lib. iv. cap. 60.

Mean while Pius received an embassy from the patriarchs of Antioch, Alexandria, and Jerusalem, declaring that they had at last accepted of the decree of union published in the council of Florence [b]. Ambassadors also arrived from Monobasia, a fortified city on the coast of the Morea, offering to surrender their city to the pope, as their sovereign Demetrius Palæologus had revolted to the Turks. Pius accordingly received the city in the name of the Roman church, furnished it with provisions, of which it was in great want, and sent a governor to take upon him the command. In the mean time the pope was informed of a great commotion in Rome, where one Tiburtius (whose father had been executed for a conspiracy during the pontificate of Nicholas) had assembled a great body of young men, and, under pretence of freeing the city from the yoke of the priests, had committed great outrages, and taken possession of the church of St. Maria Rotunda, the magistrates not daring to make opposition. The pope, to put a stop to the tumult, immediately proceeded to Rome, and, having apprehended Tiburtius, and his chief associates, he ordered them to be put to death [c].

He quells a commotion at Rome.

Notwithstanding the pope's great desire to establish peace among the Christian princes, he at the same time made himself a party in the civil dissensions in the kingdom of Naples, where John, the son of Renè, duke of Anjou, had arrived in the end of the preceding year with a considerable body of French troops, and raised a formidable rebellion against Ferdinand, who was this year defeated at Sarno, and obliged to fly to Naples. Pius, having no desire to see the French power increase in Italy, immediately sent succours to Ferdinand, and joined his forces with those of the duke of Milan, to oppose Piccininus, who intended to march to the assistance of the rebels. About the same time he countenanced the Genoese in expelling the French garrison, and asserting their liberty. In the beginning of his pontificate, having sent a legate to the Christians of Iberia, Armenia, and Mesopotamia, to excite them against the Turks, he now received the ambassadors of those people, and of several other heathen nations, their allies, who had come through Colchis and Scythia, and from thence, by Hungary and Venice, to Rome. At their audience in a private consistory, they promised to attack the Turks in Asia, with an army of a hundred and twenty thousand men, if the

Assists Ferdinand against his competitor the duke of Anjou.

[b] Spond. Annal. [c] Comment. Pii. II. lib. iii. Platina.

Europeans

Europeans would agree to unite their forces against them at the same time. Pius being still very zealous in promoting the crusade, sent these ambassadors into France, that they might influence, if possible, the French king and the duke of Burgundy, heartily to espouse the common cause [d]. They were accompanied by Lewis the Franciscan, who had been sent legate into Asia: but they could obtain nothing from Charles or the duke of Burgundy; however, they picked up a considerable sum of money by begging from the people. Upon their return to Venice, the pope having discovered them to be impostors, and that Lewis had prevailed with some ignorant bishops to grant him episcopal and patriarchal ordination, he ordered him and his companions to be apprehended; but they having private notice, immediately made their escape [e]. A.D. 1461.

In the mean time Thomas Palæologus, formerly despot of part of Morea, having fled from Corcyra, arrived at Rome, where the pope received him with great hospitality, and appointed him a pension of three hundred crowns a month, to which the cardinals added two hundred [f]. About this period, his holiness excommunicated the duke of Austria, for refusing to give satisfaction to the cardinal Cusa; and denounced the same sentence against Sigismund Malatesta, who, instead of paying the usual tribute for the fiefs he possessed in the church patrimony, had seized several other castles, and raised a considerable army, with which he had defeated the church's legate.

A dispute about the archbishoprick of Mentz.

As Dietherus, who the year before had been elected archbishop of Mentz, had neglected to appear at Rome, and to pay fourteen thousand crowns for the annates, and other expences of his admission, the pope denounced a sentence of excommunication against him: but the archbishop appealed from this bull to a future council, and laid his grievances before an assembly of the princes at Mentz. As the pope's nuncios supported the interests of the court of Rome at this assembly, the archbishop found that the princes did not espouse his submission to the holy see. However, he again neglected to fulfil his engagements, and, without waiting till he was absolved from the sentence of excommunication, exercised the functions of his office. This contumacy offending the pope, he ordered the chapter to proceed to a new election, and

[d] Æn. Epist. 576. [e] Ejusd. Epist. 377. [f] Comment Pii II. lib. v.

they

they chose Adolphus of Nassau, whom the pope confirmed in the see.

The pope sends a legate into France, to congratulate the king; who revokes the pragmatic sanction.

Pius being informed of the death of the king of France, sent a legate into that kingdom, to congratulate Lewis XI. his successor, and to prevail with him to revoke the pragmatic sanction, and send auxiliaries to the Christians against the Turks. Lewis immediately promised, with an oath, to annul the pragmatic sanction, without calling any assembly of the prelates or nobles; which promise he soon after performed, by a letter which he wrote to the pope, allowing the apostolic see the same authority in his kingdom as it enjoyed during the pontificate of Martin V [g]. This condescension in the king was opposed by a great many prelates of his kingdom; and the university of Paris appealed both from the king and the pope to a future council [h]. At the same time it gave great satisfaction to the pope, who soon after promoted his legate in France, with five others, to the dignity of cardinal [i]. At this juncture likewise he wrote a long letter to Mohammed, emperor of the Turks, exhorting him to desist from persecuting the Christians, and to embrace the Christian faith; promising him, if he would be baptized, the empire of the Greeks, as his predecessors had transferred the Roman empire to Charlemagne [k] (U).

This good correspondence betwixt the pope and the king of France was of very short continuance; for although in the beginning of the following year Lewis sent a most splendid embassy to Rome, which confirmed the abrogation of the pragmatic sanction, yet, as the pope, would not consent to abandon Ferdinand, a misunderstanding immediately ensued. The king offered to send a powerful army against the Turks, if the pope would countenance the succession of the duke of Anjou to the

A. D. 1462.

[g] Æn. Æneas Epist. 388. [h] Bellefor. lib. v. cap. 119. [i] Spond. Annal. [k] Æn. Epist. 396.

(U) This letter has been justly censured as unapostolical, and the pope has been condemned as making a merchandize of the gospel, which ordains a restitution of all possessions unjustly acquired. With the same justice a Jew, convicted of being a fraudulent bankrupt, ought not to be punished if he would consent to be baptized.

O nimium faciles, qui tristia crimina lædis
Flumineâ posse tolli putatis aquâ.

kingdom

kingdom of Naples, and if Genoa ſhould return to the obedience of France. The pope anſwered, that he would withdraw his auxiliaries from Ferdinand, if both parties would ſubmit to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee: ſome preliminaries were accordingly propoſed to procure a truce, during which all differences might be terminated by an amicable accommodation. However, as the pope ſtill continued to aſſiſt Ferdinand, and ſome perſons at Rome had informed the king, that Pius, ſince the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction, proſecuted the war with more earneſtneſs, as he now drew more money from France than formerly, Lewis wrote to him, and ſent another ambaſſador to Rome, threatening to recall all Frenchmen from the Roman court. This meſſage had no effect upon Pius, who declared that the French were at liberty to leave his court when they pleaſed; and that he would not deſert Ferdinand while the duke of Anjou continued his hoſtilities [1]. However, the pope afterwards endeavoured to mitigate his anſwer; and the college of cardinals, at his deſire, wrote to the king, entreating him not to give credit to calumnies, but to cultivate a friendſhip with his holineſs, who never mentioned him but with the greateſt regard.

A miſunderſtanding betwixt him and the pope.

Pius, at this period, had likewiſe received an embaſſy from George Podiebrad, king of Bohemia to demand the confirmation of the compactata by the apoſtolic ſee. The pope replied, as the conditions on which theſe compactata were granted had been frequently violated by the Bohemians, they could not now be of any force; and as the king at his coronation had ſworn to obey the apoſtolic ſee, he ought to unite himſelf ſincerely to the Roman church, without which union his kingdom could not ſtand. The ambaſſadors reporting this anſwer to the ſtates, which had aſſembled at Prague, the king broke out into reproaches againſt the pope, and declared, that though he had ſworn to extirpate hereſy, yet as he had never believed the doctrine of the communion under both kinds to be a hereſy, he was determined to die in that faith. The pope's nuncio being afterwards admitted to an audience, and inſiſting upon implicit obedience to the Roman church, the king ordered him to be impriſoned; but, at the interceſſion of the emperor, about three months afterwards he ſet him at liberty; Frederic at the ſame time, in conſideration of the aſſiſtance he received

The pope receives an embaſſy from the king of Bohemia.

[1] Comment. lib. viii.

from

from George, in the dispute with his brother about the succession of Austria, interceded in his behalf with the pope. Though Pius, at the emperor's intercession, delayed his censures against the king of Bohemia, yet he again denounced an anathema against Malatesta and the duke of Austria, and against George Heinberg, who had espoused the duke of Austria's cause. His troops soon afterwards defeating Malatesta at Senogallia, and Ferdinand gaining a signal victory over the party of the duke of Anjou at Froja, Pius renewed the deliberations about the Turkish expedition. Having procured the hearty concurrence of the Venetians, he sent the bishop of Ferrara, as his legate, to the king of France and the duke of Burgundy, who brought nothing but promises from these princes, which were never put in execution [m].

A D. 1463. In the course of the following year the pope received another embassy from the king of Bohemia, excusing his behaviour at the diet of Prague, promising obedience to the apostolic see, and desiring his holiness to oblige the inhabitants of Breslau to acknowlege him for their king. As Podiebrad was strongly suspected of heresy, the pope absolutely refused to revoke the bull which he had granted to the Silesians, absolving them from their allegiance; but, at the intercession of the emperor, he did not yet denounce an anathema against the king [n]. However, on Good Friday, he again excommunicated Sigismund of Austria, and Malatesta prince of Rimini. Having received an embassy from the king of Bosnia, desiring assistance against the Turks; and requesting cathedral churches to be erected in his kingdom, which had lately been converted from Manicheism, he promised to send bishops thither to instruct and govern the new converts, and to write to the king of Hungary, and to the Venetians, to assist them against the infidels. Before the return of these ambassadors, Bosnia was invaded and conquered by the Turks: but, in compensation for this loss, the Venetians, being instigated by the pope's legate, cardinal Bessarion, declared war against the infidels; and fitting out a powerful fleet recovered the Morea, and several islands in the Archipelago [o]. In the mean time the king of France still kept up his resentment against the pope, and published three decrees; by the first of which, he de-

The king of Bohemia desires him to oblige the catholics of Silesia to submit to his government.

[m] Comment. Pii II. lib. vii. & ix. Platina. [n] Ap. Cochlæ. lib. ii. Æn. Epist. 401. [o] Comment. lib. xii. Chalcond. lib. xii. ad. fin.

clared

clared himself the only competent judge of all disputes about conferring benefices in his kingdom, or disposing of the revenues of those that were vacant: by the second he ordained, that the presidents of parliament, and all his officers, should enjoy the same privileges, in judging of causes relating to benefices, as those which the apostolic see had granted to the university of Paris: and by the third, he assumed to himself the right of jurisdiction over all possessors of benefices. The pope sent two legates into France, to endeavour to appease the king, with an offer of a five years truce in Sicily, if he would consent to take arms against the Turks. What was the effect of this embassy we do not find mentioned; but the king soon after published some other edicts against reservations, and the exactors of the spoils of deceased priests; the extortions of the court of Rome furnishing continual matters of complaint[p].

The king of France publishes several edicts against the authority of the see of Rome.

Pius being still intent upon the Turkish expedition, about this time sent nuncios to the duke of Burgundy, to remind him of his vow; and having received a favourable answer from that prince, at his desire he invited all the states of Italy to send deputies to Rome. Upon their arrival, the ambassadors of the duke of Burgundy declaring, that, in the beginning of the spring, he was determined to conduct a fleet in person against the Turks: the pope then asked the Italian deputies, what auxiliaries their states would furnish. The greatest part answered, that they had only come to hear the proposals of the pope: the Florentines even advised his holiness to allow the Venetians to carry on the war by themselves; a circumstance which would probably ruin them in the end, and thereby secure the liberty of Italy: but Pius rejected this advice. In a private consistory, he declared to the cardinals, that, as Ferdinand was secured in the possession of Naples, and Malatesta defeated, he was determined to fit out as great a fleet as the revenues of the church could allow, and to sail himself into Asia or Greece against the infidels, in hopes that his example would influence the Christian princes. His proposal was greatly approved by the cardinals; however, the chief states of Italy manifested no great forwardness to engage in the expedition, and only offered the subsidies that had been agreed upon at Mantua[q]. The duke of Milan, indeed, promised to send his son with a body of horse; and the Genoese engaged to

Pius still promotes the Turkish expedition; and promises to sail himself into Asia.

[p] Spond. Annal. hoc an. [q] Comment. ut supra.

fit

fit out eight or ten ships, but they desired to know before hand what share their state should have in the profits of the expedition [r].

The pope, on the 19th of October, published a bull, addressed to all the faithful, informing them of the necessity of the expedition, and that he himself intended to command a fleet, which was to sail from Ancona about the beginning of June [s]. He wrote to the doge of Venice, desiring him to come with a fleet to the general rendezvous at Ancona, and not to excuse himself on account of his age, as he himself, and the duke of Burgundy, A.D. 1464. were both old men. Though the pope's health at this time was greatly broke by his continual fatigues, and especially by the pains of the gout, with which distemper he was afflicted during the greatest part of his pontificate, he, nevertheless, exerted himself with the greatest assiduity in promoting the expedition. In the end of winter he went, by the advice of his physicians, to the baths of Retriolana, in the diocese of Sienna, where he continued some months. While he was there, he received the disagreeable news that the duke of Burgundy declined engaging personally in the expedition; and wrote to that prince, exhorting him not to desert the common cause in which he was engaged, both by his honour and conscience. However, his letter had not the desired effect upon the duke, who only sent his two natural sons with two hundred men, and promised to come the next year personally, if he was not prevented by death or sickness [t]. The king of France likewise excused himself, being apprehensive of a civil war, as the nobles of his kingdom had entered into a private conspiracy against him [u]. No assistance could be expected from the kingdoms of Spain, who were then engaged in mutual wars; and in the end of the former year, the Venetians having been defeated by the Turks at Corinth and Mitylene, were obliged to abandon the Isthmus [w].

His health is greatly impaired.

He proposes to embark at Ancona.

Notwithstanding all these discouragements, the pope still persisted in his resolution; and having returned for a few days to Rome, he set out from thence, in a litter, for Ancona, where he arrived by slow journies about the middle of July. Soon after his arrival, he absolved and

[r] Sumonet in Vit. Sforzæ. ap. Murator. tom. xxi. Nevienf. lib. v. Foliet. lib. xi. [s] Ap. Æn. Epist. 412. [t] Idem Epist. 382. Spond. Annal. [u] Platina. Monstrelet, vol. iii. [w] Chalcond. lib. x. Sabellic. 3. Dec. 8.

dismissed

dismissed great part of the crusaders, who had come into Italy without money for their subsistence during the expedition; whereas by his bull, he had only offered indulgences to those who fought in his army, for one year, or eighteen months, at their own charge[x]. In the mean time news arriving that the Turks had encamped in the neighbourhood of Ragusa, as though they had an intention to besiege that city, the pope immediately proposed to embark for its relief, in hopes that, if he should succeed, the Christian princes would be excited to follow his good fortune. He altered his resolution upon hearing that the Turks had retired, and a few days after he had the satisfaction to be joined by the doge of Venice, with a considerable fleet for the expedition; but his distemper still increasing, he assembled the cardinals, and recommending to them the prosecution of his design, and unity in the election of a new pope, died on the 13th of August, in the fifty-eighth year of his age, and the sixth of his pontificate. *Death of Pius II.* He was of a short stature, grey haired before the usual time, and in his countenance, which was early wrinkled, there appeared a mixture of severity and good-nature. He neither loved money nor contemned it, but would never be present when it was told out, or laid up. Although he was very learned, and greatly addicted to study, yet, by some, he is accused of having from avarice neglected to encourage the men of genius of his time. Platina attributes this neglect not to avarice, but to the expensive wars in which he was engaged, which continually exhausted his treasury. The same author relates, that he was void of fear and inconstancy, and seemed as little elevated with his good fortune as dejected by adversity. He had a great contempt for a splendid table, and went frequently to fountains, groves, and country retirements, where he entertained himself not in a pompous but in a plain simple manner. Besides his histories and orations, he left behind him several grave and judicious sentences, or apophthegms, which are mentioned by Platina and other authors[y].

After the death of Pius, the crusaders, who had assembled at Ancona, immediately dispersed: and the cardinals, consulting with the doge of Venice, agreed to give the gallies built by Pius to that republic, the doge promising to restore them, if the pope that should be elected disap-

[x] Papiens. Card. Ep. 41. Platin. Comment. Pii II. Plat. Spond. Annal.

[y] Card. Papiens. Epist.

proved

proved of their decree. The cardinals likewise unanimously gave the forty-eight thousand crowns, that had been collected by the late pope, to Matthias, king of Hungary; then determining that the future election should be made at Rome, they returned to that city, and entered the conclave on the 24th of August. Having drawn up several decrees for the right administration of the pontificate, and each having sworn to observe them if he should be elected pope, they next day gave their votes, and, at the first scrutiny, cardinal Peter Barbo, a Venetian, and nephew of Eugenius IV. was elected. He assumed the name of Paul II. and a few days after was consecrated and crowned with the usual solemnities [z]. He had very little learning, was of an indolent spirit, and did not apply himself to study till he was advanced in years, after the promotion of his uncle Eugenius, at which time he was preparing to go from Venice on a trading voyage. Before his election was published, he again subscribed, and swore to observe, the articles agreed to in the conclave: however, he afterwards endeavoured to abolish them, at the persuasion of the archbishop of Milan and the bishop of Treviso, who, finding themselves excluded by the articles from entering the sacred college so soon as they expected, urged, that it was unworthy of a pope to be only the administrator of the decrees of other people, and prevailed with him to draw up other articles in the name of the cardinals, under pretence that the former were useless. Paul, who was very fond of unlimited power, readily consented, and as readily obtained the subscription of several cardinals, who put their names to the new articles without ever reading them. All the rest of the fathers were compelled by threats to subscribe, except cardinal Carvajal, a Spaniard, who declared that he never remembered to have changed his mind in his youth, and would not now in his old age [a].

Paul II. is elected.

Violates the oath that he had taken before and after his election.

About the same time Paul, in resentment for some repulse he had formerly received from Pius, dismissed all the clerks of the breves, and confiscated their effects, under pretence that they were unqualified for their offices; accusing them of a conspiracy, and even of heresy, because they, with other men of learning, had formed an academy at Rome, and disputed about the immortality of the soul, and other articles of the Christian faith, after the manner

[z] Comment. Papiens. lib. ii. Epist. 156. 180, 181, 182.

[a] Idem ibid, & ejusd.

of

of the ancient Platonists and Academics [b]. Platina the historian, who was one of the abbreviators, complains of the injustice which they suffered, as they had not only bought their places, which were therefore confirmed to them by a bull, but were men of such merit as to be an ornament to the court. Great intercession was made in their behalf, and Platina begged, in the name of his colleagues, that their cause might be judged by the auditors of the Rota; which request greatly incensed the pope, who replied, that he ought not to be referred to judges, who had all the law in his own breast. Platina, at length, wrote to the pope, that he with his collegues, intended to intreat the Christian princes to convoke a general council, where their wrongs might be redressed: but instead of prevailing upon Paul, by this declaration, to restore them their places, he drew the whole resentment of his holiness upon himself; for he was immediately put in irons, and imprisoned in a high tower, where he continued all the winter [c]. In the mean time Paul, to gratify the cardinals, allowed them to wear red hats, and mitres of damask silk, which only the popes had formerly worn [d]; and allowed a hundred crowns a months to those whose yearly revenue did not amount to four thousand. As he had granted the ornaments of a pope to the cardinals, he resolved to augment his own; and being very fond of precious stones, which he took great pains to procure, and which he spent whole nights in viewing, he caused a new pontifical mitre to be made with three crowns, which he adorned with diamonds to the value of a hundred and twenty thousand crowns [e].

Exhorts the Christian princes to an expedition against the Turks.

He had sent nuncios to the different princes of Europe, desiring them to unite their arms against the Turks, and appointed three cardinals to have the perpetual direction of all matters relating to that expedition. Being in some doubt whether he should continue to grant reservations, which were greatly complained of, he was persuaded by cardinal Carvajal not to neglect that prerogative of the apostolic see, which, with great difficulty, had been established [f]. However, at the next consistory, by the advice of all the cardinals, he refused the request of a French bishop, who desired a certain abbacy in commendam, being resolved, in order to avoid scandal, in some measure

[b] Append. Papiens. Epist. 394.
[c] Platina in Vita Paul II.
[d] Comment. Papiens. lib. ii.
[e] Spond. Annal. Platina.
[f] Papiens. Epist. 92.

to restrain that custom, as upwards of five hundred abbacies had been given in commendam since the pontificate of Calixtus; and one of the cardinals expressed his apprehensions, that in a short time, there would not be a monastery in France supplied with an abbot. Paul, about the same time, received an embassy from the emperor, professing his obedience to him as pope, and interceding for George Podiebrad, whom Pius, before he set out for Ancona, had cited to appear within a hundred and eighty days. As the time was not yet elapsed, and the king of Bohemia promised, if the citation was suspended, to send an embassy to Rome, and submit to the orders of the apostolic see, Paul granted the request of the emperor's ambassador, in hopes that the aversion hitherto shewn by George to the see of Rome, proceeded more from his personal hatred to Pius than from any attachment to the sect of the Calixtins [g]. Ambassadors arrived at Rome from Ferdinand, king of Naples, who desired that the pope would send a cardinal legate to be present at the marriage of his son with the daughter of the duke of Milan. The ambassadors likewise declared, that Ferdinand had received an embassy from the grand Turk, congratulating him upon subduing the rebels, and exhorting him to farther conquests, by offering a subsidy of eight hundred thousand crowns a year, if he would make war upon any of the states of Italy. He proposed also an alliance betwixt some of their children; or, if that could not take effect, on account of the difference of religion, then he offered a young Greek, who was descended from the emperors, with a dowry of two hundred thousand crowns, or as much more as the king pleased. Ferdinand promised to be directed in his answer to Mohammed by the determination of the consistory, but what that was does not appear; for the cardinal of Pavia gives us only a part of the speech of cardinal Bessarion, condemning any alliance with the Turks, or even any correspondence by ambassadors [h]. Frederic, the younger son of Ferdinand, soon after arriving at Rome, in his way to Milan, whither he went to fetch his brother's bride, was received with great honour, the pope himself presenting him with a golden rose, which is a present made annually to some Christian prince [i].

Receives an embassy from the emperor,

and from the king of Naples,

A.D. 1465.

[g] Cochlæ. Hist. lib xii. Pap. Comment. lib. ix. Epist. 85. [h] Ejusd. [i] Platina.

The

The king of Naples likewise sent some troops to assist the pope, in quelling a rebellion raised by the counts of Anquillara, who the year before had succeeded their father, whose example they followed, by usurping the territories of their neighbours, and refusing to submit to the pope. Paul, by the assistance of the Neapolitans, surprised and subdued the counts, within fourteen days after the commencement of hostilities, and took from them nine castles, some of which appeared almost impregnable. Soon after these exploits, a difference happened betwixt him and Ferdinand, who, in consideration of the succours he had sent him, desired a remittance of the tribute which he owed the church; which request was rejected by the pope, who replied, that Ferdinand owed the quiet possession of his kingdom to the assistance of the apostolic see, and was even bound by his fief to send succours to his holiness. As Ferdinand, about this time, secured himself in the possession of his kingdoms, by putting to death Picenninus, lord of several towns in Abruzzo, though he had come to Naples upon his safe-conduct, he threatened to declare war against the pope, unless he would remit the tribute, and restore several towns that belonged to the kingdom. Paul, to prevent a rupture, immediately sent a legate to Naples, who found means, in some measure, to appease Ferdinand, who offered, if the pope would remit the tribute, to give sixty thousand crowns to the king of Hungary, and to send five hundred horse, and as many foot, into Epirus. In consequence of a convention held the former year at Rome, to deliberate about the means of opposing the Turks, the Venetians, about this time offered to grant an annual subsidy of fifty thousand crowns to the Hungarians, on condition that the pope would indulge them with the tithe of ecclesiastical revenues, the thirtieth penny of the citizens, and the twentieth from the Jews. The duke of Milan, on the same condition, offered a reinforcement of two thousand horse and a thousand foot; and the Florentines agreed to furnish a thousand horse and five hundred foot, or a subsidy of twenty-four thousand crowns. The other states made no offer of any assistance; and even these performed nothing[k]. While the Italians trifled in this manner, the famous Scanderbeg was entirely defeated by the Turks, in Albania, and obliged to fly into Italy; and the infidels mak-

who assists him in reducing the counts of Anquillara.

A difference betwixt him and the king of Naples.

Scanderbeg is defeated by the Turks.

[k] Papiens. Epist. 54 & 65.

ing themselves masters of the whole province, carried off a great part of his subjects into captivity, while others escaped in boats, and took refuge on the Italian coasts, filling that kingdom with consternation. The pope immediately published a letter, addressed to all the faithful, informing them of the calamity of the Albanians, and earnestly exhorting them to oppose the progress of the Turks, by supplying either men or money [l].

A.D 1466.

Paul absolves the Silesians from their allegiance to the king of Bohemia;

In the mean time, being informed that the king of Bohemia had again attacked the Catholics of Silesia, he absolved them from their vassalage to that crown, and put them under the protection of the king of Hungary. Podiebrad, nevertheless was resolved to force them to a submission; but his measures being thwarted by several Catholic lords, particularly by one Zdenco, he besieged him in the fort of Zarasten. During the siege Zdenco found means to escape to Rome, where he was graciously received by the pope, who sent him with letters of recommendation to the emperor. Paul likewise ordered Podiebrad to raise the siege, under pain of excommunication; to prevent which sentence, the king of Bohemia wrote to Rome, in the name of the rest of the nobles, blaming Zdenco as the author of the disturbances, at the same time desiring the pope to send a nuncio to the emperor, where conferences might be held, to treat of the reduction of Bohemia to the Catholic religion. This letter did not at all alter the former resolution of the pope, who still ordered Podiebrad to raise the siege, and sent a nuncio to the emperor, desiring him not to treat with the king of Bohemia before he had laid down his arms. Podiebrad, notwithstanding the menaces of the pope, would not desist from his purpose, and, after a siege of almost twelve months, made himself master of the place [m]. The pope, being informed of his success, immediately wrote to his nuncios in Germany, to desire the German princes not to oppose the proceedings of the apostolic see against the king of Bohemia. At the same time the Catholic lords having revolted, he absolved them from their allegiance; appointed George to appear at Rome within a certain time; and ordered his nuncio to raise forces for the assistance of the Bohemian Catholics, and to publish a crusade, if there was occasion, against Podiebrad. The king despising this citation, the pope declared him convicted of perjury, sa-

[l] Ejusd. Epist. 193. Comment. lib. vi.

[m] Hist. Bohem. cap 30. Papiens.

crilege,

crilege, and hereſy, and pronounced againſt him a ſentence of excommunication, but delayed publiſhing the decree, that it might not be treated with contempt, as he could not find any perſon who could put it in execution; the emperor indulging himſelf in a ſlothful inactivity, and the kings of Poland and Hungary being wholly engaged in oppoſing the Turks. At length, encouraged by cardinal Carvajal, who inſiſted that in great matters much ought to be left to God, the pope, on Chriſtmas day, publiſhed the ſentence of excommunication and depoſition againſt the king, in the church of St. Peter.

againſt whom he publiſhes a ſentence of excommunication.

A.D. 1467.

Next year Paul ſent a legate into France, to procure a decree of the parliament of Paris, confirming the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction; but their journey was ineffectual: for although they again obtained the king's edict for the abrogation, which was publiſhed at the Chatelet, yet the parliament oppoſed their proceedings, and the univerſity of Paris appealed from the legate and the edict of the king to a general council, and ordered their appeal to be inſerted in the acts [n]. Mean while the nuncios of the pope arrived in Poland, and offered the kingdom of Bohemia to Caſimir, or to any of his ſons. The ſame proffer was likewiſe made by deputies from the Catholic nobles of Bohemia; but as George Podiebrad was then at the head of a conſiderable army of Bohemians and Germans, Caſimir did not chooſe raſhly to accept of the offered crown, but declared that he would firſt endeavour to reconcile Podiebrad with the holy ſee. He accordingly ſent an embaſſy to the king of Bohemia, who inſiſted that he had never done any injury to the pope, nor had ever violated the compactata of the council of Baſil; but if he had in any thing offended, he was willing to ſubmit to the arbitration of Caſimir. However, the Catholics refuſing to agree to an arbitration, before they could receive the permiſſion of the pope, in the mean time a truce was agreed to for five months. During theſe tranſactions in Poland, the emperor, at the repeated ſolicitations of the pope, aſſembled a diet at Nuremberg, to conſult of means to oppoſe the Turks, and protect the Catholics of Bohemia. The biſhop of Ferrara, the pope's legate, repreſented the great danger to which thoſe Catholics were expoſed, who had withdrawn their allegiance from Podiebrad, unleſs they were aſſiſted by the Germans, as the king of Poland manifeſted no great earneſtneſs in their behalf. His

He deſires the parliament of Paris to confirm the abrogation of the pragmatic ſanction.

The pope's legate deſires the Germans to protect the Bohemian Catholics.

[n] Monſtrelet. Memoires de Commines.

representations, however, had little effect upon the princes, who had no great desire to see the king of Poland possessed of the crown of Bohemia; and being divided among themselves, singly courted the favour of Podiebrad. The emperor likewise was dissatisfied with the pope, and alleged that, though he might condemn Podiebrad, he had no right to dispose of his kingdom, which depended entirely upon the empire °. The diet then broke up, after having resolved that the empire should maintain twenty thousand men for six years against the Turks, and that the pope should be solicited to establish a solid peace among Christian princes.

A D. 1468. Paul indeed, in the course of the following year, reconciled several states of Italy, that had taken up arms as auxiliaries to the opposite factions in Florence; and, after the conclusion of that treaty, he entertained the Romans with sumptuous feasts and races. However he was still determined to put his decree in execution against Podiebrad; and all thoughts of an arbitration being laid aside, he ordered his legate, the bishop of Ferrara, to offer the crown of Bohemia to Matthias, king of Hungary. Matthias, whether from ambition, or zeal for the Catholic cause, readily accepted of the offer; and having concluded a truce with the Turkish governor of Pannonia, marched with an army into Moravia, attended by the legate, who had denounced an anathema against all those who should assist the heretics. After some unsuccessful attempts, he had a conference with his father-in-law Podiebrad; and agreeing to a truce till the end of the year, he left his army in Moravia, and returned to Hungary.

Paul gives Bohemia to the king of Hungary.

Is alarmed with the report of a conspiracy at Rome.

During this unsuccessful campaign of Matthias, the pope was greatly alarmed at Rome with the report of a conspiracy against him, said to be headed by one Callimaco, who had a correspondence with some banditti in the wood of Velitre. Paul immediately ordered a great many citizens and courtiers to be imprisoned, among whom was the historian Platina, who being brought before the pope, was threatened with torments and death, unless he would make a confession. Platina, conscious of his own innocence, answered without fear; and to relieve the pope from the terrors with which he seemed to be seized, endeavoured to persuade him that the report of the plot must have been false, as Callimaco was an unfit person for such an enterprize, being a bad orator, slothful, ambitious,

° Papiens. Epist. 282.

poor,

poor, without forces and dependents, and beſides almoſt blind. But this diſcourſe ſerved only to aggravate his crime; the pope, in a paſſion, ſaying to thoſe who were preſent, "This fellow muſt be forced by the rack to confeſs the truth, for he underſtands the true art of plotting." Although a few days afterwards the pope was fully informed of the falſehood of the plot, yet, that he might not ſeem to have acted from levity, he ordered Platina, and a great many other priſoners, to be put to the queſtion, and divers died under the torture. Platina was ſtretched upon the rack twice in one day, and, with a great many others, continued a whole year in priſon.

The emperor arrives at Rome in conſequence of a vow.

In the mean time the emperor, in conſequence of a vow, arrived at Rome, where he was treated with great magnificence by the pope, who ſpent on that occaſion eighteen thouſand ducats. Four days after his arrival, he aſſiſted at a public conſiſtory, and propoſed, as the moſt proper expedient to engage the Chriſtians in a league againſt the Turks, that a convention ſhould be held at Conſtance, at which the pope and he ſhould aſſiſt in perſon, and to which other Chriſtian princes ſhould be invited. The pope remembering the former proceedings in that city, did not reliſh this propoſal; but, after much conſultation, it was agreed that letters ſhould be written, in the name of the emperor and pope, to the princes and ſtates in Chriſtendom, inviting them to ſend their ambaſſadors to Rome, to treat about the means of defending the faith; and that the Venetians ſhould be indulged with a tenth from the clergy, a twentieth of the Jews, and a thirtieth of the laity in their own dominions.

A.D. 1469.

The pope inſults thoſe who were impriſoned, on account of the conſpiracy.

After the departure of the emperor, who continued only ſeventeen days at Rome, the pope viſited Platina, and the other priſoners; and that his ſeverity might ſeem to have ſome foundation, charged them with many crimes, particularly that they diſputed concerning the immortality of the ſoul, and called the being of a God in queſtion, and were too great admirers of Pagan antiquities. Platina anſwered to the two firſt accuſations, that both divines and philoſophers, for the ſake of argument, have made a queſtion of propoſitions which they really believed; and he aſſures us, that no perſon could be more fond of Pagan antiquities than the pope himſelf; for he procured as many ſtatues of the ancients as he could find, and placed them in a houſe that he had built near the Capitol. Two days after the pope viſited the priſoners a ſecond time, and, after ſome diſcourſe, went away in a paſſion, upbraiding

Platina with ingratitude against so good a friend as he had been to him. At length, wearied with the intercession of the cardinals, he set them at liberty[p] (Y). About the same time being informed that Malatesta, prince of Rimini, had revolted from the church, and contracted an alliance with the king of Naples, the duke of Milan, and the Florentines, he sent an army against him, and besieged him in Rimini; but the allies of Malatesta sending some troops to his assistance, the army of the pope was defeated, and obliged to raise the siege. Paul soon after consented to a peace upon very dishonourable terms [q].

They are at last set at liberty.

The Bohemians give their crown to the son of the king of Poland.

Mean while Matthias, having returned to Moravia, was declared king of Bohemia and marquis of Moravia, at Olmutz, and proceeding from thence to Breslau, was there received as prince of Silesia. Upon his return to Moravia, he took Victorin, one of the sons of Podiebrad, prisoner, and made himself master of several towns: however, he was soon after defeated by Victorin's brother, and obliged to return to Hungary for succours. Podiebrad likewise, in order to thwart the ambitious views of Matthias, proposed to the states at Prague, to settle the succession of Bohemia upon Ladislaus, son of the king of Poland. This settlement gave satisfaction to both the factions; and Casimir promising to support the interests of his son, Matthias quickly lost a great many partizans:

[p] Platina in Vit. Paul II. [q] Pap. Epist. 276. Spond. Annal. Plat.

(Y) Platina, upon being released from prison, was sent for by the duke of Mantua to the baths, his right arm having contracted a great indisposition during his imprisonment. Paul at first prohibited him from going, promising to do great things for him in a short time; but, at the intercession of cardinal Bessarion, he at last allowed him to depart from Rome. After he had returned, the pope frequently boasted the great kindness he had for him, and promised to the Venetian and Milanese ambassadors to provide for him in an honourable way. After Platina had spent two years in expectation, he proposed to go to Bologna, with the cardinal of Mantua, who was legate of that city; but the pope desired him to stay, and renewed his former promise: however, death prevented him from fulfilling it (1). Sixtus IV. restored him to his employments, and made him keeper of the Vatican library, which place he enjoyed but a few months, dying in 1481 (2).

(1) Platina. (2) Trithem. & Belarmin de Script. Eccles.

however,

however, he ſtill reſolved to ſupport his claim, and ſent an ambaſſador to the pope, deſiring him to diſcountenance the pretenſions of Ladiſlaus [r]. Paul, about the ſame time, received another embaſſy from the king of Poland, deſiring him to confirm the election of his ſon; but the pope being determined to ſupport the intereſts of Matthias, ſent the biſhop of Forli as his legate to Caſimir, declaring that he could not abandon the king of Hungary, who had deſerved ſo well of the apoſtolic ſee. He exhorted him therefore, to give one of his daughters in marriage to Matthias, and to aſſiſt him againſt Podiebrad, the enemy of the church. A.D. 1470.

The pope ſupports the claim of Matthias.

The pope being ſoon after informed that the Turks were beſieging Negropont, with an army of one hundred and twenty thouſand men, and a fleet of one hundred gallies, he ordered public ſupplications to be made in the church of St. Peter, and in the Lateran, to which laſt he went himſelf on foot, carrying the image of the virgin Mary [s]. This ſame year he likewiſe publiſhed a bull, reducing the jubilee to the twenty-fifth year, to commence in the year 1475; and having prevailed with the emperor to convoke a diet at Ratiſbon, to conſult of means to oppoſe the Turks, who, beſides their preſent ſucceſſes in the Archipelago, the year before had made an irruption into Carniola, he ſent two legates to be preſent at that aſſembly. The diet was opened on the 22d of June, by the biſhop of Trent, who, in the name of the emperor, made a ſpeech in the German language. He repreſented the great calamities of the Chriſtians, and the late ravaging of Carniola, one of the hereditary provinces of the Auſtrian family; and exhorted the princes to imitate the valour of their anceſtors, in oppoſing the infidels, and defending the Chriſtian religion. The two legates addreſſed the aſſembly to the ſame purpoſe. However, although the Venetian ambaſſador offered, on the part of that republic, a fleet of one hundred and twenty ſail, and the princes propoſed, according to a general aſſeſſment, to raiſe an army of two hundred thouſand men, yet nothing was effected, by reaſon of the ſlothful inactivity of the emperor, which occaſioned one of the legates to write to the cardinal of Pavia, that they would ſurely defeat the Turks, if the emperor would fight with as great vigour as he then ſnored [t]. A.D. 1471.

A bull is publiſhed for celebrating a jubilee every twenty-five years.

[r] Cromer. lib. xxvii. Dubray. lib. xxx. [s] Spond. Annal. [t] Campan. Epiſt. 18, 19. ap. Papienſ. Epiſt. 375, 376. 386, 387.

During

The pope dies at Rome.

During these transactions in Germany, the pope, having erected Ferrara into a duchy, and given the investiture of it to Borso, marquis of Este, soon after died at Rome, on the 25th or 26th of July, of a fit of apoplexy, no person being present at his death. During the pontificate of Paul, all offices, bishopricks and benefices, at the Roman court, were exposed to sale. Those candidates, whose pretensions were only supported by learning and a good life, were always set aside. He likewise increased the number of vacant benefices, in supplying them chiefly by translations, by which means he brought into his treasury large sums of money, of which he was very fond. He was a great enemy to human learning, and dissuaded the people of Rome from putting their children to grammar schools, declaring, that they were sufficiently learned if they could read and write [u]. He was, however, reputed a just and a merciful man; he adorned the city with several magnificent buildings, and was sometimes liberal to the poorer cardinals and bishops, as well as to the sick and distressed.

Sixtus IV. is elected.

The cardinals, on the 7th of August, entered the conclave to elect a successor. The pontificate was at first offered to cardinal Bessarion, under certain conditions; but he declaring that he would not accept of it under any restrictions, the cardinals applied themselves to Francis della Rovere, a cardinal priest, who consenting to what they desired, was chosen pope, and assumed the name of Sixtus IV. Francis was born in the territory of Savona, on the Genoese coast, according to Onuphrius, of noble parents; but others relate, that his birth was obscure, and that his father was a fisherman, which employment he himself at first followed [w]. He was by profession a Franciscan: having acquired a great character by several treatises which he published on obscure points of divinity, he was elected general of his order, and was created a cardinal, without any solicitation, by Paul II. Immediately after his promotion to the pontificate, he proposed to convoke a general council at the Lateran, for the reformation of the church, and to consult of means to defend Christendom against the Turks; but the emperor objecting to the place, this expedient of a council was dropt, and four legates were created, with full authority, to each of whom he assigned a pension of five hundred crowns a month.

[u] Platina. [w] Mason de Vit. Pontif. Fulgos de Dict. & Fact. lib. iii. cap 4.

Cardinal

Cardinal Beſſarion was commiſſioned as legate to the king of France, to reconcile that prince with the dukes of Burgundy and Bretagne. The cardinal of St. Mark was ſent into Germany, to endeavour to conclude a peace with the king of Hungary, and Ladiſlaus, ſon of the king of Poland, who a few months before, by the death of Podiebrad, had ſucceeded to the crown of Bohemia. Roderigo Borgia, his vice-chancellor, was ſent into Spain; and Oliver Caraffa to Venice, and the knights of Rhodes, to take upon him the command of the fleet againſt the infidels [x]. Collectors were likewiſe ſent to all the provinces of Europe, to raiſe the tax agreed to at the convention of Mantua; and indulgences were granted to thoſe who engaged in the cruſade, or contributed to the expences of the war. The cardinal of Pavia, who was then abſent, quelling an inſurrection in Umbria, mentions a fifth legation, but does not inform us particularly what it was. He at the ſame time expreſſed his apprehenſions of the bad ſucceſs of thoſe pompous legations, and complains that the pope had violated the laws made in the conclave, by creating two of his nephews cardinals, who had not arrived at their thirtieth year [y] (Z). The pope indeed quickly found the bad effects of his liberal and free diſpoſition; for having given donations of the ſame thing to three or four different perſons, his court was immediately diſturbed with quarrels and diſputes. To prevent theſe for the future, he gave the privy-ſeal to one Montemirabile, a man of experience, who vacated ſuch donations as were not regularly granted.

Mean while the legates, having received their inſtructions, departed from Rome. The cardinal of St. Mark having proceeded to Poland, was received by Caſimir with great honour; but he did not ſucceed in his endeavours to effect a pacification; a miſcarriage which was owing to the backwardneſs of Matthias, who had lately concluded a treaty with the emperor, and therefore judged that he ſhould be able, by force, to make good his pretenſions to Bohemia againſt Ladiſlaus. Cardinal Beſſarion, after he had entered France, was prohibited to come to

A.D. 1472.

Matthias refuſes an accommodation with the king of Poland.

[x] Onuphr. in Vita Sixt. 416, &c.

[y] Papienſ. Epiſt. 407, 408. 414.

(Z) One of theſe young men was afterwards pope, by the name of Julius II. The other, Peter Riario, died two years afterwards, in the 28th year of his age, having killed himſelf by his voluptuous exceſſes.

Paris

Paris by the king, who was offended that he had first visited the duke of Burgundy. At length, after two months delay, he gave him permission to come to the capital: however, he dismissed him at the first audience, without hearkening to his proposals for peace, or promising any succours against the Turks. The cardinal immediately returned to Turin, and repairing from thence to Ravenna, soon after died in that city, in the seventy-seventh year of his age [z] (A). The king of France, that he might not seem, by his treatment of Bessarion, to have any personal animosity against the pope, soon after the departure of that cardinal, sent an embassy to the apostolic see, to demand the celebration of a general council at Lyons; and that the archbishop of that city might be promoted to the dignity of cardinal. His ambassador likewise requested, that no Frenchman should be received into the sacred college without the king's knowlege or consent; that the annates should be regulated according to the decrees of the councils of Constance and Basil; that the bishopricks in France might be conferred only on such persons as were agreeable to the king; that the French clergy might be exempted from the tithe for the Turkish war; and that ecclesiastical causes might not be carried to the court of Rome in the first instance. The pope did not think proper to grant any of these demands; but four years afterwards he created the archbishop of Lyons, a cardinal [a]. In the mean time, cardinal Borgia had arrived at his native city of Valentia, of which he was bishop, and made a discourse to his clergy, composed by the cardinal of Pavia [b]. At Madrid

The pope receives an embassy from the king of France.

[z] Papiens. Epist. 437. 455, &c. [a] Bzov. hoc an. [b] Ap. Papiens. Epist. 441.

(A) Bessarion was most eloquent both in Greek and Latin, skilled in all the sciences, and a great defender of the Platonic philosophy against the followers of Aristotle. He wrote several treatises in divinity, philosophy, and the Belles Lettres; and as he was the oldest, so he was likewise reckoned the wisest of all the cardinals. His actions and his discourses were always suitable to his dignity. All matters debated in the consistory, were generally referred to his decision; and, according to the cardinal of Pavia, the whole weight of affairs was supported by him alone (1). Platina, who wrote a panegyric upon him, relates, that the republic of Venice gave him thirty thousand crowns for his library, which consisted chiefly of Greek books (2).

(1) Pap. Epist. 427, 488. (2) Platina in Paneg. Pet. in Justino in Hist. Venet. lib. viii. in fin.

he

he assembled the clergy of Castile, reconciling Henry to Ferdinand, prince of Arragon, who had married his sister Isabel against his will, although he produced the pope's bull, dispensing with the consanguinity. Henry was so displeased with his proceedings, that he sent an ambassador to the apostolic see to accuse him; upon which the legates thought proper to return to Rome.

During these transactions, the pope had terminated all the differences betwixt the apostolic see and the king of Naples. The duchy of Sora was restored to Ferdinand, who gave it, with his natural daughter, to one of the pope's nephews. The tribute, owing both by his father and himself, was remitted, in consideration of which remission he promised to defend the church of Rome at his charge, and to furnish two gallies for the protection of the Roman coast. He likewise fitted out a fleet of seventeen ships to act against the Turks, in conjunction with that of the pope and the Venetians. Sixtus having given his benediction to the fleet in the Tyber, and granted full remission of sins to all those who should die during the expedition, cardinal Caraffa sailed from thence in the beginning of June, and soon after joined the Neapolitans and Venetians. The whole fleet, which consisted of eighty-five sail, made an unsuccessful attack upon Attalia, or Satalia, a city of Pamphilia; but afterwards, when the Neapolitans had returned home, the legate surprised and plundered Smyrna, and arrived at Rome about the end of January, with twelve camels laden with booty, and twenty-five Turkish captives [b]. As the Germans refused to pay the tithe for the Turkish war, the pope denounced an anathema against those who should detain any part of these tithes [c], and ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to excommunicate the bishop of Bath and his accomplices, and cite him to appear at Rome, because he had imprisoned the apostolic nuncio, who had come into England to collect the taxes due to the apostolic chamber [d].

Cardinal Caraffa sails with a fleet against the Turks.

At this period, Sixtus confirmed the order of friars Minims, which had been instituted about thirty years before by St. Francis of Paola, a city of Calabria [e]. Being informed that some Carmelites at Bologna asserted that it was not heretical to consult the devils, he wrote to the vicar of the bishop to make enquiry into the truth of the report, and to give information to the apostolic see. A.D. 1473.

[b] Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. Pet. Justin. lib. ix. Pap. Epist. 439, 440. [c] Krantz, Wand. lib. xiii. cap. 7. [d] Bzov. hoc an. [e] Spond. Annal.

Cardinal

A.D.1474. Cardinal Riario dying, Sixtus created his brother Jeronimo, prince of Imola and Forli; and, appointing him vicar of the ecclesiastical state, concluded a marriage betwixt him and the natural daughter of the duke of Milan: on which account he promoted the duke's brother to the dignity of a cardinal. Being informed likewise that the king of Denmark had entered Italy, attended by the duke of Lower Saxony, and a great many nobles, in the habit of pilgrims, he sent some persons to wait on him at the confines of the ecclesiastical state, and to conduct him to Rome, where he was received with great magnificence. The king, who was admired for his stature, and on account of his title of king of the Goths, behaved with great submission and respect to the pope and the sacred college. He held the bason when the pope washed his hands; and, on Good Friday, he refused to kiss the cross till all the cardinals had performed that ceremony [f].

The pope creates his nephew prince of Imola and Forli.

A.D.1475. Next year the jubilee was celebrated at Rome, but not with such a great concourse of pilgrims as was expected; so that many who had laid in great stores of provisions were obliged to sell them at an under-price [g]. As many persons had entered Italy, who were afraid of proceeding to Rome, Sixtus appointed a jubilee to be held at Bologna, from the first of May to the end of the year; on which account great numbers of pilgrims resorted to that city [h]. Among those that went to Rome was Ferdinand, king of Naples, who obtained from the pope the remission of the yearly tribute due to the Roman see, on condition of sending every year a white horse, with his trappings, to Rome [i]. Ferdinand likewise succeeded in dissolving the alliance which had been concluded betwixt the duke of Milan, the Venetians, and Florentines [k]. The pope, being informed that the Turks had taken Croja, in Albania, from the Venetians, and Caffa, a strong city in the Tauric Chersonese, from the Genoese, wrote to the kings of Poland and Hungary, exhorting them to conclude a peace, and to unite their arms against the infidels. These two princes began to be both alarmed at the progress of the Turks, and accordingly agreed to a peace; by which Matthias was left in possession of Moravia and Silesia, and Uladislaus was acknowleged king of Bohemia. Sixtus soon after was obliged to quit Rome on account of the

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

[f] Krantz Saxon. lib. xii. cap. 12. Pap. Epist. 556. [g] Ciacon. in Sixt. IV. [h] Sigon. de Episc. Behon. lib. iv. hoc anno. [i] Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. [k] Palm. in Chron.

plague,

plague, which raged in the city in consequence of a dreadful inundation of the Tiber, the waters of which, in the beginning of January, had risen to the first step of the high altar in St. Paul's church [l]. To remove this calamity, the pope published a bull for celebrating the office of the Immaculate Conception of the Virgin Mary, promising indulgencies to those who should either recite the office in private, or be present when it was publicly celebrated [m]. This bull, however, was publicly contradicted by a great many orders of monks, who, both in their sermons and books, asserted, that it was a mortal sin to believe the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin, and that even to be present at the office was a crime [n]. A D. 1476.

The pope is obliged to quit the city on account of the plague.

The pope, about this time, being apprehensive that the king of France would seize Avignon, as he had a great many troops in its neighbourhood, sent his nephew, cardinal Julian, as legate into that kingdom. His visit was not very agreeable to the king, who obliged him to promise not to violate the rights, privileges, and prerogatives of the Gallican church. Lewis likewise published several edicts derogatory to the honour of the apostolic see. The Turks, after ravaging Moldavia, having been obliged to retire upon the approach of the king of Poland with a numerous army, Matthias, king of Hungary, arrogated to himself the honour of their retreat, and wrote to Italy, declaring that he had defeated them; in consideration of which pretended service, his name was greatly celebrated at Rome, and he obtained a subsidy of two hundred thousand crowns from the pope and the states of Italy: however, soon after, while he was celebrating his marriage with Beatrice, the daughter of the king of Naples, the Turks made themselves masters of Sinderavia, and ravaged great part of Carniola, Carinthia, and Stiria [o]. Next year Matthias lost his subsidy from the pope and the states of Italy, as he had neglected the defence of his own kingdom against the Turks, to make war upon the emperor, who had remonstrated against his marriage, as a breach of the treaty subsisting betwixt them, by which Frederic was declared heir to the kingdom of Hungary [p].

The king of France publishes several edicts derogatory to the authority of the holy see.

Mean while, the duke of Milan being assassinated in the church of St. Ambrose, Italy was soon after divided

[l] Pap. Epist. 642. [m] Extravag. Commun. lib. iii. tit. 12. [n] Spond. Annal. [o] Pap. Epist. 644. 648. Michov. lib. iv. cap. 71. [p] Michov. lib. iv. cap. 72. Cromer. lib. xxviii. in fin. Bonf. dec. iv. lib. v. p. 437.

into

A.D. 1478. into two factions. The widow of the late duke assuming the administration of the government for her son, who was then a boy, made an alliance with the Venetians, and with Laurence and Julian Medici, who, with their friends and dependents, governed the republic of Florence. The pope, who was at enmity with the family of the Medici, entered into a conspiracy against them with the family of the Pazzi, and made an alliance with Ferdinand king of Naples. According to Machiavel, the pope created one Salviati, an enemy of the house of Medici, archbishop of Pisa, to whom the senate of Florence refused to give possession [q]. Other authors relate, that Laurence Medici, being offended that the pope had refused to create his brother Julian a cardinal, gave assistance in men and money to the lord of Castello, who recovered his inheritance from the pope, and likewise disappointed Sixtus in purchasing Imola, by lending money to the prince, a loan which prevented him from selling his patrimony. In resentment for these affronts, the pope entered into a conspiracy with the Pazzi, the rivals of the Medici, to murder Laurence and Julian, and to change the government of Florence. He trusted the whole management of the plot to his nephew Jeronimo: however, he allowed him to use his authority to influence some of the Pazzi, who refused to be concerned in the undertaking, and prevailed with the king of Naples to send some troops into Tuscany, under pretence of recovering some towns that belonged to the ecclesiastical state, but in reality to seize Florence upon the death of the Medici. The conspirators, having a long time waited for an opportunity to find the two brothers together, at length determined to attack them in the cathedral church during the celebration of mass, while the archbishop of Pisa should seize the palace and surprise the senate. However they failed in their attempt; for Julian only was slain, and Laurence saved himself in the vestry. The senate, being alarmed at the behaviour of the archbishop, seized him and some others, and immediately put them to death; and the people crouding to the palace in defence of Laurence, the greatest part of the conspirators were apprehended and executed [r].

Sixtus enters into a conspiracy to murder the Medici at Florence.

He declares war against the Florentines;

The pope, seeing the plot miscarry, immediately determined upon an open war, which he commenced with his spiritual arms, laying the city of Florence under an

[q] Machiav. Hist. Flor. lib. viii. Brut. lib. vi. & vii. Volater. lib. v.

[r] Onuphr. in Sixt. IV.

interdict,

interdict, on account of the violence they had committed against the ecclesiastics, in putting the archbishop of Pisa to death, and imprisoning the cardinal of St. George, who had been sent from for Pisa to countenance the plot, and was present in the church when Julian Medici was slain. The Florentines, in their own justification, wrote to all the states of Italy, setting forth the wickedness and injustice of the pope, from whom they appealed to a general council; and as the papal army, with the troops of the king of Naples, were marching against them, they demanded succours from the king of France, the duke of Milan, the Venetians, and other states. They procured some assistance from the dukes of Milan, Ferrara, and Mantua, and the king of France sent them three hundred horse, under the command of Philip de Commines, the famous historian[s]; by which reinforcements, they were enabled to oppose the progress of the enemy till winter obliged them to quit the field. The king of France likewise sent ambassadors to the pope, desiring him to take off the interdict from the Florentines, or to call a general council, declaring, that, if he would not consent, he himself with other princes, would convoke a council to redress the grievances of the church. He assembled the nobles and prelates of his kingdom in a convention at Orleans, to consult about restoring the pragmatic sanction and abrogating the annates, and recalled all those from the Roman court who held benefices in France, under pain of forfeiting their revenues. By these proceedings he seems to have designed only to intimidate the pope, for nothing material was transacted at Orleans; however, on the 16th of August, the king published an edict, wherein, after complaining of the pope's proceedings against the Florentines, and of the grievous exactions of money which he squandered in unjust wars, he prohibited all his subjects from carrying or sending money to Rome, or from going thither to solicit for benefices[t]. The pope, by the advice of the cardinal of Pavia[u], endeavoured to soothe the king, by reminding him that Charlemagne declared, that, though the yoke of the church was grievous, it ought to be borne with submission and humility; he promised to send a nuncio to satisfy him of the equity of his proceedings against the Florentines, who had most outrageously violated the ecclesiastical liberty; he observ-

who are assisted by the king of France and the duke of Milan.

[s] Commin. lib vi. cap. 5. Ludov. XI. Spond. Annal.

[t] Gaguin. lib. x. Æmil. in

[u] Pap. Epist. 677.

ed, that to convoke a general council would be for the advantage of his cause, but this expedient was not proper, as it required a long time; and as to renewing the pragmatic sanction, he wondered the king should think of that, as he had formerly declared, that he had abolished it for just reasons. This answer of the pope did not satisfy the king of France, whose example seems to have been imitated by the Venetians and Milanese; for it appears from a monitory of Sixtus to the emperor, that both these recalled their prelates, and withdrew their obedience from the pope.

About the same time Sixtus published a bull, revoking all the powers of absolving from crimes, which had been granted to a great many laymen as well as clergy, and, as the authority of the keys was thereby brought into contempt, for the future he reserved that authority for the apostolic see alone[w] (C). In the mean time embassies arrived at Rome from the different provinces of Europe, in vain intreating the pope to make an accommodation with the Florentines. Sixtus refused to hearken to any terms of peace, unless Laurence de Medicis was delivered up: the war therefore continued, but with small success to either side; the advantage, however, was chiefly on the part of the pope[x]. Towards the end of the campaign the king and the pope, to give some hopes of peace, offered a truce for three months to the Florentines, which they accepted of; and during this short respite, having leisure to reflect upon their calamities, they resolved, if possible, to detach Ferdinand from the pope's interest: accordingly Laurence de Medicis went as ambassador from the Florentines to Naples, where he was so successful as to conclude an offensive and defensive alliance with Ferdinand[y]. Sixtus in the mean time was informed, that one Peter de Osma, a professor of divinity at Salamanca, had published a book, containing a great many propositions contrary to the catholic faith; namely, that the popes were not infallible, and could not remit the pains of purgatory, or dispense with the decrees of the universal

A.D. 1459.

The Christian princes intercede for the Florentines;

[w] Extravag. Commun. lib. v. tit. 9. 680. Onuphr. in Sixt. IV.

[x] Ap. Pap. Epist.

[y] Machiav. Hist. Flor. lib. viii.

(C) The inquisition, which for a long time had been established in Arragon, Italy, France, and Germany, was this year introduced into the kingdom of Castile, by means of Gonsalvo de Mendoza, cardinal of Spain.

church;

church; that the sacrament of penance was only an invention of men, and that mortal sins were only expiated by contrition of heart. These propositions being condemned in a council held by the archbishop of Toledo, the pope soon after examined them at Rome, and confirmed the sentence of the archbishop, denouncing an anathema against the author if he did not recant [a].

The pope was greatly surprised with the publication of the peace betwixt the Florentines and the king of Naples, in which neither he nor the Venetians were considered. As the Florentines could not securely trust to the friendship of Ferdinand, they immediately sent ambassadors to endeavour to appease his holiness; but he still continued inexorable; however, an accident happened which obliged him to think of a reconciliation. Mohammed, having been continually infested by the knights of Rhodes, had sent a powerful army to besiege that city, and, to prevent any succours from the Italians, basha Achmet sailed with a considerable fleet from Epire, and, on the 26th of July, made a descent with twenty thousand men in Italy. After a siege of seventeen days he made himself master of Otranto, a city on the coast of Calabria, where he committed all manner of barbarities, and afterwards ravaged the coasts of the Adriatic as far as Loretto [b]. The storming of Otranto struck all Italy with consternation, and Sixtus, in despair, proposed at first to fly into France [c]; but, recovering from his panic, he desired Ferdinand to recall his troops from Tuscany, wrote to the emperor and to the other kings and princes for their assistance, ordered twenty-four gallies, which he had prepared for the relief of Rhodes, to sail into Apulia; and, as the German and French prelates had been summoned to proceed against him for his conduct towards the Florentines, he invited all the Christian princes and prelates to assemble at Rome, and intimated to the Florentines that he was willing to hearken to an accommodation. That republic accordingly sent twelve ambassadors to Rome, who were absolved, and admitted into the presence of the pope, after they had submitted to lie down before the door of St. Peter's church, and to receive some strokes with a rod [d]. Sixtus behaved to them with great haughtiness, and, after the articles of peace

A.D. 1480.

who conclude a separate peace with the king of Naples.

The Turks land in Italy, and take Otranto.

[a] Spond. Annal. Leand. Albert. in Descrip. Salent. 9. Onuphr. in Sixt. IV. Bzov. hoc ann. Flor. lib. vii. Volat. lib. v. Spond. Annal.

[b] Turfell. Hist. Lauret. lib. ii. cap. 4.

[c] Bonf. dec. iv. lib. 6.

[d] Mich. Brut. Hist.

were agreed to, and the benediction read, he added, that if they would enjoy the fruits of the benediction, they must maintain fifteen gallies against the Turks while they continued in Italy. The Florentines remonstrated against this heavy imposition, and sent another ambassador to Rome, who ratified the peace, and obtained some alleviation of the subsidy [e]. Sixtus, about the same time, sent his nephew, cardinal Julian, as his legate to France, to reconcile Lewis XI. and Maximilian, the emperor's son, who had married the heiress of the late duke of Burgundy; but Maximilian, the year before, having gained a victory over the king of France, refused to hearken to any accommodation. The legate, finding his endeavours ineffectual, returned to Italy, together with cardinal Balues, a French bishop, who had been detained eleven years in prison by the king on account of treason [f].

A.D. 1481. In order to oppose the progress of the Turks, Sixtus published a letter, addressed to all kings and princes, enjoining those who were at war to conclude a peace, or at least a truce for three years, and exhorting them to a crusade against the infidels [g]. This letter produced but small effect among the Christian princes. Several of the Italian states assisted Ferdinand with money and ships; his uncle, the king of Castile, sent three thousand men; his son-in-law, the king of Hungary, in consideration of a large subsidy, sent two thousand horse into Apulia; who, according to Bonfinius, proposed to attack the Turks the same hour that they arrived in the Italian camp [h]. But what contributed more than all his auxiliaries to free his kingdom from the ravages of the infidels, was the death of Mohammed, which happened on the 3d of May. The Turks who had seized Otranto, being deprived of succours during the dispute betwixt the sons of Mohammed about the succession, Ferdinand soon after made himself master of the city, and obliged them to evacuate Italy.

Solicits the assistance of the Christian princes.

Mohammed dies, and the Turks evacuate Italy.

Sixtus, having quite exhausted his treasury in subsidies against the Turks, imposed new taxes upon the clergy, and instituted several new offices in the Roman court, which were put to sale, without regard to the qualifications of the purchasers [i]. But, instead of assisting Ferdinand to prosecute the war against the Turks, he involved Italy in new broils, in order to satisfy his own pri-

Sixtus embroils Italy in new wars.

[e] Machiav. Hist. Flor. lib. viii. [f] Commin. [g] Rer. German. Script. Edit. Freher. tom. ii. p. 161. [h] Bonfin. Dec. iv. lib. vi. [i] Onuphr. in Sixt. IV.

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vate revenge. In resentment for the separate peace which Ferdinand had concluded with the Florentines, he entered into an alliance against him with the Venetians, sending his nephew Jeronimo thither with a magnificent retinue, under pretence of receiving the honour of nobility in that city [k]; but, in reality, to concert with them a scheme for attacking Ferdinand's son-in-law, the duke of Ferrara. Accordingly, in the following year, the Venetians, who were elated with their great wealth and power, having made a partition of the duchy with Jeronimo, took an opportunity to quarrel with the duke, under pretence that their resident at Ferrara had been affronted, and that the duke had imposed some customs upon their ships contrary to treaty [l]. On the 2d of May they declared war against the duke, and, attacking him by sea and land, quickly reduced the greatest part of his territories. Mean while his ambassadors, and those of Ferdinand, the Florentines, and Milanese, finding their endeavours to detach Sixtus from the party of the Venetians ineffectual, left Rome, where the pope was making the greatest preparations for war, contrary to the inclination of the Romans, who openly condemned his proceedings, and, on the eve of Whitsuntide, one father Tuscanella, in his sermon, inveighed with the greatest freedom against him and the whole court. Sixtus, however, filled the city with soldiers, and sent his nephew Jeronimo, with an army, to oppose the Neapolitans, who, under the command of Alphonso, the king's eldest son, wanted to force their way to the duchy of Ferrara, through the ecclesiastical state. As the pope was obliged to keep a strong garrison in Rome to prevent an insurrection of the people, his army was not able to act offensively; and the Colonnæ and Savelli revolting to Alphonso, and admitting his troops into two of their towns, the Neapolitans ravaged the Roman territory to the very gates of Rome. At the same time it was reported in the city, that the emperor had assembled a council at Basil to proceed against the pope [m].

A.D. 1482.

The Romans threaten an insurrection.

The Neapolitans ravage the Roman territory.

Sixtus, in this extremity, excommunicated all his enemies; imprisoned the cardinals Colonna and Savelli in the castle of St Angelo; made an alliance with the Genoese [n]; and solicited a reinforcement from the Vene-

[k] Diar. Parm. ut supra. Petr. Cyrn. de Bello Ferrar. apud Murator. tom. xxi. p. 1195. Murator. tom. xxii. p. 1215, &c.

[l] Vitæ de Duchi di Venezia apud Murat. tom. xxiii. p. 175. 184.

[m] Diar. Roman. apud Murat. tom. xxiii.

[n] Vitæ de Duchi ut supra.

tians. That republic accordingly sent Malatesta, lord of Rimini, with a considerable body of troops, who, joining the army under Jeronimo, attacked and defeated the Neapolitans, with considerable loss, taking a great many prisoners, among whom was the duke of Melphi, who was honourably treated by the pope, and sent back to Naples.

A peace concluded betwixt the pope and the king of Naples.

A few weeks after ambassadors arrived at Rome from Ferdinand to treat of peace, and others arriving also from the king's allies, the pope was prevailed upon to agree to a peace and mutual alliance for twenty years, on these conditions; that all places taken during the war should be restored; that the allies should pay a subsidy of forty thousand crowns to Jeronimo for three years, and, for their mutual defence, should furnish a certain quota of troops, which should be commanded by the cardinal-legate of Mantua. The treaty was published on Christmas-day, and thirty days were allowed to the Venetians, and all the allies on both sides, to declare their assent. A few days after the duke of Calabria arrived at Rome, where he was treated with great honour by the pope. After some conferences he proceeded to the relief of Ferrara; which, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, was besieged by the enemy. The pope, before the publication of the peace, had written to the Venetians, desiring them to cease hostilities, and to accede to the general peace; but that republic, elated with their successes, refused to hearken to any terms of accommodation. Finding that the pope had abandoned them, and concluded an alliance with their enemies, they threatened to introduce the Turks into Apulia, and sent an ambassador to Renè, duke of Lorrain, offering him their assistance in making good his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples[9]. Sixtus, finding the Venetians resolved to continue the war, denounced sentence of excommunication against them; and his legate, the cardinal of Mantua, held a general council of the confederates at Cremona, in which they settled the plan of operation for the campaign. In consequence of the deliberations of that assembly, the duke of Calabria entered the Venetian territories, and ravaged the country in the neighbourhood of Bergamo, Brescia, and Verona, while his brother Frederic sailed into the Adriatic with a fleet, and seized a great many Venetian ships at Ancona, and on the coasts of Dalmatia.

A.D. 1483.

[9] Storia Veneziena ap. Murat. tom. xxiii. p. 1179.

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The Venetians, being reduced to great extremity for want of money, and of sailors to man their fleet, had recourse to supplications and processions, and sent ambassadors to the emperor to prevail with him to renounce his obedience to the pope, and to call a general council [p]. *The Venetians are reduced to great distress.*

About the same time new disturbances happened at Rome, by a second revolt of the family of Colonnæ; but Jeronimo attacking their palace with the pope's guards, after an obstinate resistance, forced the house, and took Laurence Colonna prisoner, who was immediately carried to the castle of St. Angelo, where he was soon after beheaded. Jeronimo likewise raised an army, and marched against those towns that adhered to the party of Colonnæ.

Mean while Lewis Sforza, governor of the duke of Milan, thinking himself neglected by the duke of Calabria, was prevailed upon to agree to a separate peace with the Venetians, which was concluded on the 7th of August. This peace, which was greatly to the advantage of the Venetians, gave much dissatisfaction to the allies; however, they were obliged to accede, as they were not able to continue the war against that republic, when strengthened by the alliance of the Milanese. Their ambassadors immediately proceeded to Rome, where the pope had been for some days greatly afflicted with the gout: although he had that day dismissed the cardinals without holding a consistory, yet he ordered the ambassadors to be introduced into his chamber; where, upon hearing of the terms of peace, in which his nephew, Jeronimo, was not considered, he exclaimed with great vehemence against the allies, his voice even failing him during his discourse. The physicians being called in the ambassadors retired, and the pope, being carried to his bed, languished a few days, and died on the 13th of August [q] (F). Sixtus, during his pontificate, adorned the city of Rome with several new buildings; particularly, by rebuilding the bridge of Janicula over the Tyber, which is now called Ponte Sesto. He likewise built the famous Vatican library, which he furnished with books

A. D. 1484.

Conclude a separate peace with the Milanese.

The pope dies at Rome.

[p] Petr. Cyrn. ut sup. [q] Diar. Volat. ut sup.

(F) His dying immediately after the publication of the peace, gave occasion to the following epigram:

Sistere qui nullo potuit cum fœdere Sixtus
Audito tantum nomine pacis obit.

from all parts of Europe, and appropriated certain revenues for purchasing books, and maintaining Greek, Latin, and Hebrew librarians[r]. However, he does not appear to have been very liberal to men of genius and learning. Theodorus Gaza, having presented to him a fine edition of Aristotle's books on animals, received from him only two hundred ducats; which, from disdain, he immediately threw into the Tyber[s]; and Raphael of Volaterra relates, that he saw many eminent men who came to Rome in great expectation, obliged soon after to depart in great want[t].

Great disturbances at Rome.

Upon the death of Sixtus all Rome was in confusion. Jeronimo immediately retired with some of his troops to the castle of Spoleto, and sent others to defend his palace in Rome; but the college of cardinals would not admit them into the city, and his palace was burned by the party of Savelli and Colonnæ, his countess being obliged to save herself in the house of the cardinal of Milan. However, the opposite party of the Ursini were in possession of the castle of St. Angelo, and some other places of strength in Rome, and threatened to elect a pope by themselves. The cardinals, who were in the other interest, to prevent a schism, granted Jeronimo six thousand ducats as arrears due to him as general of the church, and gave him a safe-conduct to retire into Imola; on which account the Ursini surrendered the castle of St. Angelo, and a truce was made for a month betwixt both parties, that the pope might be legally elected[u]. Accordingly twenty-five cardinals entered the conclave on the 26th of August, and next day chose John Baptista Cylio, cardinal-bishop of Melphi, born at Genoa, of a noble family, which had formerly come from Greece[w]. He had spent the first part of his life in the service of the king of Naples, as a layman, and, by a wife, had several children. After her death he took orders, and was created bishop of Melphi and cardinal, by Sixtus IV[x]. The new pope assumed the name of Innocent VIII. and, soon after his election, sent legates to the different princes of Europe, exhorting them to peace, and to a general alliance against the Turks.

Innocent VIII. is elected pope.

A.D. 1485. In the beginning of the following year he absolved the Venetians from the excommunication and interdict denounced against them by Sixtus, and endeavoured to reconcile

[r] Onuphr. in Sixt. [s] Jovi in Elog. [t] Volat. in Anthropolog. lib. xxi. [u] Vite de Duchi, ut sup. [w] Onuphr. in Innocent VIII. Spond Annal. [x] Vite de Duchi, ut sup.

the

the Colonnæ and Urſini, who continued hoſtilities againſt each other in the neighbourhood of Rome, to the great diſturbance of the city.

While he exhorted others to peace, he himſelf engaged in a war againſt Ferdinand, king of Naples, in behalf of the city of Aquila, and ſeveral nobles who had revolted, becauſe the king, for ſome ſlight ſuſpicions, had ordered the count Montorio to be put to death. Innocent, upon their complaint, cited Ferdinand to appear at Rome, and gave the command of the church forces to Robert Sanſeverius, who had been the general of the Venetians in the late war [y]. The Urſini family adhered to the party of Ferdinand, and ſeveral places were taken by the forces on both ſides; but no action happened of any great conſequence. In January following the Urſini were reconciled to the pope, and ſoon after, at the interceſſion of the ambaſſador of the king of Spain, Ferdinand agreed to a peace on theſe conditions; that he ſhould pardon all the lords and barons who had been concerned in the war againſt him; that the city of Aquila ſhould be left at liberty, either to acknowlege the pope or the king as their ſuperior; that Ferdinand ſhould not pretend to any farther collation of benefices, and ſhould pay all the arrears of his tribute at a convenient time; and that Virginius Urſino ſhould aſk pardon of the pope on his knees, with a rope about his neck [z]. This peace was guarantied by the king of Spain, the duke of Milan, and Laurence de Medicis; but the pope had no ſooner diſbanded his forces than it was violated by Ferdinand, who impriſoned the barons that had put themſelves under the protection of Innocent, and a few months afterwards put them to death, and confiſcated their eſtates. The pope remonſtrated with great vehemence againſt his proceedings; and, in the mean time, having received an embaſſy from the emperor, informing him that the princes of the empire propoſed to elect his ſon Maximilian king of the Romans, he gave his conſent, upon being aſſured of the obedience of the archduke, and that he would confirm the privileges of the apoſtolic ſee.

He engages in a war againſt the king of Naples;

A.D. 1486.

who agrees to a peace.

which he violates ſoon after.

Innocent, being exhauſted by the war with the king of Naples, imitated his predeceſſor Sixtus, by inſtituting ſeveral new offices, which he put to ſale. He likewiſe impoſed a tithe upon the German clergy; but they com-

[y] Iſtor. Napolit. ap. Murat. tom. xxiii. p. 237, 238. [z] Onuphr. & Ciac. in Innoc. Bzov. ann. 1485, 1486.

plaining

A.D 1488. plaining to the emperor of this grievance, he was prevailed upon, at the interceſſion of Frederic, to remit that tax [a]. About the ſame time the pope concluded an alliance betwixt his ſon and a daughter of Laurence de Medicis, and entered into a treaty with the Venetians, the marquiſes of Montferrat and Mantua, and ſeveral other ſtates. He likewiſe ſolicited the Florentine ambaſſador, and thoſe of the king of Caſtile and of the duke of Milan, to exhort the king of Naples to obſerve the late peace, otherwiſe he would draw upon himſelf the reſentment of the apoſtolic ſee [b]. In the mean time he was alarmed by the revolt of Boccalino, governor of Oſimo, a ſtrong city in the March of Ancona. The governor, finding the garriſon diſcontented upon account of the great arrears of pay due to them, prevailed upon them to revolt, and, by their aſſiſtance, expelled thoſe who favoured the pope, and ſent his brother with an offer of ſubmiſſion to the grand ſignior. But, by the perſuaſion of the Venetian governor in Romagna, he was prevailed upon to deliver up the city to the pope; and, having obtained ſecurity for his perſon, he retired to Florence [c]. Innocent being ſolicited by the Venetians to mediate a peace betwixt them and the archduke of Auſtria, who, upon a diſpute about ſome iron mines, had attacked their territories, he ſent the biſhop of Oſimo as his legate to the Auſtrian camp, who was ſo ſucceſsful as to conclude a peace [d]. Mean while he publiſhed a bull, condemning a book of John Picus, count of Concordia and Mirandola, prohibiting any one from reading it under pain of excommunication; but he did not cenſure the author, who declared, that he publiſhed the book only as a ſubject for ſcholaſtic diſputations, and under the correction of the apoſtolic ſee [e] (G).

The German clergy refuſe to pay a tithe impoſed upon them by the pope.

In

[a] Naucler. Gener. 50. [b] Iſtor. Napol. ut ſup. [c] Vite de Duchi. Machiav. Hiſt. Flor. [d] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. [e] Spond. Annal.

(G) John Picus was deſcended of the ancient family of the counts of Mirandola, celebrated in Italy from the year 1110. He was much more illuſtrious for his genius than his nobility, and obtained the title of the phœnix of his age, and by Scaliger is called Monſtrum ſine Vitio. At the age of ten years he ſtudied the law, and publiſhed commentaries on that ſubject. At eighteen years of age he underſtood twenty-two languages, and had only entered his twenty-fifth year when he publiſhed his book containing nine hundred theſes in logic, divinity, mathematics, magic, phyſics, and the cabbala, which

In the beginning of the following year, Innocent made a promotion of ſeveral cardinals, among whom was the ſon of Laurence de Medicis, a boy of fourteen years of age, and Peter Daubuſſon, grand maſter of Rhodes, who had lately gratified the pope by allowing his priſoner Zem, or Zizim, brother of the grand ſignor, to be tranſported to Rome. Zem had been firſt ſent to France, where he was guarded by the knights of Rhodes; but Charles VIII. conſenting to his removal, he arrived at Rome about the middle of March, and was preſented to the pope in a public conſiſtory, by the ambaſſador of France; but, notwithſtanding the intreaties and threats of all who were preſent, he would not kneel before his holineſs, or conſent to kiſs his feet [f]. Innocent being informed that Maximilian, king of the Romans, had been impriſoned by the inhabitants of Bruges, on ſuſpicion of having attempted to deprive them of their liberties, he wrote to the archbiſhop of Cologn, ordering him to excommunicate the rebels, if they did not ſet their prince at liberty within a certain time. A remonſtrance againſt this letter of the pope was publiſhed in France, urging that it muſt either be a forgery, or had been ſubſcribed by the pope without his peruſal of the contents, as the Flemings acknowleged no ſuperior but the king of France [g]. The cenſures of the pope were not regarded by the rebels; however, after they had put to death ſeveral of the king's party, they ſet him again at liberty [h]. Innocent,

The brother of the grand ſignor a priſoner at Rome.

[f] Vite de Duchi, ut ſup. Saxon. lib. xiii. cap. 11.

[g] Spond. Annal.

[h] Krant.

which he undertook to defend. The advocates of ignorance were greatly alarmed, and prevailed with the pope to condemn his book. However, he juſtified himſelf in an apology, in which, as a proof of the ignorance of his oppoſers, he mentions, that a theologian, who had ſhewn himſelf very zealous in cenſuring his book, being aſked what was the meaning of the word *cabbala*, anſwered, that he was a wicked man and a heretic, who had written againſt Jeſus Chriſt, and that thoſe who followed his opinion were called Cabbaliſts. Picus died at Florence in the thirty-ſecond year of his age, and is interred in the church of St. Mark, with the following epitaph upon his tomb:

Hic ſitus eſt Picus Mirandola; cætera norunt—
Et Tagus & Ganges, forſan, & Antipodes (1).

(1) Vite Pic. impr. Baſil. an. 1573 & 1601. Trith. & Bell. de Script. Eccleſ.

not

A.D. 1489. not having been able to obtain satisfaction from Ferdinand, for his violation of the late treaty, denounced an anathema against him if he did not repent within sixty days. Ferdinand paying no regard to this threat, the pope, on the 11th of September, declared him excommunicated. He likewise deposed him from the kingdom of Naples, published a crusade against him, and, as the king of France pretended to the kingdom of Sicily, in right of the late duke of Anjou, he invited that prince with an army into Italy, and appointed him general of the crusade[i]. Ferdinand, however, still despised all these fulminations; and the bishop of Alexandria, his ambassador, had the confidence in the consistory to appeal from Innocent to a general council.

Innocent deposes Ferdinand, and gives his kingdom to the king of France.

The pope, in the mean time, sent a legate to Germany, by whose mediation a peace was concluded betwixt the archduke Maximilian and the king of France, with regard to their disputes in Flanders and Bretagne. About the same time he sent nuncios to the different kingdoms and republics of Europe, desiring them to send their deputies to Rome, to deliberate about a general expedition against the Turks, under pretence of assisting A.D. 1490. Zem against his brother Bajazet. A numerous convention was accordingly held at Rome the year following, in the month of March, in which it was agreed, that the pope should have liberty to raise tithes, annates, or daily contributions, for the expences of the war; that each prince should furnish, according to a settled proportion, either money, soldiers, or provisions; that if the king of France, Spain, or England, should go in person against the Turks, the pope should likewise accompany him; but if none of those kings engaged personally in the expedition, the forces by sea and land should be commanded by two cardinal legates; and, lastly, that the Italians, French, Spaniards, and English, should act by sea, and the Germans, Bohemians, Poles, and Hungarians, by land[k]. All these projects vanished in smoke; and Innocent soon after received an embassy from the soltan of Egypt, who was at war with the Turks, desiring Zem to be sent to him, in order to distress the enemy. However, an ambassador about the same time arriving from Bajazet, intreating the pope to detain his brother, and offering an annual subsidy of forty thousand ducats for his subsistence,

A convention held at Rome, to consult of an expedition against the Turks.

[i] Vial. in Vit. Innoc. VIII. Bzov. hoc an. ibid.

[k] Idem

Innocent

Innocent accepted of his propoſal, and dropped all thoughts of the expedition[l]. Nevertheleſs it appears, that he did not neglect to raiſe the tithes in France; for he ſent a mandate to the cardinal archbiſhop of Lyons, and others, ordering them to impoſe a tithe upon all eccleſiaſtics, ſecular and regular, and to depoſe and excommunicate thoſe who refuſed to pay[m]. At the ſame time he wrote to the king of France, allowing him two-thirds of the ſaid tax for his expences in defending the church; on which account the univerſity of Paris accuſed the pope of impoſing the tithe only, with the intention of ſecuring one-third of it for his private advantage, and not for employing it in any public expedition; they therefore appealed from him to the apoſtolic ſee, when better informed, and likewiſe to a future general council.

A.D. 1492.

As Ferdinand, king of Spain, at this time was beſieging Granada, the capital city of the Moors, Innocent allowed him an annual ſubſidy of ſeventy thouſand crowns during the continuance of the war, which was concluded in the beginning of the following year, the city of Granada ſurrendering after a ſiege of eight months, and the Mooriſh king retiring, with great part of his ſubjects, into Africa[n]. At the ſame time, by the interceſſion of the king of Spain, a peace was concluded betwixt Innocent and the king of Naples, who ſeems to have been prevailed upon to ſubmit to the pope, from his apprehenſions of the king of France, who was making great preparations to enter Italy. Ferdinand promiſed to pay the annual tribute according to ancient cuſtom, to leave the collation of benefices to the pope, and to give ſatisfaction to the ſons and heirs of thoſe whom he had put to death; on which account the pope abſolved him from all eccleſiaſtical cenſures, and gave a new inveſtiture of the kingdom, not only to himſelf, but to his eldeſt ſon Alphonſus, duke of Calabria. The ambaſſador of René, duke of Lorrain, proteſted, in a public conſiſtory, againſt this new inveſtiture. However, his proteſtation had no other effect than to procure a pretended diſquiſition of the duke's right, by ſome cardinals and auditors of the rota[o]. Innocent ſurvived this peace only a few weeks, and died on the 25th of July, in the eighth year of his pontificate, leaving Italy in great tranquillity, having ſo ballanced the

The pope grants a ſubſidy to the king of Spain againſt the Moors.

He is reconciled to the king of Naples,

and dies at Rome.

[l] Vite de Duchi, p. 1224.
[m] Spond. Annal. hoc an.
[n] Ciac. in Innocent VIII. lib. v.
[o] Reſier. in Stem. Duc. Lothar.

power

power of each state, that the public quiet seemed secured for many years. However, this happiness was of very short continuance; for soon after his death, the nation was involved in all the miseries of war, owing to the ambition of his successor, and the unfortunate death of Laurence de Medicis, who had acquired a great authority, and was a check upon the king of Naples and the governor of Milan, two princes of equal power and ambition [p].

SECT. XV.

Containing the Transactions of the Popes Alexander VI. and Julius II.

THE death of Innocent was no sooner published, than all Rome was in confusion, occasioned by the factions formed by the different pretenders to the pontificate, the chief of whom were the cardinals Sforza and Rovere. However both these cardinals were prevailed upon to resign their pretensions in favour of cardinal Roderic Borgia, who by great promises, and a liberal distribution of the riches which he had amassed, acquired the plurality of the votes of the cardinals; and on the 10th of August was declared pope, by the name of Alexander VI [q]. He had been created a cardinal when a young man, by his uncle Calixtus III. but his life was so infamous, that Pius II. after having often reproved him, at length drove him from his presence [r]. As his character was well known, his election alarmed all Italy; Ferdinand particularly declared, with tears, to his queen, that a pope had been chosen who would be most pernicious to all Christendom. According to Guicciardini, Alexander had great natural abilities, and was remarkable for his address and power of persuasion; but was chiefly distinguished by his vices, which he enumerates, namely, debauchery, insincerity, impudence, irreligion, avarice, ambition, cruelty, and an immoderate desire of promoting his natural children to dignities and honours (I).

Alexander VI. is elected pope.

His

[p] Guicciardini, lib. i. [q] Petr. Martyr. Angler. Epist. 118. Onuphr. in Alex. VI. Vite de Duchi ut supra. [r] Anec. Alexand. VI. p. 4, 5, 6, &c.

(I) Alexander, when he was cardinal, kept in his house, as his wife, one Vanocia, a Roman, by whom he had four sons and one daughter. He purchased for his eldest son Peter,

His election being published, the states of Italy proposed to congratulate him by their ambassadors. By the advice of Lewis Sforza, governor of Milan, and uncle to the duke, they had agreed, that all their ambassadors should enter Rome on the same day, appear at the same time in the public consistory, and that one of them should address the pope in the name of all the rest, whereby Italy might seem one united body, and the pope might have no hopes of disturbing the public tranquillity. This proposal was prevented from being put in execution by Peter de Medicis, eldest son of the late Laurence, who, from a youthful vanity, desired to display his magnificence at Rome, as ambassador from Florence. This conduct of Peter, in which he was joined by the king of Naples, gave great umbrage to Lewis Sforza; he accordingly took the first opportunity of exciting the pope against them both: and Virginius Ursini, Peter's brother-in-law, having about this time bought some castles in the neighbourhood of Rome, from the nephew of the late pope, he persuaded Alexander to claim them as fiefs fallen to the apostolic see, since the sale had been made without his knowlege. The pope accordingly insisted that Virginius should pay forty thousand ducats to him, as supreme lord of those castles, which he had purchased from Cibo: but this proposal being rejected, he again offered to give the investiture of the castles to Virginius, and to conclude an alliance with Ferdinand, if the duke of Calabria would give one of his natural daughters to one of his sons. Alphonsus disdaining this alliance, the pope, in the month of April, concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with the republic of Venice, and with Lewis Sforza, governor

The states of Italy agree to congratulate him, as a conjunct body.

A.D. 1493.

Peter, the duchy of Candia in Spain; but he dying soon after, he conferred that duchy on his third son John, who married the natural daughter of Alphonsus, duke of Calabria. The second son Cæsar, was created a cardinal, and afterwards duke of Valentinois. The youngest son, Geoffery, obtained a principality in Naples, and married another natural daughter of Alphonsus. His daughter Lucretia had been married, while he was a cardinal, to a Spanish nobleman; but after his promotion to the pontificate, he took her from her first husband, and gave her to the prince of Pesaro; then divorcing her from him, he gave her to a natural son of Alphonsus, king of Naples, and, after the death of that husband, she married the duke of Ferrara (1).

(1) Marian. lib. vi. cap. 5. Onuphr. in Alex. VI.

of

of Milan. Sforza having usurped the government from his nephew John Galeazzo, was afraid of the resentment of Ferdinand, who, at the intreaty of his grand-daughter, Galeazzo's wife, had sent an ambassador to Milan, desiring Lewis to resign the administration [s].

He joins with Sforza in inviting the king of France to take possession of Naples.

Lewis, far from hearkening to this proposal, sent ambassadors into France, desiring Charles VIII. to renew his pretensions to the kingdom of Naples, and offering to assist him in that enterprize both with men and money [t]. The pope readily agreed to this proposal, in hopes of obtaining from Ferdinand, through fear, what formerly he would not grant voluntarily; and Charles, being prompted by several Neapolitan exiles, and by his favourites, who flattered him not only with the conquest of Naples, but even of the Turkish empire, entered into an alliance with Sforza, and promised to march with an army into Italy. Ferdinand, to avert this storm, proposed to Sforza to confirm him in his government; he endeavoured to conclude an alliance with the king of France, and resolved immediately to accommodate all his differences with the pope, who very readily hearkened to his proposals. On condition that Virginius should pay to the apostolic see forty thousand ducats for his late purchase, and that Geoffrey, the pope's youngest son, should be contracted to Alphonsus's natural daughter, and be created prince of Squillaci, with a yearly revenue of ten thousand ducats, he promised, by a secret bull, to assist him in defending the kingdom of Naples [u].

He is reconciled to Ferdinand:

He grants America to the Spaniards.

In the mean time, being informed by the ambassadors of the king of Spain that Christopher Columbus had discovered America, or the West Indies, he published a bull, granting to Ferdinand and Isabella, and to their heirs, all the islands and continents discovered, or to be discovered, on the west side of a meridian line, which line should be computed a hundred leagues to the westward of the isles of Cape Verd, and the Azores: from this grant, however, he excepted all those lands which were already discovered by other Christian princes, on the west side of the said line. These he left as the property of the possessors, and besides made it a condition of his grant, that the king should send learned and pious men to instruct the inhabi-

[s] Vite de Duchi, Storia Venetiana. Diar. Sanesi. ut supra. Guicciard. lib. i. Cor. par. 7. [t] Commin. lib. vii. cap. 2.
[u] Guicciard. lib. i.

tants

tants of those countries in the Christian faith [w]. At the desire of Ladislaus, king of Hungary, he ordered a crusade to be preached against the Turks, charging his legate, the bishop of Trani, to negociate an accommodation betwixt Hungary, Poland, and the emperor Maximilian, who a few months before had succeeded his father Frederic, that those two kingdoms, together with the empire, might unite their forces against the common enemy of Christendom; for which purpose he likewise wrote to the kings of Poland and Hungary, and to the princes of the empire [x]. About the same time he made a promotion of twelve cardinals at Rome, among whom was Cæsar Borgia, one of his natural sons, whose elevation was vigorously opposed for some time by the whole sacred college [y] (K). Being still desirous of procuring new dignities to his children, he again threatened to desert the king of Naples, if he would not compel the cardinal of St. Peter to deliver up the castle of Ostia, attributing the cardinal's rebellion to the king's instigation. Ferdinand in vain protested his innocence; but death prevented him from feeling the resentment of the pope, he being cut off by an apoplexy in the end of January. A.D. 1494.

Alexander, during this second rupture, had again, in appearance, embraced the interest of the king of France, having, at his request, created the bishop of St. Malo a cardinal; and having, in conjunction with Lewis Sforza, taken into his pay Prospero Colonna, with a considerable body of horse. However, ambassadors arriving with large offers from Alphonsus, the successor of Ferdinand, he concluded a treaty of alliance with the new king, and sent his nephew, John Borgia, as his legate, who crowned him at Naples. A few months after this coronation, four ambassadors arriving from France, and claiming the investiture of Naples in the name of king Charles, Alexander refused to grant their request; but declared, that, if the French king would cease his warlike preparations,

He again inclines to the french interest;

but is reconciled to the house of Arragon, and gives the investiture of Naples to Alphonsus.

[w] Bullar. tom. i. Alex. VI. Const. II. Barrof. Asi. dec. ii. lib. iii. cap. 2.
[x] Cromer. lib. xxx. Rainald ad an. 1493. Bonfin. dec. v. lib. iii.
[y] Diar. Sanesi. Vite de Duchi, ut supra.

(K) Alexander to remove the impediment to his son's promotion, suborned false witnesses, who swore that he was the legitimate son of another person (1).

(1) Guicciard. lib. i.

and refer his pretenſions to the deciſion of the apoſtolic ſee, he, as ſupreme lord of the fief, was ready to hear and judge of his claim. About the ſame time Alexander, having recovered the caſtle of Oſtia, propoſed to Alphonſus to unite their forces in Romagna, and to ſit out ſeveral gallies, as the king of France had already taken poſſeſſion of Genoa, and was equipping a fleet at Marſeilles, with the intention of attacking Naples by ſea. The king agreed to this propoſal, and ſoon after had a perſonal conference with the pope at Vicovario, where they ſettled the plan of their operations, to prevent the French from entering the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. Alexander likewiſe ſolicited the aſſiſtance of the king of Spain, and ſent a private embaſſy for the ſame purpoſe to the emperor of the Turks, informing him that the king of France, after he had conquered Naples, intended to attack Greece. The ambaſſadors brought nothing from Bajazet but magnificent promiſes; but Ferdinand of Caſtile, promiſing to ſend a fleet to the aſſiſtance of the king of Naples, the pope allowed him to apply all the money raiſed in his kingdom for the cruſade, to the preſent expedition[z]. He likewiſe publiſhed a bull, prohibiting the king of France from entering Italy, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and by his nuncio at Venice, ſolicited that republic to enter into an alliance with him and Alphonſus, againſt the French[a].

He ſolicits the aſſiſtance of Bajazet againſt the French.

The king of France enters Italy with an army;

Charles however, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of all his nobles, and his great want of money, at the inſtigation of the cardinal of St. Peter's, reſolved to proſecute his expedition, and paſſing over the Alps, in the end of Auguſt, arrived at Aſti on the 9th of September, where he was joined by Lewis Sforza, who accompanied him to Pavia, and from thence to Placentia. Lewis hearing of the death of his nephew the duke, whom he is ſuppoſed to have poiſoned, returned to Milan, and, in prejudice of the infant ſon of the deceaſed, cauſed himſelf to be proclaimed duke, which title he had purchaſed from the emperor the year before. Mean while the king of France, being in great difficulty for want of money, and ſeeing no commotion in Italy in his favour, began to deliberate about repaſſing the Alps; but, being ſtill urged by the duke of Milan, he advanced with his army, and took poſſeſſion of Lucca, Piſa, and Florence, from which laſt city Peter de

and makes himſelf maſter of Romagna and Tuſcany.

z Spond. Annal. a Guicciard. lib. i. Diar. Saneſ. ut ſupra. Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. tom. xxiv. p. 7, 8, 9.

Medicis

Medicis had been expelled by the people, who declared for the French. Before king Charles had arrived at Florence, the Colonneſi had likewiſe declared for him at Rome, and had ſeized the caſtle of Oſtia in his name. The pope then publiſhed loud complaints of the injuries he had received from the French, requeſted the aſſiſtance of all Chriſtian princes, particularly of the king of Spain and the Venetians, and recalled his troops from the army in Romagna, with the intention of fortifying Rome. He likewiſe ſent Franceſco Picolomini, cardinal of Sienna, as his ambaſſador to Charles, but the king refuſed to admit him to an audience; and having ſeized the Turkiſh ambaſſador, who was carrying forty thouſand ducats to Rome, he ordered his fleet to proceed to Oſtia, to aſſiſt his adherents [b]. Advancing ſoon after with his army towards Sienna, the pope again ſent three ambaſſadors to him, to treat of an accommodation; but he declaring, that he intended to treat at Rome, Alexander immediately apprehended the cardinals Colonna and Sforza, and admitted the duke of Calabria with his army into the city, being greatly apprehenſive of the deſigns of Charles. As he knew the king was accompanied by the cardinal of St. Peter, and favoured by the greateſt part of the ſacred college, he was afraid of a rumour that prevailed, that the king intended to reform the church: he likewiſe dreaded his reſentment, for having joined the king of Naples, after he had invited him into Italy; but receiving an embaſſy from him, declaring that he had no intention to interfere with the pontifical authority, and deſiring to enter Rome in a peaceable manner, he conſented to what he could not prevent.

The king of France accordingly entered Rome on the laſt day of December, late at night; but the pope, inſtead of receiving him, retired, in great terror, with two cardinals, to the caſtle of St. Angelo. The other cardinals, to the number of eighteen, adhered to the king [c], and ſolicited him earneſtly to remove from the holy ſee a perſon deteſtable to all the world for his vices, aſſuring him, that it would be more glorious for him to free the church of God from the tyranny of a wicked pope, than it was for Pepin and Charlemagne to have delivered the former popes from their oppreſſors. Alexander, however, by his gifts and promiſes, having acquired friends among the king's

A.D 1495.

He enters Rome in triumph.

Is intreated by the cardinals to depoſe the pope.

[b] Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. tom. xxiv. p. 7, 8, 9. [c] Commin. lib. vii. cap. 12.

He concludes a treaty with him, contrary to their inclinations, and makes an eaſy conqueſt of Naples.

counſellors, Charles concluded a treaty with him, by which it was agreed, that, till the conqueſt of Naples, the king ſhould be put in poſſeſſion of the caſtles of Civita Vecchia, Terracina, and Spoleto; that the pope ſhould pardon all the cardinals and barons that had adhered to the king; that he ſhould give him the inveſtiture of Naples, and deliver up to him the brother of the grand ſignor (M); and, laſtly, that Cæſar Borgia, cardinal of Valentia, ſhould accompany the king three months as apoſtolical legate. This treaty being concluded, the pope returned to his palace, and afterwards received the king with great pomp in the church of St. Peter. The ſacred college were highly offended with the king, for agreeing to an accommodation with the pope, and eight of the cardinals immediately left Rome. Charles likewiſe, in the end of January, marched with his army from the city towards Naples; but before his departure, he was informed, that Alphonſus had reſigned his kingdom to his ſon Ferdinand, and had fled into Sicily. Ferdinand, however, was unable to make any oppoſition, and retired to the iſland of Iſchia, leaving his kingdom to the poſſeſſion of Charles, who entered Naples on the 22d of February.

The pope concludes a treaty againſt him with ſeveral princes.

The rapid progreſs of the French king greatly alarmed all Italy, eſpecially as he had left French garriſons in the fortified places of thoſe territories through which he had paſſed. Cæſar Borgia having fled from his camp before the king arrived at Naples, the pope thought himſelf no longer bound to obſerve the treaty which he had lately concluded with him at Rome. In the month of April, he entered into an alliance with the emperor, the king of Spain, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, under pretence of oppoſing the Turks, but in reality to oblige

(M) Zem, or Zizim, died at Naples, or, according to different authors, at Capua, or Terracina, having been poiſoned by the connivance of the pope, before he was delivered to the king of France. The Turkiſh annals relate, that he was poiſoned by one Muſtapha, ſent to Rome by Bajazet with the annual penſion, and that the pope gave his conſent; which is in ſome meaſure confirmed by a letter of Bajazet to the pope, wherein he adviſes Alexander to haſten the death of his brother, which at any rate muſt happen ſome time, and promiſes him three hundred thouſand crowns, if he would ſend his corpſe to any port in the Turkiſh dominions (1).

(1) Epiſt. Princip. Italic. Script. vol. i. Epiſt. vi. edit. 1581.

Charles

Charles to quit his conquests in Italy. By a secret article, the duke of Milan engaged to prevent any succours coming from France; which kingdom, at the same time, was to be attacked by the emperor and the king of Spain[s]. Charles being informed of this treaty, immediately resolved to return to France, before his enemies had assembled a force sufficient to oppose him; accordingly, having left Gilbert Montpensier as his viceroy, with about three thousand horse, and a small body of infantry, on the 20th of May he left Naples, with the rest of his army, and marched directly for Rome. Alexander, having again assembled his troops, and got some auxiliaries from his allies, intended to oppose the king; but, his fear prevailing, he abandoned the city, and fled to Orvieto, and from thence to Perugia. Charles continued but two days in Rome, and proceeded through Viterbo, Sienna, and Pisa, to Fornovo, a village situated within eight miles of Parma. His camp was there attacked on the 6th of July by the Venetians; but the enemy being repulsed, he advanced towards Asti and Turin, and, passing the Alps, arrived at Grenoble on the 27th of October.

He returns to France.

The day after the battle at Fornovo, Ferdinand had returned to Italy. Being assisted by a great many voluntiers from Sicily, and some troops from Spain, commanded by the famous Gonsalvo Hernandes of Cordova, he immediately recovered several places in the kingdom of Naples; which success had encouraged the pope to send a nuncio to the king of France, ordering him, under pain of ecclesiastical censures, to quit Italy within ten days, and to withdraw his troops from Naples within a limited time. This command was treated with great contempt by Charles, who threatened to return to Rome: however, his affairs obliged him to repass the Alps. After his departure, the pope sent troops to assist Ferdinand, and forbad the Genoese, under pain of excommunication, to allow the French to build any ships in their territories. Ferdinand, by the succours sent him by the pope, and the assistance of the Spanish and Venetian fleets, quickly recovered the greatest part of his kingdom. However, the troubles of Italy were not thereby composed; for a great many cities in Romagna and Tuscany were engaged in particular disputes, and Aquila and Perugia, with many other cities in the ecclesiastical state, refused obedience to the pope, and

Ferdinand recovers the kingdom of Naples.

A.D. 1496.

[s] Commin. lib. vii. cap. 15. Guicciard. Diar. Ferrar. Chron. Venet ut supra. Diar. Sanes. ut supra.

adhered to the party of the king of France, who had sent to the duke of Milan, demanding a passage, and provisions for thirty thousand horse, with which he proposed to enter Italy [t]. His threatening a second expedition struck a great terror into the Italian states; the pope caused the castle of St. Angelo to be repaired; and the Venetians solicited the king of England to declare war against France; but not succeeding at that court, they, with the duke of Milan, invited the emperor to enter Italy, and to take the command of their army, promising to take four thousand Swiss into their pay, and to allow him twenty thousand ducats per month [u].

The king of France threatens to return to Italy.

The emperor enters Lombardy, to the assistance of the Venetians, but returns dissatisfied to Germany.

The emperor readily agreed to this proposal; and, against the inclination of the Germans, entered Italy in the month of August, with one thousand horse, and five hundred foot. The pope being informed of his arrival, sent his bastard son, cardinal Borgia, to crown him emperor at Milan, as the Venetians had refused him a passage to Rome through their territories [w]. Soon after his arrival, the Venetians being informed of the death of the dauphin of France, which freed them from their apprehensions of a French invasion, they resolved to free themselves likewise from the emperor; and for that purpose persuaded him to undertake the siege of Leghorn, which still held for the French, and was strongly fortified. Maximilian accordingly opened the siege; but his forces being inconsiderable, he quickly found the enterprize impracticable, and retired to Pavia, from whence he returned dissatisfied to Germany, the Venetians having neglected to pay their part of the subsidy [x].

Ferdinand dies at Naples.

A few weeks before the departure of the emperor, Ferdinand died at Naples, after he had recovered all his kingdom except Taranto and Gaeta. As he left no children, he was succeeded by his uncle Frederic, who soon recovered Gaeta and Taranto, and detained Virginius Ursini, and his son Paul, prisoners in the castle of Naples, they having in the late troubles adhered to the party of the king of France. On this pretence the pope thought proper at this time to declare them rebels, and sent his son, the duke of Candia, with some troops, to take possession of their estates, who quickly made himself master of six of their castles. Alexander imprisoned several of the cardinals who opposed

A.D 1497.

The pope attacks the territories of the Ursini.

[t] Diar. Ferrar. ut supra. p. 319. & 320. [u] Chron. Venet. ut supra. [w] Diar. Ferrar. [x] Guicciard. lib. iii. Storia Venet. ut supra.

his

his proceedings, while others, to save themselves, were obliged to fly to different parts of Italy[x]. However, he was soon prevailed upon to conclude a peace, his forces having been surprised and defeated by those of the Ursini, and the duke of Urbino, and many other persons of distinction, taken prisoners, among whom some authors mention the duke of Candia[y]. All the territories taken from the Ursini were restored to them, upon their paying forty thousand ducats. The pope then sent Gonsalvo with his Spaniards, whom he had taken into his pay, against the castle of Ostia, which had been seized again by the adherents of the cardinal of St. Peter's. This fort surrendered, after a short resistance, to the Spanish general, who returned in triumph to Rome, where he was honoured with a golden rose by the pope. Alexander, at the same time, was greatly solicited by the duke of Milan and the Venetians, to give assistance, according to the terms of the treaty, against the French, who made great efforts to obtain the possession of Genoa. His compliance with their demands quickly became unnecessary; for the king of Spain having advanced with an army as far as Perpignan, Charles VIII. consented to a truce till the beginning of November, in which the Italian states should be included; and, in the mean time, plenipotentiaries repaired to Montpelier to negociate a peace.

He concludes a peace with them.

Soon after the publication of the truce, all Rome was thrown into great confusion, occasioned by the murder of the duke of Candia, who was assassinated in the streets by his brother, the cardinal of Valentia. The cardinal Borgia, according to Guicciardini, was prompted by jealousy and envy to this horrid deed. As he had no inclination to an ecclesiastical life, he was ambitious of possessing that temporal grandeur which his brother enjoyed, and was besides impatient to find that the duke had a greater share in his sister's affections than himself. Both the brothers are said to have been rivalled by their father; who not being satisfied with his daughter's second marriage, hired false witnesses to prove the impotence of her husband. The pope was afflicted beyond measure at the death of his son; and suspecting the cardinal Sforza and the count of Mirandola as guilty of the murder, he caused them both to be apprehended: but a few days after, discovering the real author, he deplored his misery with tears in the con-

The duke of Candia is murdered by his brother the cardinal.

x Diar. Ferrar. y Guicciard. lib. iii.

history; confessed the wickedness of his former life; and nominated several cardinals, by whose advice he solemnly promised to reform the manners of his court. He dropt these good resolutions, however, in a few days, and returned, with more eagerness than ever, to the practice of those vices in which he had spent his life. Soon after, he granted the investiture of Naples to Frederic. Being informed that one Savonarola, a Dominican, of great authority at Florence, had prevailed with that city to restore the popular government, and had written to the emperor, and to the kings of France, England, Spain, and Portugal, exhorting them to assist the church, which was corrupted from the crown of the head to the sole of the foot, and to pluck up, by the authority of a general council, the abomination which stood in the holy place, he prohibited him from preaching, and cited him to appear at Rome. As the monk refused to go to Rome, he threatened to excommunicate the Florentines, and lay their city under an interdict, unless they delivered him up bound, and refrained from hearing his sermons; but these menaces being despised, he denounced an anathema against Savonarola at Rome [z].

A.D. 1498.

Savonarola, a monk of Florence, exhorts the princes of Europe to call a council for reforming the church.

Lewis XII. succeeds to the crown of France, and claims the duchy of Milan.

Mean while, the truce being continued betwixt the kings of Spain and France, Charles again made preparations for an expedition into Italy, with the consent of Alexander, who had entered into a private negociation with him, in hopes of promoting his son cardinal Borgia. Charles dying in the month of April, without issue, was succeeded by his cousin Lewis, duke of Orleans, who, far from dropping his pretensions in Italy, immediately assumed the title of king of France, Jerusalem, and both Sicilies, and duke of Milan, which duchy he claimed in right of his grandmother Valentina, daughter and heiress of John Galeazzo Visconti. Upon the unexpected death of the king of France, Alexander again solicited the friendship of the king of Naples: being desirous of obtaining some secular dignity for his son, he proposed an alliance betwixt him and Carlotta, the king's daughter, and that the principality of Taranto should be granted to him as her dowry. Frederic rejecting this proposal with disdain, the pope immediately applied to the king of France; and as Carlotta was then at his court, he asked his assistance in concluding the proposed alliance. Lewis being resolved upon an ex-

[z] Spond. Annal. Bzov. hoc an.

pedition

pedition to Italy, and desirous of obtaining a divorce from his present wife, complied readily with the pope's request; accordingly, Cæsar Borgia having resigned the cardinalate, set out for France with the pope's bull, authorizing an examination of the king's marriage [a].

Cæsar Borgia resigns the cardinalate.

All Italy exclaimed against this resignation of the cardinalate, as the late pope had even refused to allow one of the cardinals to resign, who was desirous of assuming the monkish habit. Savonarola, who had abstained from preaching for several months, again declaimed against the pope; but the magistracy of Florence being desirous of procuring his favour in a treaty which they were then negotiating, for the recovery of Pisa, ordered the Dominican to be silent. Savonarola obeyed; but several of his companions still continued to reproach the pope in their sermons with great freedom. The Franciscans adopted the opposite party with great warmth; and the dispute went so far, that one of the Franciscans challenged a Dominican to walk with him into the midst of a fire, in proof of the truth of their doctrines. The challenge being accepted, an immense crowd assembled to see the experiment; but the Dominican being afraid, desired to enter the fire with the consecrated wafer; which being opposed by the Franciscans, and insisted upon by Savonarola, served for an excuse to delay the proposed trial. Savonarola, however, lost his reputation with the people, and next day was seized, with two of his companions; and being degraded by the general of their order, they were delivered to the civil magistrate, who ordered them to be put to death [b]. Alexander, about the same time, degraded and imprisoned a bishop at Rome, who was accused of Mohammedism and heresy [c].

Savonarola is burnt at Florence.

During these transactions, Cæsar Borgia arrived at Paris, where he was received with great honour by the king, who created him a knight, and duke of Valentinois in Dauphiné, and gave him the command of a body of one hundred horse, with an annual pension of twenty thousand livres. The following year he married Carlotta, a daughter of a peer of France, as the daughter of Frederic had absolutely refused to marry him. Lewis XII. in the mean time, having concluded a peace with the kings of England and Spain, and a truce with the emperor, made

A.D. 1499.

Borgia is created a duke by the king of France.

[a] Bellefor. lib. vi. cap. i. [b] Guicciard. lib. iii. in fin. Bzov. tom. xviii. an. 1492, &c. Diar. Ferrar. [c] Spond. Annal.

great

great preparations to take poſſeſſion of the Milaneſe, having likewiſe ſecured the friendſhip of the pope and the Venetians. Lewis Sforza applied for aſſiſtance to the emperor; but being diſappointed in Germany, he ſent an embaſſy to Bajazet, deſiring him to declare war againſt the Venetians. Maximilian was prevented from aſſiſting Sforza, being then engaged in a war againſt the Swiſs: but being very deſirous of humbling the Venetians, he likewiſe ſolicited the grand ſignior to attack them, promiſing, at the ſame time, to make an irruption into the Treviſane [d]. The Turks accordingly fitted out a formidable fleet, with which they made themſelves maſters of the ſea; and aſſembling their forces in Boſnia, entered Italy by Friuli, ravaging the country with fire and ſword as far as Lavenza, and carrying off with them many thouſands of captives.

The Venetians, in this extremity, ſoliciting the king of France to haſten his march into Italy, Lewis arrived at Lyons in the month of Auguſt, and ſent a conſiderable army over the Alps, under the command of the duke of Luxemburgh, the duke of Albany, and one Trivulzi, an Italian, who taking Alexandria by ſtorm, though garriſoned by five thouſand men, ſtruck ſuch a terror into the other cities of the Milaneſe, that they ſurrendered without any oppoſition; Sforza, in a diſgraceful manner, abandoning Milan, and flying with his wife, children, and treaſure, into Germany. The French having, in leſs than twenty days, made themſelves maſters of the Milaneſe, and of Genoa, Lewis XII. arrived at Milan on the 6th of October, where he received embaſſies of congratulation from all the potentates of Italy, except Frederic, king of Naples [e]. The different ſtates put themſelves under his protection, and made alliances with him, agreeable to their intereſts. The pope, likewiſe, laid hold of this opportunity; and ſoliciting the king to fulfil his engagements to the duke of Valentinois, who had come with him from France, Lewis granted him three hundred lances at his own expence, and a body of four or five thouſand Swiſs, to be paid by the pope; with which force Alexander propoſed to reduce the whole territory of Romagna

The king of France conquers the Milaneſe, and gives troops to Borgia, to aſſiſt him to conquer Romagna.

[d] Chron. Venet. ap. Murator. tom. xxiv. [e] Chron. Venet. ut ſupra. Diar. Ferrar. ut ſupra. Guicciard. lib. iv. Cor. par vii.

under

under the subjection of the Roman see (N); but in reality, he intended that country, when conquered, as a settlement for his son Cæsar. The Venetians had for many years been in possession of Ravenna and Cervia; however, the pope at this time made no pretensions to these cities, nor to those lands on the banks of the Po, which were possessed by the duke of Ferrara, whom the king of France had taken into his protection.

Borgia proposed at first to make himself master of Imola and Forli, then in the possession of the widow of Jeronimo Riaro, nephew of the late pope Sixtus. This woman, with great spirit, made all possible preparations to oppose him; she repaired the fortifications of her cities, and sent her children to Florence, whither she herself also repaired to solicit assistance. Her journey being without effect, she sent an embassy to the pope with a poisoned letter, wrapped up in scarlet cloth, to be delivered into his own hands; and having, with great labour, laid all the lands round Forli under water, she appeared on the walls in the dress of a soldier, to encourage her men. Her endeavours, however, to defend herself were ineffectual; for the design of her embassy was discovered at Rome, and the inhabitants of Imola and Forli, struck with the fate of Alex-

(N) The cities in Romagna, which territory was said to be given to the Roman church by Charlemagne, were usurped by particular lords during the residence of the popes at Avignon, and during the great schism, which happened upon their return to Italy. The popes not being able to reduce those tyrants by force, either granted the territories which had been usurped to the usurpers themselves, as fiefs of the church, or gave the investiture of them to others, with the titles of vicars. Thus the pope gave Ferrara to Azzo of Este, at first with the title of vicar, but afterwards with that of duke. Many lords likewise in the March of Ancona, the patrimony of St. Peter, and the duchy of Spoleto, obtained the title of vicar, either by the free or extorted compliance of the pope. The cities of Romagna, though accounted feudatory to the church, had for a long course of years thrown off all subjection to the popes, many of the vicars neglecting entirely to pay their annual tribute, and all of them entering into the service of other princes, without making the exception of not serving against the church, nay, even stipulating to defend them against the authority and arms of the pope (1).

(1) Guicciard. lib. iv.

andria,

Borgia makes himself master of Imola and Forli.

andria, surrendered, without any opposition, to the duke, who took possession of them about the middle of January [f].

A.D. 1500.

As this year was supposed to begin a new century, Alexander had published two bulls, appointing the celebration of a jubilee, which began at Christmas, but was not frequented by a great concourse of pilgrims, on account of the war which then raged in Lombardy. To encourage strangers to come to Rome, the pope shortened the time for their residence in the city, and extended the jubilee to the Epiphany of the following year; after which time he allowed it to be celebrated till Whitsuntide through all Italy. He likewise sent nuncios into the different provinces of Christendom, to publish the indulgences of the holy year, and appointed the tithe of the whole money raised on that account, to be given to the Venetians, as a subsidy against the Turks [g]. Besides, to prevent that republic from giving any assistance to the lords of Rimini, Faenza, Pesaro, and other territories in Romagna, against his son, he allowed them to publish a crusade against the Turks. The assistance of the pope being very necessary for the Venetians, who were engaged in an unsuccessful war with the infidels, they promised not to interest themselves in the affairs of Romagna: however, being afraid of seeing Borgia in possession of that country, they privately solicited their ally, the king of France, to recall the Swiss and French from Romagna, being sensible that, without them, Borgia could not succeed in his enterprize.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

Lewis Sforza recovers the Milanese.

Trivulzi, governor of Milan, accordingly ordered these troops immediately to return, not so much to gratify the Venetians, as to oppose Lewis Sforza, who had suddenly repassed the Alps with several thousand Swiss and Burgundians, and taken possession of Como. Upon his arrival the whole Milanese revolted from the French, who had rendered themselves detestable to the Italians by their insolence and barbarity; and Trivulzi having but an inconsiderable body of men, was obliged to retire to Novara. Borgia, in the mean time, having conquered Imola and Forli, at the expence of a hundred and thirty thousand ducats, ceased all hostilities in Romagna, and re-

[f] Chron Venet. Diar. Ferrar. ut supra. [g] Bzov. hoc ann. & seq. Polyd. lib. xxvi. Cromer. lib. xxx. Trithem. in Chron. Spond. Annal.

turned

turned to Rome, but, before his departure, he is said to have poisoned cardinal Borgia, who was a favourite of the pope, and had been sent by him as legate to Cesena, with a yearly revenue of twenty thousand ducats [h]. Soon after his arrival at Rome, Lewis Sforza was seized by the Swifs in his own service, and by them delivered to the French general, by which means the king of France again became master of the Milanese in a more absolute manner than before. All Italy was alarmed at this event, except the Venetians and the pope; the last of whom entered into an alliance with the king, promising to assist him with troops in his expedition against Naples, and appointing the cardinal of Rouen legate of France for eighteen months; in consideration of which, Lewis again allowed Borgia three hundred lances and two thousand foot, and declared, that he would look upon those as his enemies who opposed the pope's son. This reinforcement having joined his other troops, which consisted of six hundred horse and six thousand foot, Borgia returned to Romagna, and, without opposition, made himself master of Pesaro and Rimini, the Florentines and the duke of Ferrara not daring to give any assistance to the feudatory lords, the Venetians even deserting their cause, and honouring Borgia with the title of nobility. The city of Faenza, which was next invested, though destitute of all auxiliaries, resolved to adhere to the family of Manfredi, and made such desperate sallies on the besiegers, that Borgia, in great vexation, was obliged to raise the siege, and put his troops into winter quarters [i].

Borgia conquers Pesaro and Rimini.

Alexander, in the mean time, to supply the expences of the war, promoted twelve persons to the cardinalate, from whom he received a large sum of money. Borgia, likewise, having received new reinforcements of French and Spaniards, again invested Faenza in the beginning of February. The inhabitants of this city, after a vigorous defence, were obliged to surrender in the end of April, Borgia promising them security in their personal estates, and an allowance of four thousand ducats a-year to their lord: however, having taken possession of the place, he sent the lord, who was then only eighteen years of age, to Rome, where he was soon after put to death [k]. After the conquest of Faenza, Borgia having obtained the title of

A.D. 1501.

Is created duke of Romagna.

[h] Chron. Venet. ut supra. [i] Guicciard. lib. v. Diar. Ferrar. p. 391. [k] Idem ibid.

duke

duke of Romagna from his father, he marched with his army againſt Bologna, propoſing, after he had made himſelf maſter of that city, to attack Florence. Upon his march he received an order from the king of France, prohibiting his enterprize againſt Bologna, as he had taken that city, and its lord, John Bentivoglio, under his protection. This injunction was very diſagreeable to the duke: however, being very deſirous to extend his conqueſts, he came to an accommodation with Bentivoglio, who granted him a paſſage through his territories into Tuſcany, paid him ſix thouſand ducats, and ſent his ſon to join him with three hundred horſe and five thouſand foot.

The kings of France and Spain make a partition of the kingdom of Naples.

This reinforcement ſupplied the place of the French, who at this time returned to Lombardy, the king of France having put his forces in motion for the conqueſt of Naples, in conſequence of a treaty with the king of Spain, by which theſe two princes had agreed upon a partition of the kingdom of Naples. The pope readily confirmed this treaty, to the aſtoniſhment of all Italy. He gave the inveſtiture of the duchy of Apulia and Calabria to the king of Spain, and of all the reſt of the kingdom to the king of France, under the title of king of Naples and Jeruſalem. Frederic was quite confounded at this agreement, as the king of Spain had ſent a great body of troops into his kingdom, under pretence of oppoſing the French, who had now advanced as far as Rome. Having one powerful enemy already in the midſt of his dominions, and being threatened with an invaſion from another, he left a garriſon in Capua, and retired in deſpair to Naples. Mean while the Spaniſh general employed his forces in reducing Calabria and Apulia; and the French having taken poſſeſſion of Averſa, Nola, and ſeveral other places, attacked Capua, which they took by ſtorm. Borgia, who had entered into a defenſive treaty with the Florentines, and had left his army in the territory of Piombino, accompanied the French army with his guards as lieutenant-general, and, at the ſacking of Capua, ſeized forty of the faireſt nuns as his own booty [1]. Frederic being informed of the loſs of Capua, immediately abandoned Naples, which ſurrendered to the conquerors; and he himſelf ſoon after, from his deteſtation of the king of Spain, reſigned his whole kingdom to the French, and went with his family to France, where he was created duke of

[1] Guicciard. lib v. Diar. Ferrar.

Anjou,

Anjou, and allowed a yearly penſion of thirty thouſand ducats.

Mean while the affairs of the pope proceeded with their uſual proſperity. He made himſelf maſter of all the poſſeſſions of the Colloneſi and Savelli in the Terra di Roma, which he divided betwixt the Urſini and his ſon Borgia, who had reduced Piombino to great diſtreſs. The lord of that city had ſent to the Genoeſe for aſſiſtance, and had even offered to ſell his whole eſtates to that republic; but while they were ſoliciting the conſent of the king of France, Piombino was obliged to ſurrender to Borgia [m]. Though the French king was diſſatisfied with the conqueſts of Borgia, he nevertheleſs gratified the pope in all his demands, and prevailed with the duke of Ferrara to conclude an alliance betwixt his eldeſt ſon Alphonſus and Lucretia, the pope's daughter. The duke conſented to this match to ſecure his poſſeſſions from the ambition of Borgia; accordingly (the pope allowing his daughter a dowry of a hundred thouſand ducats in gold, and the value of a hundred and eleven thouſand ducats in jewels) ſhe arrived at Ferrara on the 1ſt of February, where ſhe was received with great magnificence, and, a few days after, the apoſtolic nuncio gave the inveſtiture of Ferrara to Alphonſus, and created him a knight of St. Peter [n].

A D. 1502.

The duke of Ferrara's ſon marries the pope's daughter.

About this time Maximilian, who had ſtill delayed to give the inveſtiture of Milan to the king of France, ſent an ambaſſador into Italy, to inform the pope, and the other potentates, that he intended a journey to Rome to receive the imperial crown. This intimation alarmed the king of France, who, from the high demands of the Florentine ambaſſador at his court, ſuſpected that the ſtates of Italy had entered into an alliance with the emperor: he therefore renewed his treaty with the Florentines, in terms very favourable for that republic, and ſent a herald to Borgia, prohibiting him from attacking their territories. The duke of Romagna had then excited the city of Arezzo to revolt; and this enterprize ſucceeding to his wiſh, he left Rome, and ſurpriſed Cagli, a city of the duke of Urbino, whoſe duchy he quickly made himſelf maſter of, although the duke, a few weeks before, had accommodated with the pope all his differences about the tribute. After this conqueſt he ſeized ſome places belonging to the lord of Camerino, whom, with his two

The emperor propoſes a journey to Rome.

[m] Barthol. Senaregæ de Reb. Genuen. ap. Murat. lib. xxiv. p. 574. Guicciard. [n] Idem ibid.

ſons

The king of France promises to check the ambition of Borgia.

sons, he ordered to be strangled. This method of proceeding alarmed the Ursini and other lords that served in his army, who judged that, as his ambition had no bounds, they likewise, in the end, would share the same fate with the rest. Their fears, however, were in some measure abated by the arrival of the king of France in Italy, who sent a body of troops towards Florence, to recover some places belonging to that republic, which had been seized by one of Borgia's captains, and declared publicly, that he intended to march in person against Borgia, and oblige him to deliver up all his conquests. The king was excited to this enterprize by the ambassadors of the Italian states, who waited upon him at Asti; but the pope bribing his favourite, the cardinal of Rouen, with a new legation in France, for eighteen months, and promising to assist him in his war against Ferdinand in Naples, and to give no countenance to Maximilian, who laid claim to the Milanese as a fief of the empire, he again renewed his alliance with him and his son. This treaty being concluded, Borgia waited upon the king at Milan and Genoa, and, to the mortification of the Italian ambassadors, was received by him with great caresses.

A confederacy formed against him.

Soon after, it being discovered that the king of France had promised to assist the duke in reducing Bologna, and the other feudatory lords, all the states of Italy were under great apprehensions for their own security. The Venetians were very earnest with the king to induce him to renounce the alliance; and the Ursini, with the other lords who served in Borgia's army, withdrew their troops, and entered into a league for their mutual defence against him, to which they were encouraged by the revolt of the duchy of Urbino. Borgia was greatly alarmed at this confederacy, as their forces were superior to his: however, with his usual good fortune, he prevailed upon the Ursini, even after they had gained some advantages over him, to consent to a separate treaty of peace, to which the other lords were obliged to accede. The duke of Urbino, and the lord of Camerino, immediately fled, one to Venice, and the other to Naples; and Borgia, soon after, made himself master of Fano and Sinigaglia, into which last city he enticed Paul Ursino, and three other chiefs of the late confederacy, two of whom, next day, he ordered to be strangled.

The pope in the mean time, with intention, as it was believed, of raising money for his son, proposed a general
A.D. 1503. crusade against the Turks; for which purpose he sent nuncios

nuncios into the different kingdoms of Europe, but with little or no success; his infamous character rendering all his proposals suspicious. However, he still succeeded in deceiving the Italian princes: upon being informed of the tragedy at Sinigaglia, he imprisoned the cardinal Ursino in the castle of St. Angelo, and sent his youngest son, the prince of Squillaci, to take possession of the territories belonging to that family, and the other confederate lords. The cardinal dying (as it was supposed by poison) after twenty days imprisonment, Borgia immediately ordered the other two lords to be put to death at Sinigaglia, and marching from thence in the end of January, made himself master of Citta di Castello and Perugia; then, desiring an opportunity to seize Sienna, he ordered them to banish their lord Pandolfo Petrucci as his enemy. Pandolfo was accordingly banished; but the king of France interposing, Borgia was obliged to desist from that enterprize: however, he took possession of the territories of the Savelli, and several of the strong places belonging to the Ursini, even against the command of the king of France, whose authority was greatly lessened in Italy, as he had, by neglect, allowed the Spaniards to make themselves masters of almost the whole kingdom of Naples. A.D. 1503.

The Spaniards conquer Naples.

Borgia, in hopes of making a conquest of Tuscany, immediately began to treat with the Spanish general; but the king of France sending a powerful army into Italy, the pope was in doubt which of the princes he should declare for: at length, under the pretence of being the common father, he resolved upon a neutrality, allowed the French army a passage through his territories, and promised, during the Neapolitan war, not to attack Bologna, Sienna, or Florence. It was supposed that the pope had no design to observe this last article, but rather resolved to attack Tuscany, while the French were occupied in the kingdom of Naples. Borgia, to provide money for that expedition, formed a design, according to some authors, with the concurrence of his father, to poison all the rich cardinals, and to seize their revenues and estates; but, by the mistake of a servant, the plot proved fatal to the contrivers[q]. Authors differ a little, though not materially, in the circumstances of this fact. According to Guicciardini, Borgia sent a present of some

Borgia treats with them.

[q] Marian. lib. xxvii. cap. ii. Bzov. hoc ann. Angler. Epist. 264.

flasks of poisoned wine to the cardinal of Corneto, in whose garden they proposed to sup, but ordered the servant to give none of it to any person. Alexander soon after coming into the garden, and calling for some wine before supper, the servant gave him some from the poisoned flasks, thinking the prohibition could not extend to the pope, however valuable and rare the wine might be; and Borgia in the mean time appearing, without suspicion drank of the same wine with his father. They both immediately felt the symptoms of the poison, and Alexander died the next day, being the 18th of August; but Borgia, having drank his wine much diluted, by the assistance of antidotes recovered, after a long illness, in which he lost his skin and hair [r].

Alexander is poisoned.

Great disturbances at Rome.

Though the death of Alexander gave great joy to the Romans and to all Italy, yet Rome itself was immediately full of tumult and confusion, the French army being in the neighbourhood of the city, and Borgia possessing the Vatican and the castle of St. Angelo, with twelve thousand men. The party of the Ursini likewise took arms; and the cardinals having retired to the convent of Minerva, were apprehensive that the Spanish general would march to the city to over-awe the election. They therefore resolved to delay entering into the conclave, till the cardinals, resident in foreign parts beyond the Alps, should be present. Borgia, in the mean time, though solicited by the Spaniards, concluded a new alliance with the French, and promised his interest to procure the pontificate for the cardinal of Rouen, who, a few days after, arrived, with the other cardinals, at Rome. The French troops being prevailed upon to halt, and Borgia agreeing to quit the city with his forces, the cardinals, to the number of thirty-eight, entered the conclave, where their apprehensions from the surrounding armies made them come quickly to a conclusion.

The cardinal of Rouen, finding his own views disappointed by the strength of the Spanish faction, consented with them to chuse cardinal Picolomini, cardinal of Sienna, who being old and infirm, would, in all probability, soon occasion another vacancy. Picolomini was elected on the 21st of September, and, in memory of his uncle Pius II. likewise assumed the name of Pius. He immediately granted a safe-conduct to Borgia, who returned to Rome with a guard of three hundred horse and eight hundred foot;

Pius III. is elected.

[r] Guicciard. lib. vi.

not-

notwithstanding which he was in great danger from the continual assaults of the people and the faction of the Ursini, who attacked his house with great violence. Great numbers of his guards deserting, he, with his brother and several Spanish cardinals, was obliged to take refuge in the Vatican, from whence he retired to the castle of St. Angelo. This disturbance was no sooner quieted, than all Rome was again alarmed by the death of Pius, which happened on the 26th day after his election. This pope was eminent for his prudence and learning, and was supposed to have had the reformation of the church much at heart, having declared, immediately after his election, that there was no longer any occasion for arms, but that all men ought now to think of religion and piety[s]. He had likewise resolved to call a general council, but death, which is said to have been hastened by poison, prevented his design[t]. *He dies.*

Julian de la Rovere, nephew of Sixtus IV. and cardinal of Ostia, at the death of Alexander was a candidate for the pontificate; and reflecting on the infirm health of Pius, he still continued to sollicit the interest of the cardinals. Though he was of a bold impetuous spirit, had spent his life in continual travels, and was at variance and enmity with several great men, yet, as he was accounted liberal, and faithful to his word, and had amassed great wealth, he quickly made many friends, especially by his extravagant promises, and a distribution of the money which, from an opinion of his punctuality, was presented to him by the citizens of Rome. He procured the interest of the Spanish cardinals, partly by Borgia's means, whom he promised to confirm general of the church, and to conclude an alliance betwixt his daughter and his own nephew, prefect of Rome; so that the whole sacred college had so unanimously fixed upon him, that on the 9th of October, when they entered the conclave, he was declared pope before the doors were shut[u]. He was crowned on the 25th of November, and assumed the name of Julius II. As he had resolved to recover the ecclesiastical state, he behaved with great respect to Borgia, to whom a few places in Romagna still continued faithful. All the other places that he had conquered, immediately upon the death of Alexander, had revolted to their ancient lords, or had chosen new masters. *The cardinal of Ostia is elected pope.* *Takes the name of Julius II.*

[s] Barthol. de Reb. Genuen. ut supra. [t] Spond. Annal.
[u] Guiccard. lib. vi. Maff. in Jul. II.

The Venetians aspire to the dominion of Romagna.

The Venetians seizing this opportunity of extending their territory, during the short pontificate of Pius III. had taken possession of Rimini, and several other places in Romagna, and laid siege to Faenza, which city sent to the pope, demanding his assistance. Julius, though he was greatly offended with the Venetians, yet had not force nor authority to compel them to desist; he therefore only sent a nuncio to that republic, exhorting them to cease the hostilities against a city belonging to the church. They answered that Faenza could not be reckoned to belong to the church, as Alexander VI. had conferred the whole dominion of it upon duke Valentino; and continuing their attack, made themselves masters of the place. Julius appointed Borgia to go into Romagna, to prevent the other places that still adhered to him from falling into the hands of the Venetians; but before his departure, he desired him to surrender those places to him, that the Venetians might have no pretence for attacking them. Borgia refusing this demand, Julius ordered him to be apprehended on board his galley at Ostia, and soon after obtained from him a resignation of his right to the cities in Romagna: however, the governors refused to deliver them while their lord was a prisoner, and even ordered the messenger of the pope to be hanged. Julius, to take off this pretence, delivered Borgia into the absolute power of cardinal Carvajal at Ostia, and entered into a treaty with him, which, for the greater security, was confirmed by a bull, by which he resigned the cities in Romagna, and gave security for fifteen thousand ducats. Julius by this expedient, got possession of the cities of Romagna, but he had no intention of setting Borgia at liberty; however the cardinal, upon being informed that the treaty was executed, allowed his prisoner to depart, without waiting for the orders of the pope (O).

A.D. 1504.

Borgia is imprisoned,

but escapes to Naples.

(O) Borgia went to Naples to the Spanish general, who at first treated him with great honour and respect; but soon after, in consequence of an order from Ferdinand, he sent him on board a galley to Spain, where he was committed to perpetual imprisonment in the castle of Medina. Three years afterwards, having bribed his guards, he was let down from the wall, and escaped to the king of Navarre, whose sister he had married. He was there soon after slain, in a skirmish with the Cantabrians, who stripped his corpse, which was afterwards interred at Pampeluna (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. Marian. lib. xxviii. cap. 8.

About

About this time, the kings of France and Spain having concluded a truce, and the Venetians not venturing to irritate the pope by renewing hoſtilities in Romagna, all Italy enjoyed a profound peace, except Florence and Piſa; this laſt city having, with great reſolution, defended itſelf for ſeveral years againſt the Florentines, who endeavoured to reduce it again under their dominion. The pope, in the mean time, received a letter from the ſoltan of Ægypt, who threatened to expel all the European Chriſtians from his dominions, and to deſtroy the ſepulchre of our Saviour, and all the ſacred relics in the Holy Land, unleſs he prevailed with the kings of Spain and Portugal to ceaſe from moleſting the Moors; the firſt perſecuted them in Spain, and the other diſturbed their commerce in the Indian ſeas[w]. Julius ſent the Franciſcan, who brought the ſoltan's letter to Spain, to receive an anſwer from Ferdinand and Emanuel: and being deſirous of recovering Romagna, he ſollicited the emperor to uſe his authority with the Venetians, to oblige them to reſtore the cities which they had ſeized. The Venetians, upon receiving an embaſſy from Maximilian, offered to reſtore to the pope all that they had conquered ſince the death of Alexander, if he would confirm to them Faenza and its territory: but Julius replied, that he would not allow them to poſſeſs a ſingle tower, and that he hoped, before his death, to recover Ravenna and Cervia, which they had likewiſe uſurped from the church. However, having no hopes of any aſſiſtance from the emperor or the king of France, he agreed to leave them Faenza and Rimini, and admitted their ambaſſadors to an audience. About the ſame time he publiſhed a bull againſt ſimony in the election of a pope[x].

A.D. 1505.

The Venetians reſign part of their conqueſts in Romagna.

Soon after he made a promotion of cardinals; but being offended with the king of France, for having, without his conſent, diſpoſed of the benefices in the duchy of Milan, vacant by the deaths of cardinal Aſcanius and others, he refuſed to confer the dignity of cardinal on two biſhops, recommended to him by Lewis, who, in reſentment, ſequeſtered the revenues of the cardinal of St. Peter, and other prelates, in the duchy of Milan. The king of France, however, beginning to be afraid of the grandeur of the houſe of Auſtria, as Maximilian formed pretenſions to the kingdom of Hungary, and his ſon Phi-

A difference betwixt the pope and the king of France.

[w] Barriuſ. dec. i. lib. viii. cap. 2. & 6. ex tom. i. Bullar. Jul. II. Conſt. 3.

[x] Spond. Annal.

lip had now added the kingdom of Castile to his possessions in Flanders, he therefore resolved to live in terms of friendship with the pope; and having taken off the sequestration, in the beginning of the following year sent the apostolic nuncio, that was at his court, to Rome, with various propositions against the Venetians. Julius embraced the offers of the king of France with great eagerness, and immediately sent back the nuncio to conclude a strict alliance with Lewis. The pope desired immediately to attack Perugia and Bologna; but as Maximilian was then proposing to enter Italy with an army to receive the imperial crown, and the Venetians threatened to assist the Bolognese if he did not confirm their right to Faenza, the French king entreated him earnestly to defer his enterprize, lest he should embroil all Italy.

The pope marches from Rome.

Julius, who, contrary to his natural disposition, had been quiet ever since his election to the pontificate, would brook no farther delay; and, on the 26th of August, marched from Rome with five hundred men in arms, desiring the inhabitants of Bologna to provide quarters for his troops. On his march to Perugia, he received the submission of Baglione, lord of that city, at Orvieto.

Makes himself master of Perugia and Bologna;

Baglione surrendering the fortresses of Perugia and its territory into his hands, giving his two sons as hostages, and promising to assist him with a hundred and fifty men in arms, the pope received him into favour, and the king of France being prevailed upon by the cardinal of Rouen to grant him a reinforcement, he proceeded to Cesena, where he excommunicated Bentivoglio lord of Bologna, and all his adherents. Bentivoglio, in hopes of the protection of the French, prepared for a resolute defence; but being informed that the king of France had sent six hundred lances and three thousand foot to join the army of the church, he fled, with his family and treasure, to the duchy of Milan, and, after his departure, the pope entered in triumph into Bologna on the 10th of November. Julius dismissed the French general with rich presents; and promised to create his brother a cardinal. To render the dominion of the church agreeable to the Bolognese, he indulged them with a great many exemptions, and left them some shadow of liberty, by appointing the new magistrates after the ancient form [y].

During these transactions, Philip, the emperor's son, died of a fever at Burgos in Spain; and Ferdinand king

[y] Guicciard. lib. vii.

of

of Arragon, who had ceded Caſtile to him, arrived at Naples, where he immediately received embaſſies from all the ſtates of Italy, not only to congratulate him, but alſo to negociate with him concerning their different intereſts. Julius endeavoured to excite him againſt the Venetians, who were in poſſeſſion of ſeveral maritime places in the kingdom of Naples. The pope, being greatly exaſperated againſt the republic for attacking Romagna, and diſpoſing of eccleſiaſtical benefices in their territories without his conſent, likewiſe ſollicited the king of France to declare war againſt the Venetians, and invited him to a conference in Lombardy (P). As the city of Genoa about this time had revolted from the French, Lewis declined entering into a war againſt the Venetians, but conſented to a perſonal conference with the pope: however, Julius underſtanding that he intended to march with an army into Italy, to the aſſiſtance of the Genoeſe nobles againſt the people, as he himſelf favoured the popular faction, he endeavoured to diſſuade him from that enterprize; but, not ſucceeding, he in diſguſt publiſhed his intention to return to Rome, and quitted Bologna in the end of February. The king of France reſenting this fickleneſs in the pope, and ſuſpecting that he privately favoured the rebellious Genoeſe, immediately aſſembled a powerful army, and paſſing the Alps in the beginning of the ſpring, ſtruck the Genoeſe with ſuch a panic by his ſudden march, that they ſurrendered at diſcretion. Having entered the city on the 29th of April, he executed ſome of the chiefs of the rebels, and fined the inhabitants in two hundred and forty thouſand ducats; after which exploit, he diſbanded his army, and went to Milan: but in a few weeks he returned to Savona, to have a conference with Ferdinand, king of Arragon, who arrived there on the 27th of June in his voyage from Naples to Spain. The two kings treated each other with great marks of friendſhip and eſteem, and, during the three days which Ferdinand ſtaid at Savona, they held ſeveral private conferences, as it was conjectured, for the reformation of the church by

and excites the king of Arragon againſt the Venetians.

A.D. 1507.

(P) This year the architect Bramanta, by order of Julius, laid the firſt ſtone of the famous church of St. Peter, in the Vatican, which edifice was finiſhed almoſt a hundred years afterwards, during the pontificate of Paul V. Julius, Leo X. and other popes, publiſhed indulgences through all the provinces of Chriſtendom to defray the expences of the building; which was at length conſecrated by Urban VIII.

a general council, and for uniting their arms against the Venetians [z].

The pope persuades the emperor that the French king intends to conquer Italy.

The French king had disbanded his forces, to shew the emperor, the pope, and the Venetians, that he had no other intention, by marching an army into Italy, than to recover Genoa. For Julius had written to the emperor and the electors, informing them that Lewis, under pretence of reducing Genoa, intended to conquer the ecclesiastical state, confer the pontificate on the cardinal of Rouen, and assume the imperial title to himself. Maximilian, having received the same intelligence from the Venetians, held a very numerous diet at Constance; which, with great alacrity, promised to raise a very powerful army to assert the rights of the empire in Italy. He accordingly wrote to the pope, that he had declared the king of France a rebel, and that he intended to enter with a powerful army into Italy to receive the imperial crown. As the fame of the German levies greatly exceeded the truth, the pope now began to be afraid of the emperor, lest he should reduce the provinces in Italy which had been dismembered from the empire, restore the ancient dominion of the Germans on that side the Alps, and thereby make himself master of the election of popes; he therefore sent the cardinal of the Holy Cross, as his legate, to Constance, to inform the emperor, that, as the king of France had disbanded his forces and returned to his own kingdom, there was now no need to enter Italy with an army; but, if he would come with an ordinary escorte, he would confer upon him greater honours than any emperor had ever received at his coronation. As the French king had likewise sent ambassadors to Constance, to justify himself from the false accusations of the pope, the ardor of the diet for the Italian expedition greatly abated, so that very few troops appeared at the general rendezvous; and, the Venetians refusing a passage through their territories for a German army, the emperor, after a fruitless attempt, was obliged to delay his march [a].

A few months afterwards, his army being reinforced, he demanded from the Venetians a passage through their territories; but the republic having fortified their frontier, and received a reinforcement of six thousand French, refused his demand. The pope likewise, to prevent his

[z] Idem ibid. Bartholo. de Reb. Gen. ut supr. [a] Guicciard. lib. vii. Fugg. cap. 12.

march

march into Italy, ordered his legate to confer upon him the title of emperor; which the popes had always refuſed to his predeceſſors, unleſs they came perſonally to Rome [b]. Maximilian, however, having made himſelf maſter of ſome places belonging to the Venetians, and, being deſirous of extending his conqueſts, left his forces in Trent, and, repairing to Ulm, ſollicited a reinforcement from the circle of Suabia. During his abſence, the Venetians defeated his army in Trent, and made an incurſion into Iſtria and Carniola, while their fleet reduced Trieſte, Capo d' Iſtria, Rovigna, and Pola. Theſe loſſes inclined the emperor to an accommodation, which was likewiſe agreeable to the king of France, who was jealous of the power of the Venetians; but the republic having agreed to a peace with the emperor, before the demands of the king of France were ſatisfied, and having afterwards granted a triumph to their general, they offended both Maximilian and Lewis. The pope likewiſe, having received a freſh inſult from the republic, which had refuſed to grant the biſhoprick of Vicenza to his nephew, and had conferred it upon another perſon, he ſent a nuncio to the king of France, to excite him againſt the Venetians. The cardinal of Rouen, inclining to ſatisfy the pope and Lewis, being likewiſe ſollicited to the ſame purpoſe by the emperor, a league againſt the Venetians was concluded on the 9th of December, at Cambray, betwixt theſe three powers and Ferdinand of Arragon, which was confirmed and publiſhed next day in the cathedral church, under the name of a defenſive alliance.

The emperor's march into Italy.

A.D. 1509.

The pope enters into an alliance againſt the Venetians.

This treaty, to which the king of Hungary and the dukes of Savoy, Mantua, and Ferrara, acceded, was quickly ratified by the ſecular princes; but, as it had been concluded without the pope's concurrence, though under his name, Julius delayed ratifying it, and in the mean time declared to the Venetians, that, if they would reſtore Rimini and Faenza, he would not join in the alliance. The Venetians rejecting this offer of the pope, he immediately ratified the treaty, and publiſhed a dreadful bull againſt the republic, under the name of a monitory, ordering them to reſtore, within twenty-four days, all that they had uſurped from the apoſtolic ſee, under pain of eccleſiaſtical cenſures; and, in caſe of their diſobedience, he allowed the ſubjects of the republic to be made ſlaves, and their merchandize every where to be

[b] Petr. Martyr. Epiſt. 38.

Seized.

ſeized. The Venetians prepared with great ſpirit to oppoſe this formidable alliance; but their army being entirely defeated by the king of France, at Ghiaradadda, who immediately after took poſſeſſion of Bergamo, Breſcia, and Cremona, while the pope entered Romagna with an army of nine thouſand men, they reſolved wholly to abandon the continent: being informed that the emperor had put himſelf in motion towards their German frontier, and that the king of Arragon had ſent a fleet againſt the cities which they held in Naples, they ſent orders to the governors of all their towns to withdraw with their troops, and to leave them defenceleſs.

They earneſtly ſolicit him to a reconciliation.

They likewiſe implored the clemency of the emperor, the king of Arragon, and the pope; particularly entreating his holineſs to abſolve them from the cenſures contained in the bull, as they had offered reſtitution within twenty-four days; but the pope refuſed to grant their demand, as they offered the reſtitution under certain limitations; and he required that, beſides the uſurped territories, they ſhould likewiſe reſtore all the revenues that they had intercepted. However, ſoon after, Julius, whoſe great deſire was to free Italy from the dominion of foreigners, conſented to admit the ambaſſadors of the republic to an audience [c]; and about the ſame time, the German garriſon being ſurpriſed in Padua, the hopes of the Venetians began to revive. The grand deſign formed by Julius was to raiſe the temporal power of the apoſtolic ſee; for this purpoſe he concluded a new alliance with the king of France, who promiſed to give no protection, for the future, to any vaſſal of the church; in conſequence of which engagement, the pope allowed him to confer all the vacant biſhopricks in his dominions. The king then returned to France; while Maximilian, who had hitherto done nothing in conſequence of the league of Cambray, arrived with an army in Lombardy, and beſieged Padua; but, winter approaching, he was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and even reduced to aſk a truce from the Venetians, who refuſed his demand.

A rupture betwixt the French king and the pope;

In the mean time the pope, contrary to the late treaty, having conferred a biſhoprick in Provence, vacant by the death of the biſhop at Rome, the king of France, in reſentment, ſequeſtered all the revenues of the Milaneſe eccleſiaſtics belonging to the Roman court, which ſtep

[c] Guicciard. lib. viii. Barthol. Senar. de Rebus Gen. ut ſupra.

occaſioned

occasioned a fresh misunderstanding betwixt these two princes. Though Julius, at length, complied with the king's desire, and confirmed the bishoprick to the person nominated by him, yet he, from that time, desired to see the king deprived of all that he possessed in Italy. Thinking it against the interest of the Roman see that the Venetians should be farther depressed, he resolved to absolve them from the ecclesiastical censures. To prevent Lewis from giving any assistance to the emperor against the republic, he endeavoured to excite Henry VIII. of England to declare war against France, and solicited the Swiss to march an army into the Milanese to the assistance of the church. Lewis spared no pains to regain the favour of the pope, but his endeavours were fruitless; for, on the 24th of February, the peace was concluded betwixt him and the Venetians, who were absolved from the excommunication, on condition that they should leave the navigation of the Adriatic free to the subjects of the church, give satisfaction for all the damages they had done to the ecclesiastical state, and renounce all claim to any jurisdiction in ecclesiastical affairs; and that they should not presume to confer any vacant benefices, but should freely admit those who were nominated by the Roman court[d]. Julius besides, to the surprise of the emperor and the king of France, gave permission to the vassals and subjects of the church to enter into the service of the Venetians, and, by the means of the bishop of Sion, who had great interest with the Swiss, he prevailed with the cantons not to renew their alliance with France, but to declare for the apostolic see.

A.D. 1510.

who is reconciled to the Venetians.

As the duke of Ferrara still adhered to the king of France, the pope sought an opportunity of a rupture with him, and prohibited him, under severe penalties, from making salt at Comacchio, which territory had been surrendered by the Venetians to the church. He likewise threatened to attack him with an army, if he did not annul some new duties that he had imposed upon vessels sailing on the Po. As the pope's troops marched into Romagna and the county of Bologna, the French and German generals united their forces, and took possession of several towns belonging to the Venetians on the continent, to prevent the ecclesiastical army from acting against the duke. However, as the king of France was apprehensive of a revolt, both in the Milanese and at Genoa, he very

Threatens the duke of Ferrara.

[d] Guicciard. lib. viii. in fin.

willingly

willingly hearkened to the proposals of an accommodation with the pope, who, being unprepared to oppose his arms, wanted to draw him into a negociation. After some conferences, by which the pope gained time, he absolutely refused to agree to an accommodation, unless the French king would abandon the protection of the duke of Ferrara; to which article Lewis refusing his consent, Julius fully resolved upon a war. He refused to accept of the annual tribute from the duke: in order to separate Ferdinand of Arragon from the interest of the king of France and the emperor, he granted him the investiture of the kingdom of Naples, and reduced the annual tribute to two thousand ducats and a white horse [e].

Declares war against the king of France.

Notwithstanding this accommodation, Ferdinand did not openly break with the emperor and the king of France. The pope, however, having the promise of the assistance of twelve thousand Swiss, declared war against the king of France and the duke of Ferrara; and, while his army entered the territory of the duke, he sent the Venetian fleet, with some gallies of his own, to Genoa, to excite that city to revolt; in both which enterprizes he was unsuccessful, by the vigilance of the French general. He nevertheless refused to hearken to an accommodation, though Lewis even offered to leave the city of Genoa free, and to abandon the interests of the duke of Ferrara. So far was he from inclining to peace, that he imprisoned and put to the torture a Savoyard, who declared that his duke was willing to act as mediator; and, thinking his generals did not behave with vigour, he himself set out from Rome, and arrived at Bologna about the end of September.

Lewis asks the advice of the Gallican clergy.

Lewis, despairing of an accommodation with the pope, made a new alliance with the emperor; and, that he might shew his moderation, called an assembly of the Gallican clergy at Tours, to have their opinion concerning his disputes with Julius. This assembly confirmed, by their authority, all the propositions that were offered to them by the king; particularly, they affirmed, that the pope had no right to declare war against any prince, unless on account of religion, or in defence of the ecclesiastical state; that the prince unjustly attacked by the pope, might, in his own defence, invade the territories of the church, and might even withdraw obedience in some measure, from such pope, and constitute a pragmatic

[e] Rainald. in ann. 1510.

sanction

sanction for regulating ecclesiastical affairs within his own kingdom, without any regard to the Roman see [f]. The emperor greatly approved of the proceedings of the Gallican clergy; and, upon the repeated complaints of the princes and prelates of Germany, ordered a pragmatic sanction to be drawn up for the empire, which however was never confirmed by any diet [g]. Besides, according to some authors, he formed a design of calling a general council to depose Julius, with the intention of succeeding him in his own person [h].

The pope in the mean time, notwithstanding the severity of the season, resolved upon the siege of Ferrara, and proposing to leave Bologna, where he had been in great danger of being surprised by the French general, he sent his army towards Concordia and Mirandola, which two cities he determined to take possession of, although he had no complaint against the young duke, whom he had formerly taken into his protection. Concordia surrendered the same day that it was invested; but, at Mirandola, the pope's army met with a vigorous opposition from the French garrison. Julius, rendered quite impatient by the slow progress of the siege, on the 2d of January left Bologna, and, contrary to the entreaties of the Venetian ambassador, and of all the cardinals, went to the camp, and took upon himself the command of the army. Having obliged the city to capitulate, he marched with his army through the breach, and compelled the inhabitants to pay six thousand crowns to save themselves from being pillaged. He afterwards granted the investiture of the two fiefs to John Francis Picus for twenty thousand crowns, and resolved to proceed immediately to the siege of Ferrara; but the French general Chaumont, having with great diligence reinforced his army, Julius abandoned this enterprize, and returned to Bologna, from whence he went to Ravenna, where he created eight new cardinals. He afterwards returned to Bologna, to have a conference with bishop Gurck, the emperor's envoy, who had held a congress at Mantua with the ambassadors of the kings of France and Spain, to negociate a general peace. The pope very warmly solicited the German bishop to prevail with the emperor to desert the interest of the king of

A.D. 1511.

The pope takes possession of Mirandola.

[f] Spond. Annal. Guicciard. lib. ix. Belcar. lib. xii. Rainald. [g] Georg. de Gravaminib. Nation. German. lib. i. cap. 7. apud. Freher p. 684. Goldast Constit. Imper. tom. ii. p. 122. [h] Monita Politica ad S. I. R. Princep. Francofer. ann. 1609. See the History of the German Empire.

France,

France, and to conclude a separate peace with the Venetians, but without any effect; for Gurck insisted, that the French king and the duke of Ferrara should both be included in the peace; to which article the pope refusing to consent, he returned to Modena. The emperor and the king of France having granted a suspension of arms during the conferences at Mantua, the pope seized that opportunity to attempt the surprising of Genoa; but, by the vigilance of the French general, the design was frustrated [i].

The French general retakes Bologna.

The king of France, being informed of the conference betwixt the bishop of Gurck and the pope, was apprehensive lest the emperor should be prevailed upon to agree to a separate peace; he therefore gave orders to his general to act with vigour against the pope. Trivulzi, who, upon the death of Chaumont, had succeeded to the command, immediately put his troops in motion; and, having taken Concordia and several other places, marched directly for Bologna, attended by Bentivoglio, the ancient lord of that city. The pope leaving the command of his army to his nephew the duke of Urbino, and the cardinal of Pavia, as legate in the city, retired to Ravenna; but a few days after he was informed, that both the cardinal and the duke had fled; that his army was almost wholly dispersed; and that the city had submitted to its ancient lord, and had admitted the French, who had seized the greatest part of the baggage and artillery of his army, and of that of the republic. The cardinal and the duke both repaired to Ravenna, and mutually accused each other; but the duke, presuming upon his relation to the pope, prevented the cardinal from justifying himself by stabbing him with a poniard. According to Mariana [k], the pope was conscious of this murder; however, he pretended to be greatly afflicted at the cardinal's death, and, being driven almost to distraction by the bad success of his affairs, he set out on his return to Rome; but he had scarce arrived at Rimini, when he was informed, that citations for a general council were affixed in Bologna, Modena, and other cities, and that he was summoned to appear personally.

The schismatic cardinals appoint a council to be held at Pisa.

Bishop Gurck, after his departure from the pope, had sent three deputies to Milan to treat with the cardinals

[i] Barthol. Senareg. de Rebus Genuen. ut sup. lib. xxx. cap. 2. in fin.

[k] Marian.

who

who had deſerted from Julius when he firſt marched againſt Bologna. Three of theſe cardinals, in their own names, and in the name of ſix others, whoſe commiſſion they ſaid they had received, appointed a general council to be held at Piſa, on the 1ſt of September; which convocation was immediately confirmed by the deputies of the emperor and the king of France, and a few weeks after ratified by Maximilian Lewis. The cardinals affirmed, that as the pope, contrary to his oath at his election, had neglected to call a council, they, without his authority, might lawfully convoke one, on account of the evident neceſſity of reforming the church both in the head and members, eſpecially as they were authorized by the decrees of the council of Conſtance, and countenanced by the emperor and the king of France.

The pope publiſhes a bull for a general council to be held at Rome.

The pope, being apprehenſive that the French would take poſſeſſion of the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and march to Rome, made an indirect offer of peace to Lewis, and ſolicited the cardinals at Milan to return to the unity of the church, promiſing them all the ſecurity that they could deſire; but they refuſing his offer, and the king of France ordering his general to return to the Milaneſe, the pope, on the 16th of July, publiſhed a bull, annulling the proceedings of the cardinals at Milan, and appointing a general council to be held at Rome on the 19th of April in the following year [1]. He likewiſe publiſhed a monitory, ordering the three cardinals to return to Rome within ſixty-five days, under the penalty of being deprived of their cardinalate, and of all their benefices; and while he was amuſing the deputies of the king of France at Rome with the hopes of peace, he negociated a new alliance againſt him with Ferdinand and the Venetians. Mean while all Italy was in hopes of peace, by the news of the death of the pope, which was ſoon after found to be a miſtake; for he recovered after continuing ſome hours in a fainting fit; and remaining in the ſame diſpoſition, with regard to the king of France, he endeavoured to excite the young king of England againſt him, by means of Ferdinand, whoſe daughter Henry VIII. had married (R).

The

[1] Spond Annal. Guicciard. lib. x.

(R) During the report of the pope's death, Pompey Colonna, biſhop of Rieti, and Antimo Savello, two Roman nobles, aſſembled the people of Rome in the Capitol, and exhorted

The council opens at Pisa; The council was opened at Pisa, on the 1st of September, by three proxies sent thither by the cardinals from Milan. The cardinals themselves did not arrive till the 29th of October, when they were accompanied with several of the French clergy, who alone composed the council; for the emperor had neglected to send any ambassadors to represent himself, and had called an assembly of the German clergy at Augsburgh, to have their opinion of the lawfulness of the Pisan council. Mean while the clergy at Pisa held their first session on the 5th of November, in which they chose the cardinal of Carvajal president, and declared null and void all that the pope had done against the cardinals and synod. In the second session, which was held two days after, they regulated the order of sitting; and an insurrection happening in the city against the French guards, they in great confusion held the third session on the 14th of the month, and transferred the council to Milan. There they were alarmed by sixteen thousand Swiss, who, at the instigation of the pope, made an incursion into the Milanese; on which account they deferred their next session till the 4th of January.

but, on account of a riot, is transferred to Milan.

The pope, besides exciting the Swiss to enter Lombardy, had concluded a treaty with the king of Arragon, who promised him auxiliaries against the French. He likewise deposed the cardinals who adhered to the council of Pisa, and declared them obnoxious to the penalties due to schismatics and heretics, and sent the cardinal of Medicis, with some troops, towards Bologna, to overawe Florence and Pisa, which two cities he laid under an interdict for favouring the schismatic cardinals. Soon after, the Spanish auxiliaries arriving, under the command of Peter Navarra, they marched with the other forces of the pope into Romagna; upon whose approach all the places belonging to the duke of Ferrara, on that side of the Po, surrendered, except one castle which the Spanish general took by storm on the last day of December. The united army then marched under the command of the cardinal of Medicis, and besieged Bologna; but after they had made the breach almost practicable for an assault, the garrison was reinforc-

A.D. 1512.

The pope's army invades the duchy of Ferrara;

horted them to resume their ancient liberty. Guicciardini relates the speech in his history of Italy; which, as it boldly censures and condemns the temporal power of priests, has been omitted in some editions of that work (1).

(1) Guicciard. lib. x. See Amet's Account of Printing in England.

ed

ed by Gaston de Foix, the French general; who, obliging the enemy to raise the siege, marched from thence, through the snow, to the relief of the castle of Brescia; which city, during the siege of Bologna, had revolted to the Venetians. Though he had only four hundred men of arms and six thousand foot, he defeated part of the Venetian army that opposed his march, and retook Brescia by storm, putting almost the whole garrison, which consisted of nine thousand men, to the sword, and allowing his soldiers to pillage the city, as a punishment for its rebellion [m]. *but is obliged to retire before the French general;*

Lewis about this time, being informed that the emperor and the kings of England and Arragon had joined in a league against him with the pope, and that the Florentines had likewise gone over to that party, sent orders to his general to march directly in search of the enemy's army, and even to attack the pope in Rome; and, that he might not seem to make war on his own account, a legate from the council of Milan attended his army, who was to receive all the places that were conquered in the ecclesiastical state (S). The legate having joined the army, Gaston de Foix marched, with eighteen thousand foot and near two thousand men at arms, in search of the enemy; who being inferior in number, and expecting that the kings of England and Arragon would cause a diversion in France, declined an engagement. Foix advanced with his troops, and laid siege to Ravenna, which step obliged the enemy at last to venture a battle; which was fought with obstinacy on the 11th of April, when the French obtained a complete though bloody victory; for they lost their general Foix, and, according to some authors, upwards of ten thousand men [n]; but Guicciardini mentions only three thousand slain on the side of the French, and about seven thousand on that of the enemy [o]. Palice, who succeeded to the command of the French army, immediately after took possession of Cesena, Imola, Forli, *who gains a signal victory over them at Ravenna.*

[m] Guicciard. lib. x. Barthol. Senareg. ut supra. [n] Idem ibid. [o] Guicciard. ut supra.

(S) At the same time he struck a golden medal, having on one side, LUD. XII. REX FRANC. DUX MEDIOL. and on the other, PERDAM BABYLONEM, that is, *I will destroy Babylon* (2).

(2) Pith. de Magnitud. Reg. Fran.

and Ravenna, which cities were delivered to the cardinal of Sanseverino, legate from the council of Pisa; and as the pope's army was almost wholly dispersed, and the cardinal of Medicis taken prisoner, if the French general had marched directly to Rome, he might, with ease, have made himself master of that city, so great was the consternation both of the pope and cardinals. Julius was intreated by the cardinals to agree to a peace with the king of France; but a few days after being informed of the weakness of the French army, and the irresolution of Palice, who was at variance with Sanseverino, he resolved to continue the war; and, in case of necessity, ordered some gallies to be prepared for his flight from Rome. About the same time, being accused of contumacy, he was suspended from the pontificate by the council at Milan, who had celebrated eight sessions without decreeing any thing of consequence, or acquiring any authority in Christendom.

The pope is in great consternation.

A great revolution in his favour.

The pope, though in appearance reduced to the greatest extremity, quickly after became more formidable than ever; for Palice, instead of proceeding to Rome, was obliged to return to the Milanese to oppose the Swiss; and the English and Spaniards having invaded Guienne, Lewis was obliged to draw some of his troops from Italy to defend his own kingdom. The pope, in the mean time, being freed from his apprehensions of the French, on the 3d of May opened the council of the Lateran, and appointed the first session to be held on the 10th of the month, when, he himself presiding, the officials and ministers of the council were named. In the second session, which was held seven days after, the conventicle or schismatic council of Pisa was condemned, and censures were decreed against those who either directly or indirectly adhered to that assembly. The third session was then deferred till the beginning of November. The pope, having rejected the terms of peace which he himself had proposed to the king of France, and which had been accepted by that prince, afterwards pronounced a monitory against him, threatening him with excommunication if he did not set the cardinal of Medicis at liberty. This cardinal was then a prisoner at Milan, where, to the great offence of the schismatic council, he was acknowleged by the people as apostolic legate, and gave absolution to those soldiers who promised not to serve any more against the church.

He opens the Lateran council.

The

The French commander in the Milanese, upon the news of the victory at Ravenna, had imprudently discharged a great many Italian soldiers, a circumstance which hastened the ruin of the king's affairs in Italy; for the emperor, having now openly declared for the pope, and recalled five thousand Germans who had hitherto acted in conjunction with the French, and the Swiss having likewise joined the Venetian army, Palice was no longer able to make opposition, and therefore retired with the greatest part of his troops into Pavia, and put the rest of them into one or two other places. The Venetians and Swiss, taking possession of Cremona and Bergamo, and the inhabitants of the country, in many places of the duchy, rising against the French, Trivulzi, with many other gentlemen, abandoned the city of Milan, and fled towards Piedmont, along with whom went the schismatic cardinals and their adherents. The cardinal of Medicis was carried with them as a prisoner, but escaped in passing the Po, while the Venetians took possession of Pavia, Lodi, and several other towns, in the name of the Holy League. Parma and Placenza surrendered voluntarily to the pope, who claimed them as belonging to the exarchate of Ravenna, and Janus Fregoso, having obtained some troops from the Venetians, marched towards Genoa, which city revolted from the French, and created him doge [p]. All those cities likewise, which the French had seized in Romagna, returned to the obedience of the pope; who also, by the means of the duke of Urbino, recovered Bologna; which, as a punishment for its rebellion, he laid under a heavy contribution, and had even resolved totally to have destroyed it, if he had lived [q].

The French are almost wholly expelled from Italy.

Julius was still intent upon accomplishing his other designs, namely, to take possession of the duchy of Ferrara, to expel the Spaniards and Germans from Italy, and to reestablish the houses of Sforza and Medicis at Milan and Florence. He was prevailed upon to agree to an accommodation with the duke of Ferrara, who, having obtained a safe conduct, went to Rome to ask his pardon; and at the congress, which a few weeks after the allies held at Mantua, he procured the duchy of Milan to be restored to Maximilian, the son of the late Lewis Sforza, contrary to the inclination of the king of Arragon and the emperor,

Maximilian Sforza is put in possession of the duchy of Milan.

[p] Barthol. Senareg. ut supra. Fuggar. lib. vi. cap. 16.

[q] Guicciard. lib. x. in fin.

who deſigned it for one of their grandſons. He then ſent his army, with the Spaniſh auxiliaries, againſt the Florentines, who were compelled to ſurrender the government of their city to Laurence Medicis II. nephew of the cardinal.

As the Swiſs, from their enmity to the king of France, had been the chief inſtruments of the revolution in Lombardy, Julius ſent a ſtandard, a cap, and a ſword, to the cantons, and conferred upon them the title of Defenders of Eccleſiaſtical Liberty. Soon after biſhop Gurck, the emperor's plenipotentiary at Mantua, arrived at Rome, where Julius received him with the greateſt reſpect, and concluded an alliance with Maximilian againſt the Venetians, who obſtinately refuſed to deliver up Vicenza to the emperor. After the concluſion of this treaty, the German biſhop was preſent at the third ſeſſion of the council of the Lateran, which had been deferred till the 3d of December. In this ſeſſion the emperor approved of the Lateran council, and the pope denounced a ſentence of interdiction againſt the kingdom of France, eſpecially the city of Lyons, where the ſchiſmatic cardinals ſtill pretended to hold their council. In the fourth ſeſſion, held on the 11th of the month, the letter of Lewis XI. of France was read, abrogating the pragmatic ſanction; and a monitory was then pronounced, citing the French king, and all the prelates, chapters, and parliaments, in that kingdom, to appear within ſixty days before the council, to juſtify the repealing of the ſaid abrogation (T).

A.D. 1513. Though all Italy now enjoyed a profound tranquility, and Julius was in poſſeſſion of almoſt the whole territories to which, as pope, he could form any pretenſions, yet his reſtleſs ſpirit ſtill formed new deſigns to diſturb the public peace. He reſolved in the ſpring to attack the duke of Ferrara, and, as the cardinal of Medicis ſeemed to adhere more to the king of Arragon than to him, he determined to alter the ſtate of Florence. He likewiſe recalled the cardinal of Sion from his legation in the Milaneſe, becauſe the new duke had conferred upon him a revenue of more

The pope forms new deſigns to diſturb the peace of Italy.

(T) The biſhop of Gurck, during his reſidence at Rome, propoſed to the pope, that he ſhould accept of the emperor as his coadjutor; which Julius would by no means conſent to (1).

(1) See the Hiſtory of the German Empire.

than

than thirty thouſand ducats; and to encourage the king of England in the war againſt France, he reſolved, by a decree of the Lateran council, to transfer to him the title of Moſt Chriſtian King; for which purpoſe a bull was expedited, whereby likewiſe the kingdom of France was granted to whoever ſhould take poſſeſſion of it. But he was prevented from executing theſe and other deſigns by death, which overtook him on the 21ſt of February. Being ſenſible of his approaching end, he declared that the election of his ſucceſſor belonged to the ſacred college, and not to the council, and intreated the cardinals to give the vicariate of the city of Peſaro to his nephew the duke of Urbino. Julius, a few days before his death, according to ſome authors, expreſſed great penitence for his proceedings againſt the king of France, and wiſhed, with great earneſtneſs, that he had never enjoyed the pontificate [r].

He dies at Rome.

[r] Ferron. in Lud. XII. Budæ Comment. de Aſſe. lib. iv.

SECT. XVI.

Rise of Luther. Sack of Rome.

Leo X. is elected.

UPON the news of the death of the pope, Parma and Placenza were immediately annexed to the duchy of Milan, and the duke of Ferrara recovered all his territories in Romagna. The state of the church suffered no other alteration, and all was quiet at Rome; where twenty-four cardinals entering the conclave, on the 10th of March unanimously chose the cardinal of Medicis, who assumed the name of Leo X. He was then only thirty-seven years of age; however his election gave universal satisfaction, as he had rendered himself famous by his liberality and humanity, and was besides of unblemished manners, and a great lover of learning and men of genius (A). Four days after his election, the schismatic cardinals voluntarily submitted to the new pope; who sent the bishop of Orvieto to them at Florence, to give them hopes of a reconciliation, but desired them to lay aside the habit of cardinals, as they had been deprived by the Lateran council, and to remain in the city till they should be recalled to Rome[a]. On the 11th of April, the same day that he had been taken prisoner the year before, he was crowned with the greatest magnificence in the Lateran church; in that solemnity, which cost him a hundred thousand ducats, the duke of Ferrara, who had obtained a suspension of the censures denounced against him, carried the banner of the church.

The change of the pope and other circumstances were not sufficient to procure tranquillity to Italy; for the emperor refusing to deliver up Verona to the Venetians,

[a] Guicciard. ut sup. Spond. Annal.

(A) Leo X. was the son of the famous Laurence Medicis of Florence, and Clariſſa Urſini. He was created a cardinal in the 14th year of his age. His preceptors were Angelus Politianus, Demetrius Chalcondyles, Urban Bolſanius; and Picus of Mirandola, Marſilius Ficinus, Chriſtopher Landi, and ſeveral other learned men, were his intimate friends (1).

(1) Jovius in Vit. Leon. Spond. Annal. Onuphr. & Victorel. in Leon.

that

that republic would not hearken to a peace; and the king of France, having concluded a truce with the king of Spain for twelve months, again made preparations for recovering the Milaneſe, having for that purpoſe concluded an alliance with the Venetians, who preferred his friendſhip to that of the emperor. Though the pope had publiſhed a brief, exhorting the Venetians to make peace, yet he ſtill excited the king of England to make war upon France, and negociated with the Swiſs to enter Lombardy for the defence of the Milaneſe. In the mean time the French army, under the command of Tremouille and Trivulzi, paſſed the Alps, and, with great rapidity, recovered the whole duchy of Milan, except Como and Novara, while the Venetians took poſſeſſion of Breſcia, Peſchiera, Lodi, and Cremona. This proſperity, however, was of very ſhort continuance; for the French being ſurpriſed and defeated by the Swiſs in a ſally from Novara, the Milaneſe quickly revolted to Sforza, and the Spaniards, declaring for the emperor, attacked the Venetian territories, took ſeveral places, and entirely defeated the army of the republic [b].

The French recover the duchy of Milan, which is quickly loſt.

During theſe tranſactions, Leo held the ſixth ſeſſion of the Lateran council on the 27th of April, when he publiſhed a bull, approving of all their paſt proceedings, and declaring his intention of continuing the aſſembly till peace ſhould be concluded among the Chriſtian princes. In the ſeventh ſeſſion, held on the 16th of June, the deputies of the king of Poland, and of the dukes of Mazovia, Ruſſia, Milan, and Mantua, were admitted; and, the king of France having ſent the biſhop of Marſeilles to treat of his re-union to the church, the pope, by a decree of the council, gave a liberty to the French biſhops, till the 1ſt of September, to clear themſelves from the charge of contumacy. A writing was then read, ſigned by the depoſed cardinals Carvajal and Sanſeverino, wherein they approved of the Lateran council, and confeſſed themſelves juſtly deprived of their dignities. Notwithſtanding the great oppoſition of the cardinals of York and Sion, and the ambaſſadors of the emperor and the king of Spain, Leo conſented to their reſtoration, judging that the ſchiſmatic council of Piſa would be more eaſily extinguiſhed by lenity than rigour. Though the pope, by this conduct, gratified the French king, he nevertheleſs

The ſchiſmatic cardinals are reſtored to their dignities.

[b] Bemb. lib. iii. ep. 19. lib. iv. ep. 1. Marian. lib. xxx. n 92. Hiſt. de la Ligue de Camb. tom. ii. lib. iv. p. 316. Belcar. lib. xiv.

did his utmoſt to detach the Venetians from their alliance with France, and to mediate a peace betwixt them and the emperor. After the defeat of their troops by the Spaniards, the Venetians conſented to accept of Leo as mediator, and ſent deputies to Rome; whither likewiſe Maximilian ſent the biſhop of Gurck, whom the pope promoted to the dignity of cardinal. The conferences continued three months, during which time the pope publiſhed a ceſſation of hoſtilities; however he had not influence ſufficient with the two parties to prevail with them to abate of their mutual demands, ſo that the time for the arbitration elapſed without any thing being determined [c].

The king of France acknowleges the Lateran council.

France in the mean time being invaded in Picardy by the king of England, and in Burgundy by the Swiſs, Lewis XII. found it abſolutely neceſſary to be reconciled to the apoſtolic ſee; he accordingly ſent deputies to Rome, who, in the eighth ſeſſion of the Lateran council, which was held on the 17th of December, renounced in his name the Piſan conventicle, and declared his adherence to the council of the Lateran, promiſing that ſix French prelates ſhould come to Rome to do the ſame in the name of the whole Gallican church. In the ſame ſeſſion a penal monitory was decreed againſt the parliament of Provence, which aſſumed to itſelf an authority over the clergy, and would not allow of appeals to the apoſtolic ſee, nor ſuffer the pope's letters to be put in execution without their leave. A decree of the pope was then read againſt certain philoſophers, who affirmed, that the rational ſoul was mortal, and identically the ſame in all men. A bull was likewiſe read for ſending cardinals to exhort the Chriſtian princes to peace and concord, and for inviting the Bohemian heretics, with a ſafe-conduct, to the council; another was iſſued for reforming the officers of the Roman court, and for putting a ſtop to their rapaciouſneſs [d].

A.D. 1514.

Leo endeavours to reconcile the French and Swiſs.

The kingdom of France being now re-united to the ſee of Rome, Leo, though he ſtill continued in his reſolution of preventing Lewis from poſſeſſing the Milaneſe, had no deſire to ſee his kingdom attacked by the Engliſh and Germans. He was beſides afraid leſt Lewis ſhould be perſuaded to enter into an alliance with the emperor and the king of Spain, and aſſiſt them in conquering the

[c] Guicciard. lib. xi. in fin. Rco. lib. xii. p. 593. [d] Spond. Annal. hoc an.

Milaneſe

Milaneſe for their grandſon Charles, by which means the liberty of Italy would be more endangered than if the duchy were in his own poſſeſſion. He therefore exhorted the Swiſs to an accommodation with the king; but they refuſing the offers made to them by Lewis, the pope again endeavoured to mediate a peace betwixt the Venetians and the emperor, to prevent him from having any pretence to enter Italy, and propoſed a ceſſation of arms in Lombardy, on certain conditions; which being rejected by the Venetians, as greatly prejudicial to their intereſt, the pope ſent a conſiderable body of troops to take poſſeſſion of Crema, to oblige the republic to agree to the preliminaries which he had propoſed. His troops, however, were defeated, and obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. Leo in the mean time being informed, that a peace was negociating betwixt the kings of France and England, offered his mediation; which was accepted by both the princes, and a treaty of peace was concluded on the 7th of Auguſt. Though the pope had exhorted the king of England to this peace, yet, in reality, it was concluded againſt his inclination; but Henry VIII. after having made great preparations for the campaign, being diſappointed by the emperor and his father-in-law, who had both agreed to a truce with the French king, reſolved no longer to be their tool, and, in his turn, diſappointed them by entering into a defenſive alliance with Lewis [e]. Soon after the concluſion of this treaty, the pope ſent ſome preliminaries into France for an alliance with Lewis againſt the Catholic king, having an intention of expelling the Spaniards from Italy, and conferring the kingdom of Naples upon his brother Julian; but, Lewis neglecting to return an immediate anſwer to his propoſals, Leo in the mean time renewed his alliance with the emperor and the Catholic king for one year: and, deſpairing of conquering Naples, he procured the inveſtiture of Modena and Reggio from the emperor for forty thouſand ducats, which he intended as a ſettlement for his brother, together with Parma, Placenza, and the duchy of Ferrara; which laſt he ſtill formed pretenſions to, notwithſtanding his promiſes to the duke.

Forms a deſign of ſeizing Naples.

During theſe tranſactions, the king of France was making great preparations for recovering the Milaneſe, and Leo had celebrated the ninth ſeſſion of the Lateran council on the 2d of May, when the ambaſſadors of the king

[e] Belcar. lib. xiv. Guicciard. lib. xii.

of

of Portugal were admitted, and the deputies from the Gallican church, though they had not appeared, were absolved from all censures, as by a letter to the pope, and a public instrument taken in a monastery in Savoy, it was proved they could not obtain a safe-conduct from the Genoese, or the duke of Milan. A decree was then read, enjoining prayers through all Christendom for obtaining peace among Christian princes, and union against the Turks. Indulgences were likewise published, and the divine wrath denounced against those who should interrupt the legates or apostolic nuncios, either directly or indirectly, in disposing of the indulgences, and in collecting the revenue arising from their sale. Another decree was also published for the reformation of the Roman court[f].

Indulgences granted for defraying the expences of a war against the Turks.

Italy was at this time alarmed with the rumour of an invasion from soltan Selim; who, having poisoned his father Bajazet II. formed pretensions to the western empire as successor of the emperors of Constantinople, and was making immense preparations at Adrianople for some warlike expedition. Leo, to avert the storm from Italy, had ordered a crusade to be preached in Hungary; but Selim, having no intention to attack that kingdom, concluded a peace with Ladislaus, and transported his army into Asia against the sophi of Persia, whose general he defeated with considerable loss. Though Selim himself a few months afterwards was defeated by the sophi, yet, upon the news of his first victory, Leo wrote to all the Christian princes, exhorting them to unite their forces against the infidels[g], who professed publicly their intention of attacking Italy; which kingdom was not only threatened with a war from the Turks, but also from Francis I. who upon the death of Lewis XII. which happened on the 1st of January, succeeded to the crown of France.

A D. 1515. Francis solicited the friendship of the pope by means of his brother Julian, who had married his aunt, the sister of the duke of Savoy, and likewise sent ambassadors for that purpose to Rome, among whom was the famous Budæus; but his endeavours were ineffectual, for Leo had privately acceded to the alliance of the emperor, the king of Spain, and the Swiss, against him, and, while he amused his ambassadors, he celebrated the tenth ses-

Francis I. succeeds to the crown of France.

[f] Spond. Annal. ad Bonfin. p. 537, 538.

[g] Bemb. lib. x. ep. 5. Samb. Append.

sion

ſion of the Lateran council on the 2d of May, in which the deputies of the duke of Savoy were admitted. Several decrees were then read for puniſhing delinquent canons and ſecular clerks; concerning the juriſdiction of the ordinary; concerning the celebration of dioceſan and provincial ſynods; and prohibiting the printing of any book or manuſcript without the approbation of the ordinaries and inquiſitors. After the reading of theſe decrees, the proctor of the council produced a writing, containing the ſubmiſſion of the parliament of Provence; which being ingroſſed in the acts, the pope abſolved them from the cenſures contained in the former monitory. During theſe proceedings at Rome, the king of France, having renewed the alliance with the Venetians, marched towards the Alps with an army of upwards of fifty-five thouſand men. Leo, though he had not openly declared againſt him, yet ſent ſome troops into Lombardy, under pretence of guarding Placenza and Parma; but Proſpero Colonna being ſurpriſed by the French in Piedmont, the pope heſitated greatly whether he ſhould not agree to an accommodation with Francis; who, in the mean time arriving at Vercelli, there firſt heard that he was his enemy. The king, having continued a few days at Vercelli, advanced with his army to Marignan; where being attacked by the Swiſs, after a furious engagement of two days, he gained a ſignal victory, in conſequence of which he got poſſeſſion of the whole Milaneſe, except the caſtles of Milan and Cremona[h].

The French recover the Milaneſe.

This victory of the French obliged Leo to think ſeriouſly of an accommodation with Francis. A treaty was accordingly concluded by the mediation of the duke of Savoy, by which the pope ceded Parma and Placenza to the king of France, and promiſed to reſtore Modena and Reggio to the duke of Ferrara: Francis, on his part, engaging to defend the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and to ſupport the authority of the houſe of Medicis in Florence. The king afterwards had a conference with the pope at Bologna, about the middle of December, to conſult about invading the kingdom of Naples. At the ſame time he agreed upon certain articles inſtead of the pragmatic ſanction, in conſideration of which Leo granted him the tithe of all eccleſiaſtical revenues in his kingdom for one year, and allowed him to nominate to all biſhopricks and abba-

Leo concludes a treaty with him.

[h] Guicciard. lib. xii. P. Jov. lib. xiii. Marian. lib. xxx. Petr. Juſt. lib. i.

cies,

cies, on condition, however, that the annates ſhould be paid to the court of Rome, not according to the ancient regulation, but according to the real value. The king likewiſe interceded for the duke of Urbino, the nephew of the late pope, with whom Leo was offended, becauſe, from a diſguſt of Laurence de Medicis, he had recalled his troops from the eccleſiaſtical army; but the pope having been informed, that the duke had endeavoured to excite Francis againſt him, and being beſides deſirous of annexing his territories to his own family, refuſed the king's requeſt. Francis, after the conference, returned to Milan, and, having concluded an alliance with the Swiſs, diſbanded his army, and repaſſed the Alps in the beginning of January.

A.D. 1516. The pope about the ſame time went to Florence, and during his reſidence in that city aſſiſted the biſhop of Petrucci, his ancient friend, to take poſſeſſion of the city of Sienna. Notwithſtanding his late treaty with the king of France, upon hearing that the emperor had entered Italy to recover the Milaneſe, he appointed the cardinal Bibiena to attend him as his legate, and gave permiſſion to Marc Antonio Colonna to join him with two hundred men at arms. However, he did not openly break with the French; for, at the requeſt of the king, he ordered his nephew Laurence to ſend from Florence a ſubſidy ſufficient to pay three thouſand Swiſs for one month, and he deſired the legate to ſtop on his journey under pretence of ſickneſs. Leo by this expedient, in ſome meaſure, ſaved his honour; for Maximilian, being in great want of money, was obliged to leave his army upon a feigned excuſe, and return to Germany, while great part of his troops enliſted in the ſervice of the French and Venetians, and the reſt returned to Germany and Swiſſerland. While the emperor was in Italy, the pope, hearing of the death of the king of Hungary and Bohemia, wrote to the cardinal of Strigonia to take care of the education of his ſon Lewis, then a boy of ten years of age, and diſſuaded him from hearkening to the propoſals of the Turks, who had ſent an embaſſy, deſiring a peace or a truce with the Hungarians [1].

The emperor enters Lombardy with a formidable army;

but is obliged to return to Germany.

The pope ſeizes upon the duchy of Urbino.

About the ſame time, being deſirous of poſſeſſing the duchy of Urbino, Leo publiſhed a monitory againſt the duke, in which he accuſed him of diſloyalty as a vaſſal of the church, and, in a few weeks, having conquered the

[1] Ap. Bemb. Epiſt. lib. xii. & xiii.

territories

territories of Urbino, Pesara, and Sinigaglia, he gave the investiture of them to his nephew Laurence, obliging all the cardinals to sign with their own hand the bull expedited for that purpose [k]. After this conquest he endeavoured to dissuade the archduke Charles, who had succeeded his grandfather Ferdinand of Arragon, from engaging in an alliance with France, and he secretly solicited the emperor, the king of England, and the Swiss, to attack the Milanese. Francis, being informed of these designs of the pope, laid aside the thoughts of an expedition against Naples, and concluded an alliance with the young Catholic king at Noyon. The emperor had a liberty for two months to accede to this treaty, on condition of accommodating all his differences with the Venetians [l]. Maximilian accordingly embraced this opportunity of supplying his empty coffers, and promised to deliver up Verona to the Venetians, on consideration of receiving from them two hundred thousand ducats; which article was actually put in execution in the beginning of the following year.

A treaty concluded betwixt the emperor and the kings of France and Spain.

The news of this accommodation betwixt the king of France, the emperor, and his grandson Charles, was very disagreeable to the pope; who in the mean time celebrated the eleventh session of the Lateran council on the 19th of December, in which three deputies were admitted from the patriarch of the Maronites, who desired to be instructed in the faith and rites of the Roman church [m]. A decree was then read against vain preachers, who were ordered, under severe censures, not to publish false miracles and prophecies, but to explain the scripture according to the interpretation of the fathers. The council also confirmed the concordata concluded betwixt the pope and the king of France at Bologna; and in the twelfth and last session, held on the 16th of March, a letter from the emperor was read, in answer to one from the pope, who had exhorted him to declare war against the grand signor, then more formidable than ever by his late conquest of Syria. Maximilian, in his turn, exhorted the pope and the cardinals to the sacred expedition, and promised to attend them, and assist them with his forces. After the reading of his letter, a bull was published, imposing a tithe upon all ecclesiastical revenues for three years for the Turkish war; and, all the acts of the

A.D. 1517.

[k] Guicciard. lib. xii. Chimarel. Hist. d Urbino. [l] Bellefor. lib. vi. cap. 27. Hector. lib. vii. cap. 12. [m] Spond. Annal.

fathers

The Lateran council is dissolved.

fathers being confirmed, the council was solemnly dissolved, as the schism occasioned by the council of Pisa was at an end, and a peace concluded among the Christian princes.

The duke of Urbino makes war against the pope.

Though this general peace procured tranquility to the Venetians and the Milanese, yet the pope was thereby engaged in a new war; for upon the delivery of Verona to the Venetians, six thousand foreign soldiers entered into the service of the duke of Urbino, by whose assistance he quickly recovered his former duchy. The pope was afraid, that the duke was supported by the king of France, who he believed was greatly dissatisfied with him, as he had not only neglected to fulfil his part of the treaty concluded at Bologna, but, upon his return to Rome, had even published a bull contrary to the convention. However, the kings of France and Spain, from their mutual jealousy of each other, gave assistance to Leo against the duke of Urbino, and Francis renewed with him the treaty of Bologna. Notwithstanding the French and Spanish reinforcements, the pope's army was not powerful enough to venture an engagement; and soon after, some thousands of Spaniards and Germans deserting to the duke of Urbino, his army became more formidable than in the beginning of the campaign.

A conspiracy is formed by the cardinals against the pope.

In the mean time the pope himself was threatened with a conspiracy at Rome, which was headed by the cardinal of Sienna, who, with his brother Borghése, had been expelled from that place, although it was chiefly by his means that the family of the Medicis had recovered Florence, and Leo himself had obtained the pontificate. The plot being discovered, the cardinal of Sienna, with several others of lesser note, were put to death, and two other cardinals were degraded. By these severities, Leo being sensible that he had rendered himself odious to the sacred college, resolved upon a promotion of new cardinals, and on the 26th of June nominated thirty-one persons to that dignity, without regard to their merit, many of them having bought their preferment with money, and others owing their elevation to their domestic services in his family [n]. Having by this new promotion provided for his safety at Rome, Leo prosecuted the war against Urbino, who, being unable to support his troops, soon after consented to a peace on these conditions, namely, that the pope should pay to the Spanish troops, forty-

[n] Guicciardini, lib. xiii.

five

five thousand ducats, and sixty thousand to the Gascons and Germans, who should thereupon, within thirty days, evacuate the territories of the church, and of Florence; that the duke of Urbino should resign his duchy; that the pope should absolve him from all censures, and should allow him to retire to Mantua with all his effects, particularly with his artillery, and the famous library that had been collected by his grand-father by the mother's side[o]. By this submission of the duke of Urbino, all hostilities ceased in Italy, which for many years had been the seat of ruinous wars; the temporal power of the pope was raised higher than ever it had been before, and his spiritual authority was quietly submitted to by all Europe: however, this same year the papal usurpations met with such an opposition in Germany, as not only put a stop to their farther progress, but gave them such a blow, that they have been declining ever since.

The duke of Urbino consents to surrender his duchy to the pope.

The apostolic see, by its insatiable avarice, was itself instrumental, though not designedly, in promoting this great revolution; for besides the indulgences which had been granted by the Lateran council for an expedition against the Turks, Leo, who was in great want of money, this year, by the advice of cardinal Pucci, published other indulgences through all Christendom, to be sold indiscriminately to all purchasers (B). These he farmed out to the highest bidders; and his sister Magdalen, who had received from him the revenue of those that were disposed of in several parts of Germany, appointed Arcimboldus, archbishop of Upsal, her commissary, who exercised his office with great avarice and extortion[p]. The Dominicans, who had received the commission from the archbishop of Mentz to publish the indulgences, acted with great indiscretion; they printed several books, extolling

The beginning of the reformation in Germany.

[o] Guicciard. lib. xiii. [p] Idem. ibid.

(B) Indulgences were originally exemptions from taxes, granted by the emperors and governors to provinces that had been harrassed by enemies, earthquakes, unfruitful seasons, &c. the popes applied them to spiritual matters, and granted them to those who went to recover the Holy Land from the Saracens. They dispensed them likewise to those who, instead of marching personally against the infidels, contributed to the expence of the expedition. Afterwards the indulgences and pardons became more common; but Leo, at this time, prostituted them to a greater degree than they had ever been before.

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the power of their abſolutions, to which they gave the name of the Grand Pardons; and for certain rates, ſet down in a tariff which had been given them, they not only abſolved the living from all their ſins, but delivered the ſouls of the dead from the pretended pains of purgatory. They likewiſe ſold the liberty of eating fleſh, eggs, milk, and cheeſe, upon prohibited days, and publickly ſquandered a great part of the money, ariſing from the ſale of the indulgences, in taverns, where they frequently ſtaked their abſolutions at a game of tables [q].

Martin Luther publiſhes theſes againſt the indulgences of the pope.

Theſe proceedings occaſioned great murmurings over all Germany; and John Stanpitz, vicar-general of the Auguſtines, offended, as it is ſaid, that his order had not been employed in diſpoſing of the indulgences, preached againſt them with great warmth at Wittemberg, where he was likewiſe aſſiſted by Martin Luther, a monk of his order, and profeſſor in that univerſity. He not only exerted himſelf in his diſcourſes againſt the indulgences, but likewiſe wrote to the archbiſhop of Mentz, complaining of the proceedings of the Dominicans; and, on the laſt day of October, publiſhed ninety-five propoſitions or theſes againſt indulgences, penance, purgatory, and the authority of the pope (C). The archbiſhop took no notice

[q] Sleidan. lib. i. Cochlæ. de Act. & Script. Luther. Ulemberg in Vit. Luther.

(C) Martin Luther was born in 1483, at Iſlebe, in the county of Mansfield, in Upper Saxony. His father, whoſe name was Lotter, or Lauther, intended that he ſhould follow the profeſſion of the law; but Luther, after he had finiſhed his courſe of philoſophy, having, while he was walking in the fields, been terrified by a clap of thunder, which killed his companion, made a vow of becoming monk, which he accordingly performed two years afterwards at Erford, in the twenty-ſecond year of his age. He was ſoon after appointed profeſſor in the univerſity, which Frederic the Wiſe, duke of Saxony, a few years before had eſtabliſhed at Wittemberg, where he diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his active genius, his great memory, and natural eloquence. In 1516 he began to ſtudy the Greek and Hebrew, and publiſhed ſeveral theſes concerning free-will, the merit of good works, and human traditions, contrary to the opinions of the ſcholaſtic divines, for whom he had long teſtified a great contempt, as corrupters of the Goſpel by their ſophiſtical philoſophy. In 1524 he quitted the habit of a monk, and the year after married

tice of his letter, but soon after John Tetzel, a Dominican, and director of the sales of indulgences in Saxony, published a hundred and six propositions in defence of the pope's authority, and, as inquisitor of the faith, ordered those of Luther to be burnt. The students at Wittemberg treated the propositions of Tetzel in the same manner; and the dispute, which at first was looked upon only as a scholastic controversy, quickly began to be regarded in a more serious manner. The theses of Luther were greatly read and approved; however, one Eckius, a professor of divinity at Ingolstadt, wrote against them; and at Rome they were impugned by one Prieras, a Dominican, master of the sacred palace, who, in his book, treated Luther with contempt and ridicule, not knowing that he was attacking his adversary with his own weapons; for soon after Luther published an answer to Prieras, in which he retorted the ridicule upon his opponent. He used the same arms against one Holstraten, another Dominican, who had written with great bitterness against him, and exhorted the pope to condemn him as a heretic [r]. Luther judging likewise that his adversaries were endeavouring to defame him, in the month of June wrote, in a submissive manner to the pope, in his own justification, promising all obedience to the apostolic see, and declaring that he had published his theses only with the intention of disputing in a scholastic manner [s].

A. D. 1518.

The Dominicans defend the pope's authority, and condemn the theses of Luther.

Leo gave but very little attention to these commotions in a remote part of Germany, being much more alarmed by the progress of the grand signior Selim, who the year before had conquered Egypt, and put an end to the government of the Mamalukes. As he was a prince of great ambition, and had now no enemy in Asia, Leo was apprehensive that he would turn his victorious arms

The pope endeavours to promote a general crusade against the Turks.

[r] Sleidan. lib. i. [s] Cochlæ. Ulemberg ut supra.

married a wife, by whom he had three sons. He died on the 18th of February 1546. According to Basnage, he had many faults, as all great men have; but he always preserved that devotion which appeared in his early youth. He had an ardent zeal for the glory of God, and the re-establishment of the church, and a firmness of mind that was unshaken by the greatest dangers (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. Sleidan. lib. xvi. in fin. Ulemberg in Vita Lutheri. Basnage Hist. de Carelig. des Eglis. reform. tom. iii. p. 65.

againſt Italy; he therefore cauſed devout proceſſions to be made at Rome, and walked himſelf barefoot, with all his court, from the Vatican to the church of Minerva [t]. He then wrote to all the Chriſtian princes, exhorting them to a mutual truce for five years; and having ſettled the plan of the expedition, he ſent legates into the different kingdoms of Europe, to excite the princes to grant their contingents [u]. But Selim remaining inactive, the danger ſeemed to vaniſh; ſo that the ſecular princes, upon various pretences, refuſed to act, and the Spaniſh clergy abſolutely refuſed to pay the tithe, as they gave no credit to the reaſons urged by the pope. Cardinal Cajetan, a Dominican, went as legate to Germany, and was preſent at the diet of Augſburg, held in the beginning of Auguſt, where the emperor, the electors, and many other German princes, aſſembled, to conſult of the Turkiſh expedition. Cajetan, in the preſence of the diet, conferred a cardinal's hat on the archbiſhop of Mentz, brother of the elector of Brandenburg, by which proceeding he diſguſted the German princes, who were offended that one of their members ſhould take a particular oath of obedience to the holy ſee. The elector of Saxony, and many other princes, made great complaints of the violation of the Germanic Concordata, and propoſed to ſuppreſs the mandates and grants of reſervation ſtill uſurped by the popes; but as the diet was not unanimous, nothing was effected [w].

A diet held for that purpoſe at Augſburg.

Leo cites Luther to appear at Rome.

The emperor, in the beginning of the diet, had written to the pope, deſiring him to proceed againſt Luther; but before his letter arrived at Rome, Leo having received repeated complaints againſt Luther from Germany, had cited him to appear at Rome within ſixty days, and had written to the duke of Saxony to deliver him to Cajetan. However, at the interceſſion of the elector with the univerſity of Wittemberg, he conſented that his cauſe ſhould be tried at Augſburg. Luther, having obtained a ſafe-conduct from the emperor, appeared before Cajetan about the middle of October, and had ſeveral conferences with him; but the legate inſiſting abſolutely upon his recantation, and refuſing to enter into any diſpute, excepting ſlightly urging the authority of a de-

Luther has a conference with the cardinal Cajetan at Augſburgh.

[t] Victorel. Addit. ad Ciacon. [u] Ap. Goldaſt. Conſt. imper. tom. iii. ap. Bemb. Epiſt. lib. xiv. & xv. [w] Fugger. lib. vi. cap. xix. p. 1359. Struv. period. xv. p. 971. Georg. lib. v. cap. 7. n. 12.

cree

cree of Clement VI. Luther declared, that he would not retract the doctrines that he had preached and written, unless he was convicted of their error; but, as he was a man, and therefore fallible, he submitted his opinion to the decision of the church, and to the universities of Germany, and particularly to that of Paris. As he was then threatened by the legate, he privately left Augsburg; but before his departure he caused an appeal to the pope to be fixed up in the public places of the city [x]. Cajetan immediately wrote to Rome, complaining of Luther's obstinacy, and sent a letter to the duke of Saxony to banish him from his dominions. At the same time Luther wrote a submissive letter to the pope, complaining of Cajetan; and being informed that his appeal was rejected, he again appealed from the pope, who, like other men, was fallible, to a future general council.

A.D. 1519.

Leo renews his bull for indulgences.

Leo, to put a stop to the disputes in Germany concerning the supremacy of the pope, on the 9th of November published a new bull, confirming his indulgences; in which he affirmed, that all ought to believe that the bishop of Rome had a power of forgiving sins. Soon after, he sent a golden rose to the duke of Saxony, and solicited his counsellors to persuade him to withdraw his protection from Luther. However, his endeavours were fruitless; for the elector, upon the death of the emperor, which happened on the 12th of January, assuming, as vicar, the government of great part of the empire during the interregnum, Luther's authority increased, and he began to be looked upon as a man sent from God, to remedy the disorders and abuses of the Roman church. The elector refused to accept of the rose; however the nuncio, who was a German, prevailed upon Luther to write in a submissive manner to Rome, and to submit his cause to the judgment of a German bishop. Luther accordingly wrote in very respectful terms to the pope, but he added, that he would not retract his opinions, unless they were proved to him to be erroneous. He afterwards refused to submit to the decision of the archbishop of Triers, as he heard that cardinal Cajetan was to be present at the conferences, and the pope had not authorized the archbishop to give a final determination. However, he consented to a public dispute with Eckius at Leipsic, a city under the dominion of George, duke of Saxony,

[x] Cochlæ. ut supra. Act. Luther. ap. Cajetan. tom. i. Sleidan.

cousin of the elector Frederic, whither he repaired with Carolostadt and Philip Melancthon, who the year before had been appointed Greek professor at Wittemberg. The dispute continued for several days, each party claiming the victory; but the universities of Cologne, Louvain, and Paris, which last had been chosen as judge of the disputation, decided in favour of Eckius [y].

During these proceedings, Charles of Austria, king of Spain, was elected emperor on the 28th of June, cardinal Cajetan having, by the pope's authority, dispensed with the impediment of his being king of Naples. Leo soon after, to prevent a war in Italy, granted him the investiture of that kingdom, and wrote to him in Spain, exhorting him to war against the Turks. In the mean time, notwithstanding his nephew Lorenzo had died without issue, he still kept possession of the duchy of Florence, and endeavoured to surprise the city of Ferrara; but his design being discovered, it proved ineffectual [z].

Luther's doctrines meet with great reception.

Mean while the favourers of Luther not only increased in the empire, but, according to Guicciardni, his doctrines began to be attended to in Italy [a]. The king of Denmark publicly approved of his proceedings [b]; and Laurence and Olaus Petri, two brothers who had studied at Wittemberg, published his doctrines in Sweden, where they met with a favourable reception [c]. It appears likewise from the letters of Erasmus to him and the duke of Saxony, that his opinions were well received in England and Flanders [d].

Zuinglius preaches against the church of Rome in Switzerland.

While his writings and doctrines engaged the attention of great part of Europe, Ulric Zuinglius, born in the canton of Glaritz, preached against the abuses and errors of the Roman church in Switzerland, without having any correspondence with him, from whom he differed in some points of his new doctrine. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the bishop of Constance, the magistrates of Zurich approved of the proceedings of Zuinglius, and that whole canton, with those of Bern, Basil, and Schaffhausen, embraced his opinions [e].

A D. 1520.

Luther, in the mean time, being assured of the protection of the duke of Saxony, and other princes of the empire, published a treatise on Christian liberty, which

[y] Idem ibid. [z] Guicciard. lib. xiii. [a] Idem ibid. [b] Huitfeld. Hist. Dan. tom. viii. [c] Jorenson. Hist. Gustavus I. [d] Epist. Erasm. lib. vi. [e] Sleidan. lib. i. Melchior. Adam. in Vit. Theol. Germ. Rainald, ad an. 1520.

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he ſent to Rome, with a letter addreſſed to the pope, in which he declared, that he had no other deſign than the glory of God, and the diſcovery of truth, the profeſſion of which he would never forſake. He then affirmed, that the court of Rome was more corrupt than ever Babylon or Sodom had been, and that it were better for Leo to be a ſimple prieſt than to be ſurrounded by ſo many flatterers, like a lamb in the midſt of wolves. About the ſame time he publiſhed ſeveral other treatiſes concerning confeſſion, vows, the celibacy of the clergy, and the communicating under both kinds, ſome of which were ſoon after cenſured by the univerſities of Cologne and Louvain. Luther quickly wrote an anſwer in his own juſtification, and in his preface treated the univerſities with great freedom, affirming, that Ariſtotle was their chief God, and that it was their practice to perſecute great men, ſuch as Picus of Mirandola, Laurence Valla, and Reuchlin. To protect himſelf from the malice of his enemies, he wrote at this time to the emperor, intreating him to defend him from all violence, till his cauſe ſhould be tried. Charles V. about the ſame time, was ſolicited by cardinal Adrian, the pope's nuncio in Spain, to order Luther to be apprehended; but he declaring that he could not ſatisfy the pope till after his coronation at Aix la Chapelle, Leo aſſembled the cardinals and divines at Rome, and, on the 15th of June, drew up a bull, by which he condemned forty-one of the propoſitions of Luther, and ordered them, and all his writings, to be burnt, commanding likewiſe, the author, and all his followers, to recant within ſixty days, under pain of being excommunicated and reckoned heretics [f].

Luther publiſhes ſeveral treatiſes againſt the doctrines of the church of Rome.

He is excommunicated.

By this bull, Luther ſaw himſelf cut off from all hopes of an accommodation, unleſs he would recant, for otherwiſe it was impoſſible for the pope, without contradicting his claim to infallibility, to retract his decree. Reſolving, at all hazards, to defend the propoſitions which he had advanced, he immediately publiſhed a book againſt the church of Rome, exhorting the German nation to ſhake off its authority, and to oblige the pope and biſhops to ſubmit to the emperor. He likewiſe renewed his appeal to a future council; and as his books had been burnt at Rome, Louvain, and Cologne, he, in return, erected a

A.D. 1521.

He exhorts the Germans to ſhake off the authority of the church of Rome,

[f] Sleidan. lib. i. Spond. Annal. Pallav. Hiſt. Conc. Trid. lib. i. cap. 21. tom. xiv. Conc. Collect. Lab. p. 394.

pile of wood without the walls of Wittemberg, where, in the presence of almost the whole city, and a great many doctors, he set fire to the wood, and threw the canon law and the pope's bull into the flames[f]. A few weeks after the pope celebrated a diet at Worms, which was opened on the 6th of January. Among other matters, this assembly proposed to take cognizance of the cause of Luther, notwithstanding the objections of Aleandre, one of the pope's nuncios, who asserted, that they ought not to intermeddle in an affair that had been already determined by the pope. The emperor having granted his safe-conduct to Luther, he arrived at Worms on the 16th of April, where he again absolutely refused to retract his opinions, unless he was convinced, by reason or scripture, that they were erroneous. The elector of Treves advised him, at a private conference, to think of some remedy for the present disorders: but he still continuing in his former sentiments, the emperor ordered him to leave Worms, and granted him a safe-conduct for twenty-one days[g]. After his departure he put him to the ban of the empire, by an edict published on the 8th of May, by which, after accusing him of heresy, he confirmed the pope's bull against him and his followers, prohibited all persons from affording him any protection, and ordered him to be seized and imprisoned after the expiration of the time prescribed in his safe-conduct. All his books were likewise prohibited, and ordered to be burnt[h].

Luther put to the ban of the empire.

Leo renews the excommunication against him;

Mean while the pope, who now began to be alarmed by the commotions in Germany, held frequent consistories at Rome, to consult of means to oppose Luther[i]. On the 2d of January he not only excommunicated him, but denounced the same sentence against all who favoured or protected him[k]. This bull he again repeated on the Thursday before Easter[l]; and having received a book from Henry VIII. king of England, in defence of the doctrines of the Roman church impugned by Luther, he conferred on that prince the title of Defender of the Faith. About the same time he, with great imprudence, fomented the jealousies betwixt the emperor and the king of France, who had been rivals for the empire. In the

[f] Sleidan. lib. ii. [g] Idem, lib. iii. Cochlæ. ut supra. Pallav. lib. i. cap. 26, 28. Seckend. lib. i. sect. 44. n. 98. [h] Ap. Goldast. Const. imper. tom. ii. Bzov. hoc an, [i] Guicciard. lib. xiii. [k] Spond. Annal. [l] Sleidan.

vain

vain expectation of expelling the French and Spaniards from Italy, and enlarging the possession of the church by the acquisition of Ferrara, Parma, and Placentia, instead of using his authority as a mediator, he, with great earnestness, promoted a war. At first he adhered to the king of France; but being informed of his unsuccessful expedition against Navarre, he entered into an alliance with the emperor and the king of England against him: and soon after sending troops to the Milanese, which were reinforced with others from Germany, he quickly made himself master of Milan, Pavia, Lodi, Parma, and Placentia. In the midst of these conquests, and while he was soliciting the Venetians to declare against the French, he was cut off by a sudden death, on the 2d of December, which was believed to be the effect of poison, administered to him by Barnabas Malaspina, gentleman of his bedchamber, who on that suspicion was imprisoned, but afterwards set at liberty by the cardinal of Medicis, who suppressed all examination on that affair[m]. According to Guicciardini, Leo was possessed of a great many good qualities, which were blemished with a great number of vices; and he discovered, during his pontificate, more prudence, and much less probity, than was expected. He had a great love for the fine arts and sciences, and was very liberal to learned men; but he is accused of having been a voluptuary, ambitious, and extremely revengful. Paul Jovius charges him with the crime of sodomy, and Picus of Mirandola affirms that he was an atheist[n].

and enters into an alliance with the new emperor against the king of France.

He dies suddenly.

Upon the death of Leo, the college of cardinals were at a loss whether to espouse the party of the king of France or the emperor. As they gave no orders to the army in the Milanese, the duke of Urbino, while they were deliberating at Rome, recovered his former duchy, and the duke of Ferrara again got possession of some of his ancient territories in Romagna; but the French still continued too weak to face the Imperialists. The cardinal of Ivrea, who favoured the French, being seized in Lombardy on his journey to Rome, the college made a decree not to proceed to the election of a pope till he was set at liberty. He soon after arriving at the city, thirty-nine cardinals entered the conclave on the 27th of December, and, after a long contest, on the 9th of

[m] Onuphr. in Vit. Leon. Paul. Jov. Onuphr. Victorel. in Vit. Leon. Basnage ut supra.

[n]

January, unanimouſly choſe Adrian, cardinal of Tortoſa.

The conteſt was occaſioned by the great number of competitors, the chief of whom at firſt was the cardinal of Medicis; but he was oppoſed by the others, in the intereſt of the emperor and of cardinal Wolſey, which laſt relying on the emperor's promiſe in his favour, and the influence of his money, was in great hopes of ſucceeding. Though Charles had indeed made great promiſes to Wolſey, in order to ſecure the friendſhip of Henry VIII. yet he had no intention at that time of fulfilling them, but deſired to have a pope, who he knew would be entirely in his intereſts. He therefore, not to offend Wolſey, with great ſecreſy intrigued with the conclave, after he had ſecured the majority of votes, one of the cardinals, on the laſt day of the election, propoſed Adrian as it were by chance; and being ſeconded by another, who made a long ſpeech in his favour, all that faction declared for him, and were followed by the whole conclave [o] (D). As Adrian had never been in Italy, and was entirely unacquainted with the cuſtoms of the court of Rome, the Romans were greatly offended at his election; and when the conclave broke up, inſulted and abuſed the cardinals, who, in their own defence, alleged, that they had been directed by the Holy Spirit [p].

A.D. 1522. *Adrian VI. is elected.*

The new pope received the news of his election in Spain, where he was governor during the abſence of the emperor: retaining, contrary to the uſual cuſtom, his own name, he embarked at Terragona, and arrived at Rome on the 29th of Auguſt, where, two days after, he was ſolemnly crowned in the portico of St. Peter's church. Be-

He arrives at Rome.

[o] Guicciard. Paul. Jov. Acta literar. Faſcic. vi. p. 65. Burman. Aneled. Hiſt. de Adrian VI. p. 141. [p] Guicciard. lib. xiv.

(D) Adrian was born at Utrecht in Holland; his father, according to ſome authors, being a weaver of tapeſtry, and, according to others, a brewer. Having made great progreſs in learning, he was promoted to the vice-chancellorſhip of the univerſity of Louvain, and afterwards appointed preceptor to Charles V. who created him one of his chief counſellors of ſtate; and by the intereſt of his grand-father Maximilian, procured for him a cardinal's hat from Leo X. in 1519 (1).

(1) Spond Annal. Victorel. in Addit. ad Ciacon.

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fore his arrival in Italy, the French had entirely loſt all their poſſeſſions in Lombardy, except the caſtles of Milan, Cremona, and Novara; and the ſoltan Solyman, who had lately ſucceeded Selim, beſieged the city of Rhodes with an immenſe army. In Germany, likewiſe, Luther perſevered with great zeal in promoting the reformation. Upon his return from Worms, the elector of Saxony, to protect him from the conſequence of the ban, had ordered a troop of maſked horſemen to meet him on the road, and to conduct him to the caſtle of Wartburg, in which ſolitude he continued near ten months, neither his friends nor enemies at firſt knowing what was becóme of him. There he publiſhed ſeveral books, eſtabliſhing his new doctrines; but being informed that Caroloſtadt was making himſelf a chief of a party at Wittemberg, and had excited the young people to deſtroy the altars, and pull down the images and crucifixes, he left Wartburg in the beginning of March, without leave of the elector, and again appeared in public. He blamed the proceeding of Caroloſtadt, who, in reſentment, quitted Wittemberg, and went to a different part of Saxony, in the neighbourhood of the river Sala, where he aſſociated with others who had thrown off the authority of the church of Rome, but began to pretend to have revelations from God, by whom they ſaid they were commanded to kill all the wicked [q]. Luther, in the mean time, publiſhed a tranſlation of the Bible, which, not being conformable to the Vulgate, and wanting ſeveral canonical books, was prohibited by ſeveral princes.

Luther zealous in promoting the reformation.

During theſe tranſactions, Adrian having arrived at Rome, employing his whole attention to underſtand the affairs of his court; but putting little confidence in the cardinals, his chief favourites were John Rufus, biſhop of Conſenza, William Eikenwort and Theodoric Hetius, both Dutchmen, the firſt of whom he created a cardinal, and biſhop of Tortoſa. The emperor Charles, about the ſame time, having gone into Spain, and his brother, whom he had appointed his vicar, ſoon after convoking a diet at Nuremberg, Adrian ſent Francis Cheregat as his legate into Germany, who was commiſſioned to demand of the diet, that they would put in execution the bull of his predeceſſor againſt Luther, and grant aſſiſtance to the knights of Rhodes againſt the Turks. Neither the pope nor the Chriſtian princes having exerted themſelves in earneſt in

Adrian ſends a legate to the diet of Nuremberg;

[q] Sleidan. lib. iii.

defence

defence of that city, it was obliged to surrender to the sol-
A.D.1523. tan, after a siege of seven months; and on the 1st of January, the grand-master, with all the knights, quitted the island, and sailed for Crete [n]. Adrian was more intent on recovering Rimini, which had revolted during the vacancy of the see; for that purpose, having sent forces into Romagna, he obliged Sigismond Malatesta to quit the city, and soon after was reconciled to the dukes of Ferrara and Urbino, having annulled all the bulls that had been published against them by his predecessors, Julius II. and Leo X [o].

Mean while Luther, having procured a copy of the pope's letter to the diet, translated it into the German language; and Adrian, having confessed that there was great need of a reformation, but that they ought to proceed step by step, Luther, in his notes, added, that the popes had hitherto taken one hundred years betwixt each step to reform any grievances. The diet likewise declared to the nuncio, that it was impossible to put the edict of the emperor against the Lutherans in execution, without hazarding a civil war, as the people, by the books lately published, were now well instructed in the oppressions of the court of Rome; and that the best means to quiet the disturbances would be to assemble a general council, on condition that the members should swear to declare their sentiments freely, and without disguise. Notwithstanding the opposition of the legate, they also drew up a memorial, which they intitled Centum Gravamina, or, *the Hundred Grievances*; and on the 6th of March they published an edict, prohibiting the preachers to discourse of any subject tending to disturb the public peace, which, with the memorial, the pope's brief, and their answer to the legate, they sent over all Germany, and even to Rome, where the ingenuous confession of the pope, that his court and the clergy were the original source of the evil, gave great offence to the prelates [p].

which remonstrates against the oppressions of the church of Rome.

During these proceedings in Germany, the king of France was making great preparations for an expedition into Italy, especially as he heard the Venetians were strongly solicited to enter into an alliance with the emperor. Adrian, at the same time, earnestly exhorted the Chris-

[n] Spond. Annal. Fontani Hist. Bell. Rhod. [o] Guicciard. lib. xv. Belcar. lib. xvii. [p] Spond. Annal. Sleidan lib. iv. Struv. per. x. sect. iv. Cochlæ. de Act. Luther, p. 85. Seckend. lib. i. p. 255. Pallav lib. ii. Goldast. in Const. Imper. tom. ii.

tian

tian princes to agree to a truce, and to turn their arms againſt the Turks; but Francis I. not agreeing to this propoſal, which would deprive him of the opportunity of recovering the Milaneſe, the pope, at the perſuaſion of the emperor and the king of England, on the laſt day of April publiſhed a bull, ordering all the Chriſtian princes to obſerve a truce for three years, under pain of excommunication and interdict. Francis ſtill continuing his preparations for his intended expedition, the pope, at the inſtigation of the viceroy of Naples, acceded on the 3d of Auguſt to the treaty which had been formed againſt France by the emperor, the king of England, the archduke of Auſtria, the duke of Milan, the Florentines, the Genoeſe, Venetians, Luccheſe, and Sienneſe. Notwithſtanding this formidable alliance, Francis ſent an army into the Milaneſe, where he quickly recovered ſeveral towns, as Proſpero Colonna, the general of the confederate army, had neglected to repair the fortifications. Mean while Adrian, having granted to the emperor Charles the right of preſenting to all biſhopricks in Spain [q], died at Rome on the 14th of September, in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, and the ſecond of his pontificate. His death, which was ſuſpected to be the effect of poiſon, gave great joy to the Romans, who were offended with his ſobriety and regular manners, having been debauched by the luxury introduced by his predeceſſor Leo [r] (C). *Adrian dies at Rome.*

After the funeral obſequies of Adrian, the cardinals entered the conclave, where they ſpent thirty days in diſputes before they were determined in their choice of a ſucceſſor to the papal dignity. According to ſome authors, Nicholas Schomberg, a German, and archbiſhop of Capua, was propoſed as a candidate [s]; but the chief conteſt was occaſioned by the cardinals Colonna and Medicis, the firſt of whom was ſupported by the intereſt of the king of France, and the laſt by that of the emperor. After long diſputes, the cardinal of Medicis, having increaſed his party, by promiſing the vice-chancellorſhip of

[q] Marian. in Summar. Bull. tom. i. Hadrian VI. Conſt. I. [r] Onuphr. Spond. Annal. Guicciard. lib. xv. [s] Addit. ad Ciacon.

(C) He was buried in the church of St. Peter, with this epitaph: "Adrianus papa VI. hic ſitus eſt—qui nihil ſibi infelicius in vita—quam quod imperaret—duxit (1)."

(1) Spond. Annal.

the

Clement VII. is elected.

the church to cardinal Ursino, was at length unanimously elected on the 18th of November, and assuming the name of Clement VII. was solemnly crowned on the 25th of the same month [t] (D). As Clement was in possession of the state of Florence, had been long practised in the administration of the affairs of the Roman church, and was distinguished for his gravity, constancy, and application to business, great expectations were raised among the Christian princes upon the news of his election. The duke of Ferrara immediately laid aside his design upon Modena, and John de Sassatello ceased all hostilities in Romagna, into which province, during the vacancy of the see, he had marched with a considerable body of troops [u].

A.D. 1524.

He refuses to become a party in the war betwixt the emperor and the king of France.

Clement, soon after his election, received an embassy from the emperor and the king of France, each of whom endeavoured to draw him into their alliance; but he refused at first to engage in their disputes, otherwise than as mediator; and in the beginning of the year sent legates to them, and to the king of England, to exhort them to a peace or truce, which proposition was rejected by all the princes. About the same time he sent the cardinal Campegio, as his legate, to the diet of Nuremberg. He complained to that assembly, that the ban published against the Lutherans was not put in execution; but the princes replying, that the most proper means to restore the public peace, would be to redress immediately the grievances they complained of. He declared that he had seen a copy of the Centum Gravamina at Rome, which neither pope nor cardinals believed to have been published by order of the Germanic body, as it contained many things derogatory to the authority of the apostolic see, on

The German princes insist upon a redress of their grievances.

[t] Guicciard. Onuphr. Masson in Vit. Clement VII. Jov. in Vit. Pomp. Colon. [u] Guicciard. ut supra.

(D) Clement VII. was the natural son of Julian de Medicis, who was murdered in the church of Florence, by Pazzi and other conspirators. He was educated with great care by his uncle Laurence; after whose death, when his family was banished from Florence, he was created knight of Rhodes, and grand prior of Capua. Leo X. his kinsman, conferred upon him the archbishoprick of Florence, and dignity of cardinal, and likewise created him chancellor of the Roman church, which is the highest office in the pope's court (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. Erasm. Epist.

which

which articles he had no commission to treat; but that he was willing to regulate, with their concurrence, other matters tending to reform the abuses in Germany [w]. He accordingly drew up a form of reformation, which was rejected by the princes, as it regarded only the inferior clergy, and tended in the main to enlarge the pope's authority, and that of the ecclesiastic princes of the empire, to the prejudice of the lay princes [x]. The diet, therefore, on the 18th of April, published a decree for observing the edict of Worms as far as possible, and for soliciting the emperor and pope to convoke a free council in Germany [y]. The legate objected to several articles in this new edict, as derogatory to the authority of the pope; but the diet breaking up, he went with the archduke Ferdinand, the two dukes of Bavaria, the archbishop of Saltzburg, the bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, with the deputies of nine other bishops, to the city of Ratisbon, where, on the 6th of July, they entered into a mutual alliance, and published a decree, ordering the edict of Worms to be fully executed within their respective dominions. On the other hand, the deputies of the states, that had embraced Luther's doctrines, assembled in the same month at Spire, where they ordered all the controverted articles of religion to be collected by their own divines, with the intention of presenting them at the following diet, which was to be held in the same city, in the month of November.

A league formed for the support of the religion of the church of Rome.

This diet, however, never assembled; for the pope having written to the emperor, complaining of the proceedings of the diet of Nuremberg, Charles, who had great need of Clement's assistance against the French in Italy, wrote from Burgos in Spain to the German princes, annulling the edict of Nuremberg, and prohibiting the assembling of the diet at Spire [z]. Notwithstanding this declaration of the emperor in favour of the papal authority, Clement still refused to join in the alliance against France: however, he secretly granted seventy thousand ducats to the duke of Bourbon, the commander of the Imperialists; who receiving a reinforcement of six thousand Germans, obliged the French army to evacuate Italy, and entering Provence, took Aix, and several other places, and laid siege to Marseilles; but Francis I. marching to the relief of that city, with an army of forty thousand men, he was obliged to

The French are expelled from Italy.

w Sleidan. Cochlæ. ut supra.
x Pallavicin. lib. ii. cap. 10.
y Struv. period. x. p. 992.
z Henter. lib. ix. cap. 1. Rainald. ad. an. 1524. Sleidan. ut supra.

raise

raise the siege, after forty days open trenches, and retreat with precipitation into Lombardy. Francis pursued him, retook Milan, and several other towns, and invested the city of Pavia, which he soon reduced to great extremity. The pope, by this unexpected success, was prevailed upon to conclude a treaty with him, and, according to some authors, advised him to attack the kingdom of Naples[a], though Guicciardini expressly affirms, that he dissuaded him from that expedition, and that the king intended chiefly by that diversion, to oblige the Spaniards to surrender Pavia. However it was, it proved very fatal both to the king of France and the pope; for the Imperialists having received several reinforcements from Germany, on the 24th of February attacked the French army, weakened by the detachment to Naples, and harrassed with a siege that had continued four months, and after a fierce engagement of some hours, entirely defeated them, and took the French king, with many nobles and officers.

Francis I. repasses the Alps with an army, and concludes a treaty with the pope.

A.D.1525.

During these hostilities, the pope, on the 21st of December, had published a bull, for the celebration of a jubilee, to commence at Christmas. He accordingly on that day opened the Holy Gate of St. Peter's with great solemnity; but, by the spreading of Luther's doctrines, indulgences had greatly sunk in their value, so that very few persons appeared at Rome, especially as their pilgrimage was rendered dangerous by the great number of troops in Lombardy[b]. Upon the news of the victory of Pavia, all Italy was struck with consternation, the pope especially was filled with great terror, as he had a few weeks before published his alliance with the French king, which had greatly irritated the emperor. The Venetians likewise were very apprehensive of the emperor's resentment; but, being informed that the king of England, from a jealousy of the emperor's over-grown power, inclined to favour France, they immediately solicited the pope to enter into a league for the defence of Italy, and proposed to hire ten thousand Swiss, which, with the Italian troops, would be sufficient to oppose the Imperialists, who, since the victory at Pavia, had even mutined for want of pay: but Clement, by the arrival of his secretary, the archbishop of Capua, from Lombardy, having received some hopes of an accommodation, preferred his particular interests to the general welfare, and concluded a treaty with

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

The pope seeks an accommodation with the emperor.

[a] Mem. de Bellai, lib. ii. D. Anton. de Vera. Hist. Carol. V.
[b] Spond. Annal.

the

the viceroy of Naples, who ſtipulated that the emperor Charles ſhould oblige the duke of Ferrara to reſtore Reggio, ſhould allow the pope to diſpoſe of all benefices in the kingdom of Naples, and ſhould grant the inveſtiture of Milan to Francis Sforza; in conſideration of which benefits, the pope ordered the Florentines, who were included in the treaty, to pay one hundred thouſand ducats to the viceroy, and promiſed to pay as much more upon being put in poſſeſſion of Reggio.

The Venetians had twenty days allowed them for acceding to this treaty, which was concluded on the 1ſt of April, but they refuſed to ſtrengthen their enemy by furniſhing them with money, which might be employed to better purpoſe againſt them: however, many other Italian ſtates followed the example of the pope, and purchaſed their peace with money. Clement being diſappointed by the emperor, who refuſed to ratify the treaty concluded with the viceroy, he entered into a confederacy againſt him, a few months afterwards, with the marquis of Peſcara his general, the Venetians, and the duke of Milan, whoſe chancellor, offended at the extravagant conditions on which the emperor offered the inveſtiture of the Milaneſe, formed the deſign of expelling the Spaniards and Germans from Italy. The pope promiſed to give the inveſtiture of Naples to the marquis, who, on that account, engaged to diſperſe the Imperial army in ſuch a manner, that it ſhould not be able to make any reſiſtance againſt the confederates; but, inſtead of fulfilling his engagements, he diſcovered the whole treaty to the emperor, who, on that pretence, ſeized the duchy of Milan [c].

His offers being rejected, he enters into a confederacy againſt him.

The great commotions in Italy prevented the pope from attending to the affairs of Germany, where the enemies of the Roman church were divided into ſeveral ſects. Muncer and Pliffer, and ſeveral other Anabaptiſt preachers, had excited the peaſants to take arms againſt the nobles and magiſtrates, but they were at laſt reduced, with the loſs of one hundred thouſand men. The emperor, upon the news of this general inſurrection, wrote to the German princes, appointing a diet to be held at Augſburg, which was deferred till the following year by the archduke Ferdinand [d]; and, in the mean time, a controverſy about the euchariſt was carried on, with great warmth, betwixt Luther and Zuinglius, whoſe opinion was em-

Great commotions in Germany occaſioned by Anabaptiſts.

[c] Brantome Vie du Marq. de Peſc. Anton. de Vera Hiſt. Carol. V. p. 124. Guicciard. lib. xvi. [d] Sleidan. lib. v.

braced

braced by Oecolampadius, minister at Basil. Though Clement did not interfere in the affairs of Germany, yet being informed by the queen-regent of France, that the doctrines of Luther began to be attended to in that kingdom, he wrote to the parliament of Paris, exhorting them to be vigilant in opposing the German heresy, and defending the ancient religion [e].

A.D. 1526. Being recovered from his consternation, occasioned by the victory of Pavia, the pope wrote to the emperor with great earnestness in behalf of the duke of Milan: but Charles delaying, upon various pretences, to declare expressly in what manner he intended to dispose of the Milanese, Clement soon after concluded an alliance with the Venetians and the king of France, who, in consequence of a treaty with Charles at Madrid, had returned to his own kingdom. Immediately after the papal and Venetian troops took the field, under the command of the duke of Urbino; and all Lombardy, especially the city of Milan, being ready to revolt from the Spaniards, the imperial ambassador at Rome was very earnest with the pope to abandon Sforza. Clement rejected all his offers: however, the negligence and bad conduct of the duke of Urbino gave leisure to the Imperialists to fortify themselves; and they having received some reinforcements, not only quieted the disorders in Milan, but obliged Sforza to surrender the castle, while the duke of Urbino continued inactive, waiting for succours from Switzerland.

Clement concludes an alliance with the king of France and the Venetians.

Is surprized by the Neapolitans at Rome.

The Imperialists were not only successful in Lombardy, but, by the assistance of the family of Colonna, who were wholly addicted to the emperor's interest, surprised the pope in Rome, and obliged him to agree to a truce with the emperor for four months, to forgive the outrage, and recall his troops from the Milanese [f]. The Neapolitan troops, however, had no sooner retired from Rome than Clement, refusing to fulfil the articles which he had been compelled to subscribe, deposed the cardinal of Colonna, declared all his family rebels, and sending a considerable body of troops into their territories, plundered and burnt a great number of their towns. The cardinal of Colonna, in the mean time residing at Naples, appealed to a future general council; and caused writings to be fixed to the church doors in Rome, citing the pope, in the name of the emperor, to appear at Spire before a council [g]. A ge-

[e] Sleidan. lib. v. [f] Guicciard. lib. xvii. Spond. Annal. [g] Guicciardini, ut supra. Jov. in Vite Pomp. Card.

neral

neral diet of the empire had been held in that city in the months of July and August, in which the party of the Lutherans appeared more powerful than ever. The princes proposed to petition the emperor to assemble a general council, to settle the disputes about religion; and it was resolved, that, till the celebration of the council, each prince should so govern his subjects, as he should be able to give an account to God and the emperor [h]. Charles being greatly exasperated against the pope, for absolving the king of France from his obligations to observe the treaty of Madrid, and for entering into an alliance with that prince and the Venetians, he wrote a long letter to him, complaining of his proceedings, and appealing from him to a general council, which he insisted upon being immediately convoked [i]. In the mean time, continual succours arrived in Lombardy from Spain and Germany, and the viceroy of Naples returned to that kingdom from Spain with a strong reinforcement. The pope having received a subsidy of thirty thousand crowns from the king of England, paid no regard to the remonstrance of the emperor, but sent his troops against the kingdom of Naples, which was likewise at the same time attacked by his gallies, in conjunction with those of France and Venice. The land forces made themselves masters of Aquila, while those at sea took Salerno, Sorrento, and several other maritime places. However, the pope not being able to bear the expence of the war, as he received very little assistance from the king of France, and as the imperialists were daily growing more powerful both in Naples and Lombardy, he agreed to a truce for eight months with the viceroy of Naples, in consequence of which the conquered places on both sides were immediately restored.

Liberty of conscience allowed to the Lutherans in Germany.

A.D. 1527.

The pope agrees to a truce with the viceroy of Naples.

The chief motive which induced the pope to conclude a truce, was the fear of an invasion of the ecclesiastical state from the Imperialists in Lombardy; for the duke of Bourbon having left seven or eight thousand men at Milan, had marched with about thirty thousand towards Bologna, the greatest part of whom were Germans, and some Lutherans [k], who for five months had received little or no pay. In the Milanese they had lived at free quarters, and subsisted on their march by levying heavy contributions; and though Bourbon published that his intention was to march to Naples, yet it was generally believed that he proposed only to ravage Tuscany. The pope, therefore, by the

[h] Sleidan. lib. vi.
[i] Ap. Goldast. Const. Imper. tit. i.
[k] Jov. in Prolog.

The imperial general in Lombardy refuses his consent to the truce, and marches to Rome, which is taken by storm, and sacked.

truce concluded with the viceroy, promised to pay Bourbon sixty thousand ducats, on condition that he withdrew his army from the ecclesiastical state and the territories of Florence; and as he had restored the towns in the kingdom of Naples, he, in full assurance of a peace, immediately dismissed the greatest part of his army. The duke of Bourbon, who had already advanced to the Bolognese, refused his consent to the truce, notwithstanding the viceroy had come to his camp, and had offered to cause one hundred and forty thousand ducats to be paid to him within two months. As his troops had already mutinied twice, and allowed him only the shadow of command, he was constrained to submit to their impetuosity, they calling out, in a tumultuous manner, "To Rome, to Rome." He accordingly, partly by inclination and partly by constraint, continued his march; and, as there was no army to interrupt him, and as he was not encumbered with baggage or artillery, he arrived before Rome on the 5th of May, and demanded a passage through the city to Naples. His demand being refused, next morning he assaulted the city; and though he was killed himself in the beginning of the attack, yet his troops about sun-set carried the place by storm, and while the pope and the cardinals retired to the castle of St. Angelo, they were employed in committing all manner of violences and barbarities. The sacking continued for several days; the Lutherans discharged their fury against the church of St. Peter, and the tombs of the popes, and dragging the bodies of the saints from their shrines, trampled them under their feet, while the Spaniards and Italians, more rapacious and cruel than the Germans, tortured the nobles, prelates, and magistrates, to oblige them to pay excessive ransoms. As the duke of Urbino, though at the head of a numerous army, delayed advancing to the relief of Rome, the pope was obliged to capitulate with the prince of Orange, who, upon the death of Bourbon, succeeded to the chief command. It was agreed that the pope should immediately pay one hundred thousand ducats, and three hundred thousand more within two months; that he should put into the hands of the emperor the castle of St. Angelo, Civita Vecchia, Citta Castellana, Parma, Placenza, and Modena; and that upon paying the first one hundred and fifty thousand ducats, he should be conducted with the cardinals to Gaeta, or Naples, but till that payment he should remain a prisoner. Upon these and some other conditions, provisions were carried into the castle, where he continued

The pope is detained a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo.

six

ſix months longer a priſoner, not having money to complete the firſt payment [m]. Mean while the plague raged with violence in Rome, by which great numbers of the Imperialiſts daily periſhed. The Florentines, upon the news of the pope's calamity, expelled Hippolito and Alexander de Medicis from their city, and creating a Gonfalonier, reſtored the antient republican government. They likewiſe broke the ſtatues of Leo X. and of Clement, and perſecuted all thoſe who favoured that family. The emperor, being informed of the great ſucceſs of his arms in Italy, diſſembled his joy, and even put on mourning, and ordered proceſſions and public prayers, to implore the aſſiſtance of heaven for the diſtreſſed church. However, his actions did not correſpond with theſe profeſſions; for, to draw all the advantage that he could from the pope's diſtreſs, he delayed giving any orders to ſet him at liberty, though the plague was then very mortal, not only in the city of Rome, but even in the caſtle of St. Angelo.

Notwithſtanding this proſperous appearance of the emperor's affairs in Italy, by his too great ſecurity he ſoon found them in a worſe ſituation than in the beginning of the campaign; for while he neglected to reinforce his army, two thirds of which were cut off with the plague, the king of France prevailed with Henry VIII. of England to enter into the league againſt him, with the Venetians, and other Italian ſtates. In the beginning of Auguſt, Francis ſent an army into Italy, under the command of Lautrec, who took Alexandria, and ſome other places: and Genoa likewiſe ſubmitting to the French, he paſſed the Po about the middle of October, with the intention of marching to Naples. Charles being informed of the conqueſts of Lautrec, immediately ſent deputies to Rome to negociate with the pope, with whom they concluded a treaty, much to the advantage of the emperor; but the conditions being ſuch, that it was impoſſible for the pope to fulfil them, by the aſſiſtance of cardinal Colonna, to whom he was reconciled, he eſcaped, on the 9th of December, from the caſtle, and was conducted to Orvieto [n]. *He eſcapes,*

Soon after he received an ambaſſador from the king of England, who deſired him to renew his alliance with the

[m] Guicciard. lib. xviii. Spond. Annal. Jov. in Vite Pomp. Colon. Reiner, lib. vi. p. 114. Mycon. Hiſt. Reform. cap. 14. Mem. de Du Bellai, lib. iii. Cæſar Glorier. Hiſt. expugnat. Urb. Bzov. hoc. an. Jov. in. Vite Pomp. Colon. & Hiſtor. l. xxv.

A.D. 1528 confederates, and to declare his (the king's) marriage with the queen Katherine null, which the divines and lawyers of England had already affirmed to be unlawful; as she had been first married to his elder brother prince Arthur. Clement was likewise follicited by the king of France to declare for the league; but as he had fuffered feverely for interfering in the emperor's difputes with France, and by the firft article of the late treaty, had promifed not to act againft him, he excufed himfelf to the French and Englifh ambaffadors, and declared for a neutrality. He feemed inclined to fatisfy the king of England in his demand of a divorce, but ftarted feveral difficulties as to the manner of proceeding, which only heightened the king's hopes, and increafed his importunity[o]. At length, however, he appointed feveral cardinals and divines to examine the validity of the marriage, who unanimoufly declared, that it was agreeable to the law of God[p]: but the pope protracted the decifion of the affair upon various pretences. The Engliſh ambaffadors again urging, that they could prove the difpenfation of Julius II. in favour of the marriage not canonical, he appointed a fecond examination; and, at the defire of the cardinals, two judges were named to decide the affair in England, namely, the cardinals Wolfey and Campegio, to which laft he gave a bull, annulling the marriage, with leave to fhew it to the king and Wolfey, but with expreſs orders not to give fentence till he fhould receive a fecond mandate from Rome[q].

and is follicited by the king of England to grant him a divorce from his queen.

The emperor is greatly fuperior to the allies in Italy.

Thefe dilatory proceedings of the pope were owing to the unexpected fuccefs of the emperor's affairs in Italy; on which account Clement began to think of abandoning the neutrality and attaching himfelf to Charles, by whofe aſſiſtance he might recover the dominion of Florence. Lautrec, the general of the league againſt the emperor, had, about the middle of January, marched from Bologna to invade Naples, great part of which kingdom he quickly reduced. The remains of the imperial army, which for nine or ten months had committed all manner of violences in Rome, upon the motion of Lautrec's army, left that city, and proceeded to the defence of Naples; but before their departure, not content to have ſtript the city of all its ornaments and riches, they inſiſted upon receiving two months pay. Their joining the Neapolitan troops did not

[o] Guicciard. ut ſupra. [p] Spond. Annal. [q] Guicciard. lib. xix. Belcar. lib. xix. Godwin. Sander. de Schiſm. lib. i.

interrupt

interrupt the progress of Lautrec, who having reduced a great many cities, about the end of April sat down before Naples; but here he experienced a reverse of fortune, for during the siege, which continued four months, the plague carried off almost his whole army, and at last proved fatal to himself. The remains of the army retired to Aversa, where, in their turn, they were besieged by the garrisons of Naples, and some other towns, and obliged to capitulate on very disadvantageous terms, while Doria, the Genoese admiral, deserted their alliance, and prevailed with that city to declare for the emperor.

The pope, who had fixed his court at Viterbo, seemed inclined, in the beginning of the campaign, to declare for the league; but observing the success of the Imperialists, he entered into a private negotiation with Charles, before the departure of Campegio from Rome, who was ordered on that account to delay giving judgment on the divorce as long as possible. To prevent giving suspicion to the allies, he pretended to be wholly occupied in reforming the church, and published his resolution of going into Germany to oppose the progress of Lutheranism. The princes of that persuasion entered into a league for their own defence, to which they invited the sacramentarians, or followers of Zuinglius, whose doctrines had been received this year in Berne, Constance, and Geneva, in consequence of which the magistrates of Strasburgh published an order, prohibiting the celebration of the mass[r] in their jurisdiction (G).

The pope had no real intention to visit Germany, but was chiefly attentive to the affairs of Italy: as the king of France was still in possession of several places in Naples, he promised to adhere to the league, if he would oblige the Venetians to restore Cervia and Ravenna, which they had seized during his imprisonment[s]. At the same time he continued his negotiations with the emperor; and as he and his brother Ferdinand, king of Hungary, had both protested against judging of the affair of the divorce in England, he sent a nuncio to Campegio, with orders to A D. 1529.

[r] Sleidan. lib. vi. Cochlæ. ut supra. [s] Guicciard. lib. 19.

(G) Clement this year confirmed the order of Capuchins, which had been instituted three years before, by one Matthew Bafio, a monk, born in the territory of Romagna (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

The pope concludes a treaty with him.

burn the bull, and to delay the trial. Soon after, having concluded a treaty with Charles at Barcelona, and queen Katherine having appealed from Campegio and Wolſey as partial judges, he wrote to his legates, declaring his intention to judge the cauſe of the divorce at Rome, with which revocation the king of England was greatly offended. By the treaty with the emperor, which was publiſhed in the end of June, the pope promiſed to grant the inveſtiture of Naples to Charles, for the yearly tribute of one white horſe; but the conceſſions made by the emperor were very advantageous to Clement, Charles engaging to eſtabliſh Alexander de Medicis, grand nephew of the pope, as prince and ſovereign of the city and territory of Florence, and to give him his natural daughter Margaret in marriage, with a dowry of 20,000 ducats yearly revenue; to put the pope in poſſeſſion of Cervia, Ravenna, Modena, Reggio, and Rubiera; to aſſiſt him againſt the duke of Ferrara; and to reduce the Lutherans by force to the obedience of the church [t].

Though the affairs of the king of France were quite ruined in Italy, yet Charles a few weeks after concluded a treaty of peace with him at Cambray, as the grand ſignor, who had invaded Hungary with an immenſe army, threatened an irruption into Auſtria, and the tranquility of Germany was in great danger of being diſturbed by the diſputes about religion. In conſequence of the emperor's mandate, the ſtates of Germany had aſſembled at Spire on the 15th of March, and, after long debates, publiſhed a decree, revoking the former edict, which allowed liberty of conſcience, as they alleged it had been productive of great miſchiefs. Several princes, and the deputies of fourteen imperial cities, proteſted againſt this edict, and appealed to the emperor and a free council, from whence the name of Proteſtants was given to all thoſe ſects in Germany that oppoſed the doctrines of the Romiſh church [u]. After the diſmiſſion of the diet, the Proteſtants ſent ambaſſadors to the emperor to juſtify their proceedings; but Charles, who had then arrived in Italy from Spain, would not admit of their excuſe, and ordered them to obey the edict, under pain of his diſpleaſure. The ambaſſadors informing the Proteſtants of this determination of the emperor, they aſſembled in the end of November at Smalcald, where they propoſed to enter into an alliance for their mutual defence.

The Lutheran princes proteſt againſt the edict of Spire.

[t] Guicciard. lib. xix. Dumont. Corps Diplom. tom. iv. part. ii.
[u] Sleidan. lib. vi. Pallav. lib. ii. cap. 18. Rainald, ad hunc an.

In the beginning of the ſame month Charles and Clement both arrived at Bologna, where they had ſeveral conferences upon means for ſuppreſſing the reformation in Germany, and reducing of the Florentines, who ſtill refuſed to ſubmit to the family of the Medicis. At the ſollicitation of the pope, the emperor reſtored the duchy of Milan to Francis Sforza, and concluded a peace and an alliance with the Venetians, who, among other articles, reſtored to the emperor the towns they poſſeſſed in Apulia, and to the pope all that they had ſeized in Romagna[w]. By this laſt treaty tranquility was reſtored to Italy, after a long and deſtructive war of eight years continuance; however, the city of Florence muſt ſtill be excepted, which, refuſing to ſubmit to the pope, was at this time inveſted by the Imperialiſts. Mean while Charles being earneſtly ſolicited by his brother Ferdinand, and the other electors, to return to Germany, would not proceed to Rome, but received the imperial crown at Bologna, on the 24th of February, being the day of his birth, and that on which he had gained the ſignal victory of Pavia. A few weeks after, having obtained a promiſe from the pope to conſent to a general council, if it ſhould be found neceſſary, for the extirpation of the Lutheran hereſy, he ſet out for Germany, attended by cardinal Campegio.

The pope and Charles V. have a conference at Bologna;

A.D. 1530.

where the latter is crowned emperor.

The pope, after his departure, returned to Rome; and, in the mean time, the imperial and papal troops continuing the ſiege of Florence, that city, after being reduced to the greateſt extremity, was at length obliged to capitulate on the 9th of Auguſt, ſubmitting their form of government entirely to the pleaſure of the emperor, on condition that their liberties ſhould not be violated, and promiſing to pay eighty thouſand ducats within a few days to the beſieging army, provided a full pardon ſhould be granted to all thoſe who had injured the pope or his friends. In conſequence of this capitulation, the articles of which were but very ill obſerved, Alexander de Medicis was acknowledged prince and ſovereign of Florence, with power to receive and ſend ambaſſadors, to coin money, to conclude alliances, and to make peace and war as he ſhould think proper[x].

The pope's nephew declared ſovereign of Florence.

During theſe proceedings in Italy, the emperor had aſſembled a diet at Augſburg, to conſult of the affairs of religion and of a war againſt the Turks. A few days

[w] Guicciard. lib. xix. in fin.

[x] Idem. lib. xx. Rainald, ad an. 1530.

The Protestants present their confession of faith to the diet at Augsburg.

after the opening of the diet, the Lutherans presented their confession of faith, which, after several objections, was publicly read in the emperor's palace on the 25th of June, and being examined by the popish doctors, a refutation of it was read in the same place on the 3d of August. The emperor and the catholic princes approved of this refutation, and desired that it might be received by the protestant princes: but they still adhered to their former confession, and demanded that a free general council might be called, to whose determination they would submit. Several private conferences were afterwards held for an accommodation of both parties, and the emperor privately solicited the elector of Saxony, the landgrave of Hesse, and the marquis of Brandenburgh, by temporal motives, to be re-united to the church of Rome: but his endeavours proving ineffectual, he, on the 22d of September, published a decree, declaring, that though the protestant confession had been refuted by scripture, yet he allowed them till the 15th of April to consider of returning to the bosom of the church; in the mean time prohibiting them from publishing any thing concerning religion, and promising to use his endeavours with the pope and Christian princes, that a general council should be convoked within eighteen months. Next day the protestants protested against this decree, affirming, that their confession had not been refuted by scripture; and, after their departure, their deputies, who remained at the diet, requested the emperor to grant a general peace through the empire, and liberty of conscience in affairs of religion. The emperor, instead of granting their demand, entered into a league, for the defence of the old religion, with the catholic princes and deputies that still remained at the diet; and on the 19th of November published an edict, prohibiting any other religion than that of the church of Rome[y].

A.D. 1531. Although the emperor had acted with great zeal in defence of the popish cause, Clement nevertheless was greatly dissatisfied with the proceedings of the diet. He blamed the emperor for allowing the protestant confession to be read, and for consenting to abolish some ceremonies; but what chiefly offended him, was his promise for procuring a general council, the thoughts of which struck him with great apprehensions: he therefore asked the ad-

[y] Sleidan. lib. vii. Celestin de Confes. August. Muller. lib. iii. cap. 39. Mycon. Hist. Reform. cap. 15.

vice

vice of the cardinals, who declared, that the convocation of a general council at that time, when the Turks were threatening to invade Germany, was very improper [z]. The pope likewise thought, himself greatly aggrieved, by the sentence which Charles soon after gave in favour of the duke of Ferrara, by which Reggio and Modena were declared to belong to the duke, who was ordered to pay the pope one hundred thousand ducats, for a new investiture of his duchy. Clement protested against this sentence, and refused to accept of the money which was offered him by the duke, who, to excite the emperor against him, wrote to Charles that he had intercepted two letters of the pope to the kings of France and England, by which he promised to grant them whatever they should desire, provided they would, by any means, prevent the assembling of a general council. The pope challenged the duke to produce the letters, assured the emperor of his innocence, and soon after sent his nephew, the cardinal of Medicis, to Germany, to attend him as legate in his expedition against the Turks, promising him likewise a subsidy of forty thousand ducats a month during that war [a].

Reggio and Modena declared to belong to the duke of Ferrara.

A.D. 1532.

Charles, about that time, held an imperial diet at Ratisbon, to consult of the means to quiet the disturbances in Germany, with regard to religion, and to provide against the invasion of the grand signor, who was making immense preparations to invade Austria. As he had offended the protestant princes the year before, by causing his brother Ferdinand to be elected king of the Romans, and by his rigorous proceedings against the Lutherans, they refused to appear at the diet, and assembled by themselves at Schweinfurt, where they composed thirteen articles, for securing the liberty of their religion, and the rights of the empire, which were rejected by the emperor. However, the protestants soon after assembling at Nuremburgh, the elector Palatine and the archbishop of Mentz, who acted as mediators, agreed to an accommodation with them on the 23d of June, which a few weeks after was ratified by the emperor, who ordered all prosecutions of the Protestants to be suspended, and a general peace to be observed through all Germany; and that all persons should enjoy a liberty of conscience till the assembling of a general council, which he would endeavour to prevail with the pope to convoke within six months, to be assembled a year after [b]. In consequence of this peace,

Liberty of conscience again granted to the protestants.

[z] Guicciard lib. xx. Const. imper. tom. i. & iii.

[a] Idem ibid. Sleidan. lib. viii.

[b] Ap. Goldast.

the

the Proteſtants, with great ardour, raiſed the ſupplies for the Turkiſh expedition, and Charles ſoon found himſelf at the head of an army of near twenty thouſand men; however, the grand ſignor retiring to Conſtantinople, Charles likewiſe retreated to Germany, diſbanded the greateſt part of his army, and marched with the Italian auxiliaries towards that kingdom. The Italians on their march, notwithſtanding the preſence of the emperor, plundered and burnt ſeveral towns and villages in Germany; and the cardinal legate, and one Piermaria Roſſo, being accuſed as the authors of the ſedition, the emperor ordered them to be apprehended, but quickly after ſet the cardinal at liberty, and excuſed himſelf to the pope.

The emperor returns to Italy.

Though Clement was greatly offended that the emperor had preſumed to grant liberty of conſcience to the Proteſtants, yet he received him with great appearance of affection at Bologna; however, he ſtill refuſed to conſent to a general council, or to give his niece Catherine in marriage to Francis Sforza. A few weeks after he renewed the alliance with the emperor and the Italian ſtates, for ſecuring the peace of Italy, and to oppoſe the deſigns of the king of France, who ſtill formed pretenſions to the Milaneſe. Clement conſented very willingly to renew his alliance with the emperor, that he might thereby awe the kings of France and England, who, at a conference in the neighbourhood of Boulogne, had reſolved to compel the pope to grant their demands, by threatening to withdraw their kingdoms from the obedience of the apoſtolic ſee, as they ſuppoſed the Turks would find employment for the emperor in Hungary. By the unexpected retreat of the Turks, and the emperor's journey to Italy, their deſign was fruſtrated: however, Henry VIII. on his return to England, prohibited his ſubjects from all intercourſe with the court of Rome, prejudicial to the juriſdiction or prerogative of his kingdom; and Cranmer, archbiſhop of Canterbury, ſoon after pronouncing a ſentence of divorce betwixt him and queen Catherine, in the beginning of April he publicly married Anne Bulleyn, although the pope had prohibited, under ſevere cenſures, any proceedings in England with regard to the divorce. Clement being informed of the king's ſecond marriage, immediately laid him under an interdict, and threatened to excite all Chriſtendom againſt him.

Renews his alliance with the pope.

A.D. 1533.

About the ſame time alſo he ſent nuncios to Scotland, to exhort James V. not to follow the example of the king of England, and to puniſh the favourers of Luther's doctrines,

trines, who began to be pretty numerous in that kingdom. His nuncios were very successful; for the king assembling his parliament at Edinburgh, it was decreed to pay the accustomed and ancient obedience and honour to the church of Rome, and to punish all heretics according to the severity of the law [d]. To oppose the progress of Lutheranism in Sweden, Clement likewise created John Magnus, the historian, archbishop of Upsal; and having given him the pall, sent him to that kingdom with the authority of legate à latere. The pope soon after embarked at Pisa with his cardinals, and, in a few days landed at Marseilles, where he had a conference with the king of France. The reasons he pretended for this journey were, a desire to promote an expedition against the Turks; to obtain the consent of the king of France to a general council; and to use his mediation in reconciling the king of England to the church of Rome; but his chief purpose was to conclude a marriage betwixt Francis, second son of the duke of Orleans, and his own niece. The marriage was accordingly solemnized with great pomp; and though there was no treaty concluded betwixt the pope and the king, Clement consented to the seizing the Milanese for his sister's husband; and Francis declared, that he would not oppose the judicial proceedings of the pope against the king of England, whose ambassadors at Marseilles appealed from the decision of the pope to a general council [e].

The pope sends nuncios to Scotland to oppose the progress of Lutheranism.

Clement, having continued some weeks in France, returned to Rome in the end of December, and soon after, at the instigation of the emperor's ambassadors, excommunicated the king of England and all his subjects, because he had rejected his lawful wife and married another. Henry VIII. was no sooner informed of this sentence than he withdrew his obedience from the church of Rome, and by an act of parliament abolished the pope's authority in England. He declared the king head of the church under Christ in England, ordered the archbishop of Canterbury to lay aside his title of apostolic legate, and prohibited the payment of the annual tribute to Rome, commonly called St. Peter's pence. Clement survived this sentence but a few months, and died at Rome on the 25th of September, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. Although he had a

A.D 1534.

He excommunicates the king of England.

Dies at Rome.

[d] Lesl. lib. ix. Cochl. & Ulembrg. in Vita Luther.
[e] Guicciard. in fin. Sander. de Schism. Ang. lib. i.

a great

a great capacity, was very grave and moderate, yet, according to Guicciardini, he died hated by his whole court as he was reckoned avaricious and deceitful, and seldom shewed any inclination to oblige [f].

SECT. XVII.

Proceedings in the Council of Trent.

Paul III. is elected pope.

THE funeral rites of Clement being performed with the usual ceremonies, thirty-five cardinals entered the conclave on the 10th of October, and the same day, or two days after, unanimously elected cardinal Farnese, bishop of Ostia, then in the sixty-seventh year of his age, who, by artfully seeming more infirm than he really was, thereby more easily acquired all the votes. The new pope assumed the name of Paul III. and was solemnly crowned on the 2d of November, to the great joy of the Romans, who had again got a pope of their own nation, after an interruption of a hundred and three years (H). Paul, immediately after his promotion, created two of his relations cardinals, though they were both bastards; and being desirous to know the state of Germany, he recalled his nuncio Vengerius from that country: however, he quickly sent him back to feed the Germans with the hopes of a council, and to excite them against the king of England (I). He likewise sent nuncios to the emperor, the

[f] Jov. Hist. lib. xxxii. Onuphr. in Vita & Chron.

(H) The ancestors of cardinal Farnese had formerly come from Germany, and settled in Italy. He himself was born at Canino in Tuscany, his paternal seat. After enjoying some of the inferior dignities in the Roman court, he was created a cardinal-deacon by Alexander VI. and being afterwards made a bishop, he was nominated for the pontificate at the death of Leo X. and Adrian VII (1).

(I) This year Ignatius Loyola, a gentleman of Biscay, instituted the order of Jesuits at Mount Martre, in the neighbourhood of Paris. He at first had followed the profession of arms; but being dangerously wounded at the siege of Pampeluna, during his sickness he made a vow to embrace an ecclesiastical life. After his recovery he applied himself to study in Spain and France; and having under-

(1) Onuphr. in Vita Paul. III.

gone

the king of France, and other princes, to declare that he had determined upon celebrating a council, though he had not yet fixed a time or place. As he was naturally inclined to peace, he endeavoured to effect an accommodation betwixt the emperor and the king of France; and, observing a strict neutrality with regard to their disputes, he refused to renew the treaty of Bologna. Peter Paul Verger, the nuncio in Germany, endeavoured to prevail with the Protestants to agree to the celebration of the council at Mantua; but the princes of that profession assembling in the beginning of December at Smalcald, to renew their league, declared, that they desired a free council, unawed by the pope, and insisted that it should be held in Germany, according to the emperor's promise. They likewise concluded an alliance with Henry VIII. of England; but they rejected the offers of a treaty made by the king of France, as he desired them to enter into an alliance with him against the emperor [h].

A D. 1535.

He declares his intention of calling a general council.

During these proceedings in Germany, the pope granted the tithe of the Gallican church to the king of France, on condition that he should maintain thirty gallies for the defence of the Italian coasts. He also granted the tithe of the ecclesiastical revenues in Spain to the emperor, to assist him in his expedition against Barbarossa, the pirate, who had expelled the prince of Algiers, and seized his government; and as a reinforcement to the emperor's fleet, he fitted out thirteen gallies, and went to Civita Vecchia, where he gave his benediction to the whole armament. A few months after, the emperor having restored the banished prince and returned to Naples, Paul sent two legates to him to congratulate him upon his victory.

Assists the emperor in his expedition against Barbarossa the pirate.

Being informed that Henry VIII. of England had seized the revenues of three hundred and seventy-six monaste-

[h] Sleidan. lib. ix.

gone many dangers and difficulties, he, with six others, took the vows of his society in in the church of the Virgin Mary. The chief of these vows are, to renounce all temporal pomp and grandeur, to preserve an inviolate chastity; to receive nothing for celebrating mass; to go preach at Jerusalem, but if prevented from undertaking that pilgrimage, to offer their service to the pope without any reserve (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

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ries; had obliged upwards of ten thousand monks and nuns to resume the lay habit; and had executed Thomas More, his late chancellor, and Fisher, bishop of Rochester, lately created a cardinal, because they had refused to acknowlege the king as supreme head of the church, he A.D.1536. published a bull against him, ordering him to repent, under pain of excommunication and deposition, allowing him ninety days to appear by proxy at Rome; and, in case of his disobedience, declaring him immediately excommunicated and deposed, absolving his subjects from their obedience, and prohibiting all Catholics from holding any commerce with the English. He likewise ordered all the clergy to quit his dominions, the nobles to take up arms against him, and absolved foreign princes, who were in alliance with him, from the obligation of their treaties. This bull, which was published on the 28th of November, he ordered to be fixed up in several places on the opposite shore of Holland[i]; but his attention was soon after called off in some manner from the affairs of England by new commotions in Italy.

Pronounces a sentence of excommunication and deposition against the king of England.

Francis Sforza, duke of Milan, dying in October, without heirs, the Milanese again became the subject of dispute between the king of France and the emperor. Francis I. renewed his pretensions in right of his great-grandmother Valentina Visconti, and, having commenced a war against his uncle the duke of Savoy, threatened to enter Lombardy with a formidable army. Charles, who claimed the Milanese as a fief devolved to the empire, immediately ordered forces into Italy from Spain and Germany, and, leaving Naples, arrived at Rome on the 5th of April, where he continued thirteen days. In a full consistory, and in the presence of the foreign ambassadors, he, made a long harangue in Spanish against the king of France, for disturbing the peace of Italy by his ambition, and concluded with requesting the pope's mediation for an accommodation, or his assistance in case the king of France should obstinately continue the war. The pope declared his willingness to act as mediator, and, as the emperor was very importunate for the convocation of a general council, he ordered six cardinals and three bishops to draw up the bull[k]; which was accordingly published a few weeks afterwards, appointing a general coun-

A bull published for a general council.

[i] Spond. Annal. ex tom. i. Bull. Paul. III. Const. vii.
[k] Bell. lib. v. & vi. Sleid. lib. x.

cil

cil to be held at Mantua, to begin the following year on the 22d of May.

Paul likewise, refusing to engage as a party in the war betwixt the king of France and the emperor, in the month of September published another bull for reforming the corrupt manners of the city of Rome, and ordering all persons, under severe penalties, to obey those cardinals to whom he had given the direction of that affair. Soon after he sent cardinal Poole, a relation of Henry VIII. as his legate to the king of France, to excite him, and James V. of Scotland, who was then at Paris, against the king of England. But Henry, being informed that the cardinal intended to raise an army in France to invade his kingdom [l], desired of the French king to deliver him up as his subject, and set a price of fifty thousand crowns upon his head, which obliged the pope to recall him to Rome, and to appoint him a guard of soldiers for his protection [m]. Paul, about the same time, appointed four cardinals, and three other learned men, to draw up a form of reformation of the church, with regard to manners and discipline. As the duke of Mantua made several objections to the assembling of the council in that city, he prorogued the time of its meeting till the month of November, and soon after appointed it to be held at Vicenza, and to be opened on the 1st of May the year following. A.D.1537. *The council prorogued.*

The Protestants of Germany, in their diet at Smalcald, declared to Helde, the emperor's vice-chancellor, that they would not consent to a council in Italy, where the pope, who was their adversary, would likewise be their judge, and had even already, in some measure, condemned them, by declaring in his bull, that the council was called on account of some late raised heresies. They insisted on a free council in Germany, in which they intended to accuse the pope and his accomplices of having corrupted the doctrine of the church, and ordained many things in direct opposition to the laws of God [n]. Helde, not being satisfied with the answer of the Protestants, retired from Smalcald, and, assembling the Catholic princes at Nuremberg, concluded a league with them, in the name of the emperor, for eleven years, for the defence of their religion, which was afterwards known by the name of the Holy League. The Protestants being inform- A.D.1538. *The holy league formed by the Catholic princes of Germany.*

[l] Calv. Ep. xiii. [m] Sleid. lib. x. Spond. Annal. [n] Sleid. lib. xii.

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ed of this league, assembled the following year at Brunswick, and received into their alliance Christiern, king of Denmark, who, a few months before, had entirely renounced the authority of the pope in his dominions, and had been solemnly crowned by Bugenhagius, a Lutheran minister, sent thither at his desire by Luther [o].

The pope concludes an alliance against the Turks.

Paul, in the mean time, concluded an alliance with the emperor and the Venetians at Rome against the Turks, with such assurance of success, that he even made a partition of the Turkish empire with his allies. The war was to be carried on every year with two hundred gallies, one hundred armed ships, fifty thousand foot from Italy, Germany, and Spain, and four thousand five hundred horse. The pope was to bear one sixth part of the expences of the war, and to furnish thirty-six gallies; and Andrew Doria, who some years before had been created prince of Melphi by the emperor, was to have the chief command of the confederate fleet. In consequence of this alliance a numerous fleet assembled at Corcyra; but, instead of making conquests on the Turks, Doria, who commanded, twice declined an engagement, though his fleet was superior to that of the enemy; which behaviour gave confidence to Barbarossa, who pursued him, and took and sunk several ships [p].

Has a conference with the emperor. and the French king at Nice.

Before the confederate fleet had assembled, the pope earnestly solicited the king of France and the emperor to agree to a peace or truce, and was so successful as to prevail with them to consent to a personal conference with him at Nice, a maritime city belonging to the duke of Savoy. The pope accordingly arrived there in the end of May, and Charles and Francis arriving a few days after, he prevailed with them to agree to a truce for ten years. At the same time he concluded a treaty of marriage betwixt his grandson Octavian, and Margaret, the emperor's natural daughter, and widow of the duke of Florence. He could not, however, prevail with the emperor and the king of France to see each other, a refusal which Jovius and Onuphrius say was owing to their resentment against the pope, who, they found, was chiefly intent upon his own private interest [q]. But others affirm, that Paul endeavoured from policy to prevent their conference, which he thought would interrupt his private

[o] Chytr. Saxon. lib. xv. [p] Spond. Annal. Mauroc. lib. v. Justin. lib. xv. [q] Jov. lib. xxxvii. Onuphr. in Paul. III.

schemes.

schemes [r]. He pressed them both earnestly to repair to the council at Vicenza, and to order the prelates of their dominions thither; but, each excusing himself, he returned to Genoa by sea, accompanied by the emperor; where, being informed that only a very few prelates had arrived at Vicenza, he prorogued the council till the following year at Easter.

He soon after sent cardinal Alexander into Germany, at the request of Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who had declared, that there were some hopes of reconciling the Lutherans to the church of Rome. This declaration, however, was false, for the Protestants absolutely refused to acknowlege the authority of the pope, and only continued to express their desire of living in friendship and peace with the Catholics; but Ferdinand, who had come to an accommodation with his competitor, the vayvode of Transilvania, and had received certain intimation from him and the king of Poland, that the Turks were making great preparations to invade Germany, resolved, if possible, to conclude a peace with the Protestants, that he might have their assistance against the infidels [s]. Accordingly a diet was held at Frankfort of the Catholics and Protestants, where, after long debates, an accommodation was agreed to on the 19th of April; by which a truce was granted to the Protestants for fifteen months, excluding, however, the Anabaptists and Sacramentarians. It was decreed likewise, that, during the time of the truce, a conference should be held betwixt learned and moderate men of both parties, to settle the contested points of religion; that, if they could not come to an agreement in that affair, nevertheless the peace should continue till the first general diet of the empire; and lastly, that the present treaty should have no effect, unless it was ratified by the emperor within six months.

A.D. 1539.

The Protestants are falsly supposed to desire a reunion with the church of Rome.

The pope was greatly offended with the catholic princes for daring to treat of religion to the prejudice of the council which he had convoked, and immediately sent a nuncio to Spain, who dissuaded the emperor from ratifying the treaty. As no prelates repaired to Vicenza, he suspended the celebration of the general council for an unlimited time; and soon after, being informed that the emperor intended to pass through France to quell a revolt of the city of Ghent in Flanders, he sent cardinal Alex-

A.D. 1540.

The pope blames the emperor for granting a truce to the Protestants.

[r] Mezer. Abr. Chron. tom. iii. p. 914. [s] Sleid. lib. xii.

ander Farnese, as his legate, to him, who accompanied him from Paris to Ghent, where Charles immediately received an embassy from the Protestants, to desire the continuation of the peace. The Protestants, a few weeks after, received a very ambiguous answer from the emperor, which was laid before their deputies, who were then assembled at Smalcald. As Charles, by the persuasions of his counsellor Granvelle, was inclined to prevent a rupture, and had sent two ambassadors to that assembly, the Protestants, on the 11th of April, presented a long memorial to them, in justification of their proceedings.

The pope's legate exerted himself with great earnestness to prevent an accommodation, and declared, that it could not be done without the authority of the apostolic see; however, the emperor, being persuaded of the necessity of a peace, appointed a diet to be held at Haguenau for that purpose, at which the legate, who had not been consulted, was greatly offended, and immediately left Flanders[t]. Paul, in the mean time, was engaged in reducing Perugia, which had revolted on account of the imposition of a new tax. Having quieted that insurrection, he soon after confirmed the order of the Jesuits; but as the great multitude of monks began now to be even a nuisance at Rome, he restricted the number of the professed in the new order to sixty[u]. Finding likewise, that the emperor and his brother Ferdinand inclined greatly to an accommodation, and that, though nothing had been effected at the diet of Haguenau, yet a conference was appointed at Worms, to put an end, if possible, to all differences, he sent Campegio, bishop of Feltri, to be present at the assembly as his legate, being afraid that something would be transacted to the prejudice of the church of Rome. Both parties started a great many difficulties about the manner of disputing, and the Papists particularly, being apprehensive that the majority of the votes of the assembly would be against them, proposed very extravagant conditions.

He confirms the order of Jesuits.

A.D. 1541.

It was at last agreed, that Eckius for the Papists, and Melancthon for the Protestants, should begin the dispute; but three days after the assembly was transferred, by the emperor's order, to Ratisbon, where cardinal Contareni, famous for his learning and abilities, soon after arriving as

A public disputation betwixt the Catholics and Protestants.

[t] Sleid. lib. xiii. Jov. lib. xxxix. Orland. Annal. Societ. Jes. lib. ii. & iii.

[u] Spond. Annal.

legate

legate from the pope, the diet was opened on the 5th April. A few days after the emperor nominated three doctors of each party, and ordered them to reſume the diſpute which had been begun at Worms. They accordingly debated for more than two months, but were as far from an accommodation as at firſt. At length the Proteſtants preſented a memorial to the emperor, containing ſeveral articles for a general reformation, which Charles immediately communicated to the legate Contareni, who inſiſted that the whole ſhould be referred to the determination of the pope, or a general council. The emperor, after conſidering the remonſtrances of both parties, finally determined to continue the truce, and to poſtpone all farther diſputes till the aſſembling of a general or national council; which reſolution greatly offended the legate, who wrote to all the princes, deſiring it to be annulled, as a German council could not decide affairs that concerned the univerſal church [w].

However Contareni might ſeem to the Proteſtants to have defended the popiſh cauſe, yet he was accuſed by the Catholics, both in Germany and at Rome, of having betrayed their religion to the heretics. Cardinal Caraffa accuſed him in the conſiſtory, and Eckius condemned him in an apology which he ſoon after publiſhed for the Catholics; however, he was defended by his friend cardinal Fregoſa, and the emperor, arriving in Italy, juſtified him to the pope at Lucca, where he had a conference with his holineſs, and, contrary to his advice, embarked for Africa with an army of twenty-three thouſand men, which was almoſt entirely deſtroyed by the cold and tempeſtuous weather [x].

The emperor, having returned to Spain with the remains of his army, ſoon after, by his deſire, a diet was held at Spire by his brother Ferdinand, who had lately been defeated by the Turks in Hungary. The pope ſent the biſhop of Modena as his nuncio to this aſſembly, who exhorted the princes to arm againſt the infidels, promiſing, in the name of his holineſs, a body of five thouſand foot, if the emperor ſhould command in perſon. He likewiſe declared, that the pope had abſolutely determined to celebrate a council in the city of Trent on the confines of Germany, as the Proteſtants had objected to a city in Italy, and as he himſelf, being loaded with years and in- A.D. 1542.

[w] Sleid. lib. xiv. Goldaſt. Conſt. Imper. tom. ii. [x] Spond. Annal. Jov. lib. xl. Belcar. lib. xxii.

firmities, could not be able to bear the fatigue of a journey into Germany. The Protestants still refused to acknowlege the pope's authority to call a council, and declared they would not appear at Trent; but, as the catholic princes gave their assent, the pope, on the 20th of May, published a bull for assembling the council on the 1st of November of the same year [y]. About the same time he sent Alexander Vitellius, with three thousand foot, as a reinforcement to the allied army in Hungary; which, acting without unanimity and vigour, spent the campaign without gaining any advantages over the infidels.

A bull published for celebrating a council at Trent.

In the mean time the pope endeavoured by his legates to reconcile the emperor and the king of France, which last had renewed the war, and attacked the dominions of Charles in five different places, but without any considerable advantage. As the time for opening the council approached, he likewise sent three cardinals to Trent to preside as his legates à latere; and, being informed that the doctrines of Luther began to meet with a favourable reception in many places of Italy, he appointed a congregation of six cardinals, who should act with full power as inquisitors of the faith [z]. Soon after, hearing that the emperor, who lately had concluded an alliance with Henry VIII. of England against France, intended to pass into Flanders by the way of Italy, he resolved to have a conference with him on his journey. For that purpose he left Rome on the 26th of February, and soon after arrived at Bologna, where he continued till the middle of summer, when Charles landed at Genoa. The emperor consented, with great difficulty, to an interview; but, upon repeated intreaties, he agreed to meet the pope at Busetto, a castle betwixt Parma and Placentia. Paul intreated the emperor to restore these cities to the holy see, and, according to Sleidan, made an offer to purchase the duchy of Milan for his grandson Octavius Farnese [a]; but the emperor rejecting both these proposals, he then began to treat of public affairs, and exhorted him to a reconciliation with the king of France, that the Christians might be at leisure to turn their arms against the infidels. Charles, who was greatly exasperated against Francis, refused likewise to hearken to this exhortation, so that the pope, having spent three days at Busetto, returned disappointed to Bologna; where, on the 4th of July, he suspended the celebration of the

A.D. 1543.

A college of inquisition appointed at Rome.

y Sleid. lib. xiv. Hist. Hung. lib. xv. z Spond. Annal.
a Sleid. lib. xv.

council

council of Trent, as ſcarce any prelates had arrived at that city. From Bologna likewiſe he wrote to the chapter of Cologne, commending them for their zeal in oppoſing the innovations introduced by their archbiſhop, who was eminent for his piety and charity, but, having employed Bucer, Melancthon, Piſtorius, and other reformers, to preach in the cities of his juriſdiction, and to reform abuſes, was now ſtyled a wicked captain of heretics [b].

Soon after the pope ordered public proceſſions and ſupplications to be obſerved through all Chriſtendom, and granted the ſame indulgences to thoſe who prayed for the peace and tranquility of the church, as the pilgrims enjoyed who viſited Rome in the year of jubilee. Being informed that the emperor had convoked a diet at Spire, he ſent the biſhop of Amalphi as his nuncio to Germany. This diet, which was very numerous, opened in the month of January, and, with great unanimity, ſubſidies were decreed againſt the king of France and the Turks his allies. As their united fleet, a few months before, had made an unſucceſsful attempt on the city of Nice, on the Genoeſe coaſt, ſome of the princes, at the deſire of the emperor, wrote to the pope, thanking him for the aſſiſtance that he had given to the duke of Savoy, and intreating him to continue his ſuccours to that prince, as they were informed that the Turks were refitting their fleet at Toulon, and intended a ſecond deſcent in Savoy. Paul, in his anſwer, particularized the great pains he had taken oppoſe the Turks, and, in his turn, recommended to the diet the care of the Chriſtian commonwealth, exhorting the princes to a reconciliation with France, that the council might aſſemble for the reformation of the church. Being informed that the emperor had prolonged the truce to the Proteſtants, had ordered a ſuſpenſion of all proceſſes againſt them, and had even promiſed to cauſe a plan for a general reformation to be drawn up, he wrote a long letter to him, reproving him for intermeddling with ſacred affairs, which only belonged to the apoſtolic ſee; and declaring, that, by treating of religious matters in the diet, he had endangered his ſoul. He therefore enjoined him, under pain of his diſpleaſure, to revoke the conceſſions he had made to the rebels of the holy ſee [c].

A.D. 1544.

The French and Turkiſh fleet attack the city of Nice.

Charles paid no regard to this letter; but, having entered France with a powerful army, advanced in the month

[b] Sleid. lib. xv. Spond. Annal. [c] Sleid. lib. xv. & xvi.

of September within two days journey of Paris, a circumstance which obliged the king of France to make propofals of peace; in consequence of which a treaty was concluded betwixt them at Crepy.

A D. 1545. As it was an article of this peace, that both the princes should use their utmost endeavours to restore the old religion, the king of France ordered the Parisian divines to assemble at Melun, to compose some fundamental articles of religion proper to be established at the council. They accordingly confirmed twenty-five articles, which had been drawn up two years before at Paris. About the same time the emperor, by an imperial edict, confirmed thirty-two fundamental articles that had been drawn up by the divines of Louvain, and ordered them to be taught and received through all the provinces of Lower Germany (L). Paul being informed that the emperor intended to be present at the diet of Worms, which was opened in the end of March, sent his nephew, cardinal Farnese, to attended him as his legate. The cardinal arrived at Worms about the middle of May, but he did not concern himself with the diet, or transact any business in public; however, it was firmly believed, that the intent of his journey was to excite the emperor to declare war against the protestants, as news soon after arrived from Rome, that the pope had promised twelve thousand foot and five hundred men at arms to act against the heretics.

He excites him to declare war against them.

They refuse to acknowlege the council of Trent.

What probably provoked the pope was the firmness of the protestants, who insisted that the peace should be continued and maintained without any respect to the determinations and conclusions of the council of Trent, the authority of which they absolutely refused to acknowlege: nor would they grant any succours against the Turks, till their religion was secured; on which account the emperor, who replied, that he could not exempt them from obedience to the council, sent his secretary to Solyman to

(L) As these articles of Louvain, as well as those of Paris, were published in a magisterial style, without any proofs of scripture, Bucer published a comment upon them at Strasburgh, and Luther, in opposition to them, wrote seventy-five theses in Latin and German; in which he accused the popish divines of heresy, idolatry, and impiety, for compelling people by fire and sword to give their assent to propositions, which they either would not, or could not, defend by scripture (1).

(1) Sleid. lib. xvi. Spond. Annal.

demand

demand a truce, and on the 4th of August broke up the diet, when he renewed the former edicts for the peace, appointed another diet to be held in January at Ratisbon to determine the affair of religion, and in the mean time nominated four doctors of each party to settle the disputed points by a conference [d]. This condescension of the emperor gave great offence to the bishops assembled at Trent, who thought it very injurious to the council that points of religion should be debated in a diet; and therefore, notwithstanding the intreaties of the legates, many of them, upon various pretences, returned home. The council was opened with great solemnity on the 15th of December, and the second session appointed to be held on the 7th of January.

Paul in the mean time cited the archbishop of Cologne to appear within sixty days at Rome, to justify himself with regard to the charge of favouring heretics. He likewise, without any regard to the general murmur of the public, and the opposition of several cardinals, gave the investiture of Parma and Placentia to his son [e]. Being greatly offended with the Protestants for still refusing to acknowlege the council of Trent, he solicited the emperor, with great earnestness, to declare war against them. By the great warlike preparations in Germany, it soon appeared that the solicitations of his holiness were not without effect; for the emperor, without publishing his design, gave orders for raising troops with all expedition; which levies alarming the Protestants, they began with great vigour to prepare for their defence. Charles, that he might the better deceive his adversaries, pretended a great desire of peace, and though the pope, on the 16th of April, had excommunicated and deposed the archbishop of Cologne, and ordered all persons to yield obedience to his coadjutor, count de Schawemburg, the emperor nevertheless still acknowleged the archbishop, that he might not seem to regard the difference of religion, as he intended to declare war against the Protestants only as seditious persons and disturbers of the public peace. A.D. 1546.

The archbishop of Cologne is excommunicated and deposed.

Besides his levies in Germany, he ordered Spanish and Neapolitan troops to march from Italy, and sent the cardinal of Trent to the pope to demand the succours which he had formerly promised. As Paul was greatly terrified with the news of the strength of the Protestants, who were reported to have a design of marching directly to

The emperor makes preparations for war.

[d] Idem, lib. xvi. [e] Rainald, ad ann. 1546.

Rome with an army of eighty thousand foot and forty thousand horse [g], he immediately concluded a treaty with the emperor on the following conditions: that he should deposit two hundred thousand crowns for the expences of the war, should furnish twelve thousand foot and five hundred horse, should grant the emperor one half of the ecclesiastical revenues of Spain for one year, and allow him to mortgage five hundred thousand crowns of the income of the monasteries in that kingdom, provided he gave security for repayment of that sum out of his royal domains; that the emperor should not make any peace with the Protestants for six months without the pope's consent, who should likewise be entitled to a certain proportion of the conquests [h]. Soon after the conclusion of this treaty, which was signed on the 26th of June, the pope's troops began their march for Germany, under the command of his grandson Octavius, and his elder brother cardinal Farnese. Besides these troops, the duke of Florence sent two hundred bombardeers, and the duke of Ferrara a hundred men at arms.

Proceedings of the council of Trent.

During these transactions, the fathers of Trent held their second session on the 7th of January; in which a decree was read, ordering prayers for the unity of the church, the celebration of mass every Sunday, the observation of a fast each Friday, and the bestowing of alms; after the reading of which, the following session was appointed to be held on the 4th of February. They accordingly assembled on that day, when a decree was read concerning the creed used by the Roman church, which was accounted a shield against all heresies. They afterwards appointed the fourth session to be held on the 8th of April, to give time to several prelates to arrive at the council, as there were then only present five cardinals, six archbishop, thirty bishops, three abbots, and five generals of monkish orders. Mean while the fourth session was celebrated according to appointment; in which a decree was published, whereby the members professed, that, according to the example of the orthodox fathers, they received all the books of the Old and New Testament, together with the traditions regarding faith and manners, as dictated verbally by Christ or by the Holy Spirit, and preserved by a continual succession in the catholic church. An anathema was then denounced against those who did

[g] Pallav. lib. viii. cap. 1. [h] Belcar. lib. xxiv. n. 21. Slejd. lib. xvii. Rainald, ad an. 1546.

not

not receive the sacred books as canonical, as they were published in the old vulgate Latin, or who wilfully despised the aforesaid traditions. The scripture was ordered to be received according to the sense of the church, which alone has a right to interpret the sacred writings; and all were prohibited from printing books on sacred subjects without adding the name of the author, or from keeping or selling them without the leave of the ordinaries [i].

As the emperor had not yet proceeded to an open rupture, the proceedings of the council gave him great offence. He was afraid lest the decision of controverted points of faith would alarm and irritate the Protestants, who, perceiving their doctrines so publicly condemned, would unite more firmly in their own defence: whereas he intended to detach the imperial cities from the princes of the Smalcaldic league, and had even succeeded so far, that he had received several reinforcements of Protestant troops. He therefore entreated the pope and the fathers at Trent to defer deciding points of faith for a few months, till he had finished the war, and in the mean time to treat only of a reformation. However his request was refused both by the council and his ally the pope, who, notwithstanding the pretences of the emperor, declared the war to be undertaken on a religious account, and pressed Charles to allow his legate to publish a crusade [k]. The fathers at Trent, in their fifth session, held on the 17th of June, published a decree concerning the doctrine of original sin; in the end of which they declared, that they had no intention to comprehend, under original sin, the blessed and imaculate Virgin Mary. They also added some rules for regulating the manner of instructing the people and preaching the Gospel, and appointed the next session to be held on the 19th of July; which, however, was afterwards prorogued till the 13th of January in the following year, the fathers in the mean time assembling in general congregations, and discussing other points of faith [l].

A few weeks after this prorogation, the pope's troops, with five thousand Spaniards and Neapolitans, having joined the emperor's camp, he marched against the elector of Saxony and the landgrave of Hesse, whom he had put to the ban of the empire. Though the Protestant army at first was more numerous than the Imperialists, and

Several Protestant princes submit to the emperor.

[i] Spond. Annal. lib. viii. Sleid. lib. xvii.

[k] Adrian. lib. v. & vi. Pallavicin.

[l] Spon. Annal.

gained

gained some small advantages, yet, upon account of divisions among their chiefs, the emperor, before the end of the campaign, was greatly superior, and obliged the elector Palatine, the duke of Wirtemberg, and some imperial cities, to submit and ask pardon [m]. The pope being offended, that, in the accommodation which he made with those who had submitted, he had tolerated heresy, recalled his troops from the emperor's service, and refused to continue the grant of the subsidy from the church-revenues of Spain, as Charles would not allow his legate to preside in the army, and had not, according to the treaty, shared with him the contributions which he had raised from the Protestant towns.

A.D. 1547. As the emperor likewise would not agree to a suspension of the council, Paul wrote to his legates at Trent to proceed to determine the points of faith. They accordingly, on the 13th of January, held the sixth session of the council; in which, notwithstanding the opposition of the imperial prelates, a decree was read and approved concerning justification, containing the doctrine of the Roman church on that point, and thirty anathemas were added against those who should corrupt that doctrine in any article. Another decree was read concerning reformation; regarding the residence of prelates, and the punishment of those who should be absent from their dioceses above six months at a time, and for compelling the inferior clergy to residence; concerning the visitation of the chapters of cathedral churches, and for prohibiting any from officiating as priests out of their own dioceses, without the leave of the ordinaries [n]. Before the following session, which was appointed to be held on the 3d of March, the fathers held several congregations, in which they debated with great warmth concerning the sacraments, and the compatibility or incompatibility of holding more benefices than one. At length, after many conferences and disputes, the decrees were published; first, concerning the seven sacraments in general, in thirteen canons, with as many anathemas; then particularly of baptism; and lastly of confirmation. A decree was afterwards added concerning reformation, and the eighth session appointed to be held on the 21st of April; however, it was celebrated on the 11th of the same month, when a decree was published for transferring the council

The sixth session of the council.

[m] Sleid. lib. xviii.

[n] Spond. Annal. Duval de Discipl. Eccles. p. 3. q. 7.

for

for a time to Bologna, on account of a dangerous diſtemper that prevailed in Trent and its neighbourhood, owing, as it was ſuppoſed, to continual rains that had altered the temperament of the air, and, according to the opinion of the phyſicians of the council, rendered it dangerous for the prelates to remain in that city. Of the ſixty fathers who at that time compoſed the council, cardinal Paciecus, and fifteen other biſhops of the imperial party, diſſented from this decree, affirming that the danger of the diſtemper was magnified beyond the truth, and that the conſent of the pope, the emperor, and other princes, was neceſſary to the transferring of the council [o]; they therefore remained at Trent, and their conduct was approved by the emperor.

The council is transferred to Bologna.

Though the pope two years before had given his legates a power to transfer the council, yet it is probable the laſt decree was publiſhed in conſequence of an immediate order from himſelf; for he was greatly diſſatisfied with the emperor for granting liberty of conſcience to the Proteſtants who had ſubmitted, and he even began to be afraid of his power. The emperor had likewiſe diſobliged him, by refuſing to confirm the inveſtiture of Parma and Placentia to his ſon Peter Lewis; and the prelates of the imperial faction had advanced ſome things in the council derogatory to the authority of the apoſtolic ſee [p]. Soon after his jealouſy of the emperor's power was greatly increaſed; for Charles, on the 24th of April, having entirely defeated the Proteſtants near the city of Muhlberg, took the duke of Saxony priſoner, and deprived him of his electorate, obliged the landgrave to ſurrender; and, beſides the immenſe ſums of money which he raiſed from the proteſtant cities, ſtripped them of five hundred pieces of cannon which he ſent to Milan, Naples, Spain, and the Low Countries [q]. The pope expreſſed great joy upon the news of this victory, and immediately ſent cardinal Sfondrato to Germany with a letter of congratulation to the emperor; however, he would not agree to his requeſt, for the return of the council to Trent [r]; but ſolicited Charles to order the Spaniſh biſhops to repair to Bologna, where, on the 21ſt of April, the council had held the ninth ſeſſion, in which they had only read a decree appointing the next ſeſſion to be celebrated on the ſecond of

The emperor entirely defeats the Proteſtants at Muhlberg.

[o] Sleid. lib. xix. Spond. Annal. ex Act. Conc. edit. Archiep. Aquenſ. [p] Onuph. in Vit. Paul. III. [q] Sleid. lib. xix. [r] Pallavicin. Hiſt. lib. x. cap. 3. Adrian. lib. vi. p. 412.

June,

June, when they again prorogued the session to the 15th of September. As there were very few prelates at Bologna, the council was afterwards prorogued to a limited time[s].

An unsuccessful attempt to establish the inquisition at Naples.

Paul in the mean time sent a legate to France, to congratulate Henry II. who had succeeded his father Francis on the 31st of March, and soon after he granted a bull for establishing the tribunal of the inquisition in the kingdom of Naples, to which measure he had been solicited by the Spanish viceroy; but, upon the publication of the edict for the establishment of the holy office, so violent an insurrection followed, that the emperor was apprehensive of a general revolt, and a few months after consented to repeal his decree[t]. During these disturbances at Naples, the pope was alarmed with the news of the murder of his son Peter Lewis; who, having rendered himself odious by his infamous vices, was assassinated in his palace at Placentia. This city was immediately after seized by Ferdinand Gonzaga, the emperor's lieutenant in Lombardy; a circumstance which raised a great suspicion that Charles himself was conscious of the murder. About the same time he likewise received a letter from the princes and prelates of Germany, assembled at the diet of Augsburg, intreating him to restore the council of Trent, and a few weeks after an ambassador arrived at Rome from the emperor, to inform his holiness that the Protestant princes and cities had agreed to submit to the council of Trent, and to urge him to order the fathers to return to that city[u].

A.D. 1549.

The pope proposes an alliance with the king of France.

The pope seemed inclined to grant the request of the imperial ambassador, but desired first to have the opinion of the fathers at Bologna, who declared that they could not return to Trent without violating the dignity of the council. He himself had no real inclination to gratify the emperor, and had even several months before proposed an alliance with Henry II. of France against him, which he solicited with greater earnestness since the murder of his son and the seizing of Placentia. Henry II. having sent the cardinal Guise to Rome, to declare his obedience to the apostolic see, and having likewise given his secret orders to offer assistance to the pope, Paul, in the beginning of January, wrote an answer to the letter

[s] Spond. Annal. Natal. Comes, lib. ii. & iii.

[t] Sleid. lib. xix. Thuan. lib. iii.

[u] Sleid. ut supra

from

from the German bishops, wherein he blamed them severely for declaring, that, unless the council returned to Trent, they should be obliged to take other measures, and assured them he was indifferent in what city the council was celebrated; but at the same time affirmed, that there was no place more proper than the city of Bologna[w]. The emperor finding the pope unmoved by all his solicitations, sent ambassadors to Bologna, who, on the 16th of the same month, protested against the translation of the council as frivolous and illegal, while Diego Mendoza, his ambassador at Rome, read the same protestation, with a few alterations, to the pope and cardinals, in the presence of all the foreign ambassadors[x]. The pope in his answer, which he made to Mendoza on the first of February, accused him of having exceeded his instructions, and affirmed that the emperor had not ordered him to protest against him and the sacred college, but to protest before them against the fathers at Bologna; he therefore, as lawful judge of the dispute concerning the legality of the translation of the council, cited the fathers at Trent and Bologna to justify their proceedings within a month before the cardinals Paris, Burges, Crescentius, and Pole.

The emperor protests against the translation of the council.

Notwithstanding this answer, Mendoza, in a second declaration, affirmed, that he had received express orders from the emperor to protest in the manner he had done[y]; and Charles, resolving to accommodate the differences with regard to religion independently of the council, about this time appointed several doctors to draw up a form of ecclesiastical reformation[z]. Paul in the mean time cited the fathers at Trent and Bologna, the first of whom excused themselves from appearing; but the others immediately sent their proxies to Rome; yet the judges, being apprehensive of a schism, delayed giving sentence during the whole pontificate of Paul, so that the prelates at Bologna dispersed, excepting a few pensionaries of the holy see[a].

A new form of reformation drawn up by his order;

Though the pope, in compliance with the emperor, suspended the council, and would not proceed against those prelates that remained at Trent, yet he expressed great dissatisfaction upon receiving a copy of the new form of reformation drawn up by the doctors in Germany, which was called the Interim, denoting, by that

[w] Belcar. lib. xxv. sect. 4. Spond. Annal. [x] Sleid. lib. xix. & xx. [y] Pallavicin. lib. x. cap. 13. Rainald. ad an. 1548. [z] Sleid. lib. xx. [a] Spond. Annal.

title,

title, that its articles were to remain in force till others should be composed by the pope and a universal council. He ordered his legate Sfondrato, who had continued with the emperor since the victory at Muhlberg, to censure it in general, but particularly the two articles allowing the marriage of priests, and the communicating under both kinds. Charles paid no regard to this remonstrance; but, on the 15th of May, presented his interim to the diet, for which the archbishop of Mentz thanked him in the name of all the princes, without having previously demanded their consent. The emperor, interpreting this speech as a general approbation of his book, immediately ordered it to be printed in Latin and German, and peremptorily commanded it to be received both by the Catholics and Protestants. By this step, instead of putting an end to the divisions, he greatly inflamed both parties against himself; for the Protestants objected to the book as containing the doctrines of popery, artfully disguised, and the Catholics rejected it for not having the sanction of ecclesiastic authority; however, he would receive no excuse from the Lutherans, many of whom were compelled by his Spanish and Neapolitan troops to give their assent to his book, while many doctors of that persuasion, to avoid persecution, were obliged to quit Germany [b].

which is condemned both by the Papists and Protestants.

Charles likewise intreated the pope to send legates into Germany, to assist in putting his edicts into execution. Paul refused this request, as derogatory from the apostolic authority; however he sent three nuncios into Germany, with full power to restore all persons, even kings and princes, to their dignities, to grant the privilege of communicating under both kinds upon certain conditions, and to absolve the usurpers of ecclesiastical possessions, after restitution made by them of the lands, and a reasonable composition for the revenues already consumed. They had likewise authority to absolve the Catholics from their oaths given to heretics, and to unite ecclesiastical benefices to universities, schools, and hospitals; but, though the bull was expedited on the last of August, they did not lay their mandates before the emperor till the 25th of May in the following year [c]. Charles, being dissatisfied with their powers, prohibited the nuncios from putting them in execution, till they should be altered in

Three nuncios sent to Germany with a power of reforming abuses.

[b] Sleid. lib. xx. & xxi. Rainald. ut. sup. Constit. Imper. Goldast. tom. i. p. 518. Pallavicin. lib. x.

[c] Spond. Annal. Sleid. lib. 21.

some

some articles by the pope; and even after they had received some alteration, the nuncios were still prevented from acting, by new difficulties that were started; so that they were at last obliged to delegate their powers to the German bishops, to each within his own diocese, and to the other prelates within the extent of their jurisdiction [d].

During these transactions, the pope earnestly solicited the emperor to restore Placentia, which city he affirmed belonged to the dominions of the church; but finding his solicitations had no effect, he began to think of restoring Parma to the church, and to give his grandson Octavius another territory. He accordingly appointed Camillo Ursini governor of Parma; but his grandson refused to accept of any other territory, and privately left Rome, with the intention of taking possession of that city. Being frustrated in his attempt to surprise the place, he wrote to his brother, cardinal Farnese, declaring, that, if his grandfather would not restore the city, he would treat with the emperor's lieutenant Gonzaga. This letter, being read to the pope, had such an effect upon him, that he immediately fainted, and, reviving with much difficulty, about four hours after was seized with a violent fever, of which he died on the third day, being the 10th of November [e]. He is commended for his prudence and moderation, but he was greatly addicted to judicial astrology, and had made but small proficiency in the learning of those times. The expence of his funeral solemnity, which continued nine days, was supposed to amount to fifty thousand crowns.

The pope solicits the restoration of Placentia.

He dies at Rome.

After the death of Paul III. the cardinals delayed entering the conclave till the 28th of November; during which interval, the imperial and French ministers warmly solicited the favour of cardinal Farnese, who was at the head of a party of the sacred college. Upon shutting the conclave, cardinal Pole was proposed by a great many voices, and, upon the first scrutiny, wanted only two votes to be legally elected; but the old cardinals, being jealous of his promotion, did their utmost to thwart his election, and at the next scrutiny cardinal Caraffa even accused him of heresy. Several new French cardinals arriving, their faction appeared the most numerous; but cardinal Farnese and his party joining the Imperialists,

A.D 1550.

Julius III. is elected.

[d] Rainald. ad an 1549. Adrian. lib. vii. Pallavicin. lib. xi. cap. 2. [e] Sleid. lib. xxi.

cardinal

cardinal de Monte was elected on the 9th of February, though one of the cardinals some days before had objected to him on account of his wicked life [f]. Cardinal Farnese, before he consented to give him his vote, obliged him to swear, that he would grant the possession of Parma to his brother Octavius.

A jubilee celebrated at Rome.

The new pope, assuming the name of Julius III. (P), was crowned with the usual solemnity on the 22d of the same month; and two days after he published a bull, declaring that the year of Jubilee had commenced at Christmas. The same day, according to the usual ceremony, he opened the holy gate of St. Peter's with a golden hammer, and gave access to an infinite number of pilgrims, who waited to have remission of their sins. Soon after he restored Ascanio Colonna, who had been deprived of his possessions by Paul III. and, according to his agreement with cardinal Farnese, conferred the government of Parma upon his brother Octavius, with a monthly revenue of two thousand crowns [g]. He likewise confirmed the election of the patriarch of Greater Armenia, who had been persuaded by the Dominican missionaries to submit to the church of Rome, on promises of preferment, which were never afterwards fulfilled. About the same time he made a promotion of twenty cardinals, and bestowed his own hat on a boy of thirteen years of age, born of mean parentage at Placentia, whom he likewise adopted into his family; a circumstance which gave occasion to many severe pasquinades at Rome [h].

The pope publishes two bulls for the suppression of heresy.

To manifest his desire of suppressing heresy, on the 28th of April he published two bulls; by one of which he prohibited all persons, except the inquisitors of the faith, from possessing or reading the books of the Lutherans or other heretics; and by the other he allowed all those, who should repent of their heresies within three months, to be received into the church by the inquisitors, upon performing private penance; but from this indul-

[f] Onuphr. de Rom. Pontif. Adrian. lib. vii. [g] Spond. Annal. Sleid. lib. xxi. [h] Sleid. ibid.

(P) John Maria de Monte was born at Rome in the year 1487, and when archbishop of Siponto, and auditor of the apostolic chamber, was created a cardinal by Paul III. and appointed by him first president of the council of Trent (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

gence

gence he excepted all those who were under the general inquisition of Spain and Portugal [i]. The emperor in the mean time urging him to re-establish the council of Trent, he assembled a congregation of cardinals and other prelates, by whose advice he consented to the emperor's request, on these conditions; that the council should be approved by the king of France, and the decrees already published be received by the Protestants. Accordingly, having received the approbation of the king of France, on the 14th of November he published a bull for restoring the council to Trent, ordering all prelates and persons concerned to repair to that city on the 1st of May, when he intended to resume the council, and to preside at it either personally or by his legates. He sent a copy of this bull, before it was published, to the emperor, who then held a diet at Augsburg, and, upon consulting with his ministers, intreated Julius to soften some expressions, but without any effect; for, on the 27th of December, he expedited a brief, ordering his bull to be read and affixed to the doors of the churches of St. Peter and St. John, and printed copies of it to be sent to all the bishops of Christendom [k].

Another for restoring the council of Trent.

The emperor objected to the bull, because he was afraid it would irritate the Protestants, some of whom in the diet had agreed to the continuation of the council without any conditions; but others had insisted that the protestant divines should not only be heard in the sessions, but even have a power of deciding; that the pope should not preside, but submit to the council; and that the decrees already published should be of no force [l]. His apprehensions proved to be just; for when the bull was read in the diet on the 5th of January, the Protestants expressed great dissatisfaction: Charles, however, appeased them in some measure, by declaring that he would take such methods, that nothing should pass in the council prejudicial to the liberties of the German nation. The emperor then dissolved the diet on the 23d of February, and soon after sent three ambassadors to Trent, who were present on the first of May, when the pope's legates celebrated the eleventh session, in which a decree was read for resuming the council, and the next session appointed to be held on the first of September, because very few prelates were then arrived, and on account of some disturbances in

A.D. 1551.

[i] Spond. Annal. [k] Haræus, p. 656. Pallavicin. lib. xi. cap. 8. 10. & 11. Rainald. [l] Sleid. lib. xxii.

A new war in Italy betwixt the emperor and the king of France.

Lombardy, which threatened to interrupt the tranquility of Italy[m]. These were occasioned by Octavius Farnese, who, being afraid of the designs of Gonzaga, the emperor's lieutenant, and deprived of his monthly subsidy from the pope, had introduced a French garrison into Parma. Though the pope had allowed Octavius to provide for his own security as he thought proper, yet he never imagined he would have recourse to the French; therefore, to clear himself from any suspicions of the emperor, he cited Octavius to appear at Rome within thirty days. He neglected the citation, and the pope applied to Gonzaga for assistance, and about the middle of May the pope's troops and Imperialists invested Parma and Mirandola. The king of France ordered his ambassador at Rome to justify his proceeding to the pope, and to declare, that, unless he ceased hostilities, he would prohibit his bishops from going to Trent; but Julius, being assured of the emperor's assistance, ordered the king to withdraw his troops, and even threatened him with excommunication. Meanwhile the French troops, being reinforced in Italy, made several incursions into the Bolognese, and attacked the Milanese on the side of Piedmont; hostilities likewise commencing betwixt France and the emperor in Lorrain and Flanders[n].

Several German bishops repair to Trent.

Though the emperor, by besieging Parma, had given Henry II. a pretence for a rupture, and had thereby involved himself in a new war with France, yet he did not neglect the affairs of religion, and wrote to the protestant states, desiring them to send ambassadors to Trent; and, as they insisted upon a safe-conduct from the council, he promised to apply to the fathers for that purpose. In the mean time the electors of Mentz and Triers, with several other German bishops, repaired to Trent, and were present at the twelfth session; when a decree was read, appointing the following session on the 11th of October, and declaring that a canon would then be published concerning the sacrament of the eucharist. A letter and protestation from the king of France were then read, wherein he declared, that unless the pope would cease his hostilities against Parma, he would not acknowlege the council. The fathers declared that they would answer the king's deputy at the next sessions, but being then called he did not appear: they, however, drew up an answer to the

[m] Spond. Annal. [n] Bellefor. lib. vi. cap. 71. Paradin. ad an. 1551. Sleid. lib. xxii.

protesta-

proteſtation, and publiſhed a decree concerning the euchariſt, adding eleven anathemas againſt thoſe who ſhould deny or alter the doctrine they had eſtabliſhed. At the perſuaſion of the imperial ambaſſador, they delayed diſputing concerning the uſe of the cup to laymen, till the arrival of the Proteſtants; but they publiſhed another decree for reformation, particularly concerning the reſidence of biſhops [o]. They likewiſe complied with the emperor's requeſt, and granted a ſafe-conduct to the Proteſtants; in conſequence of which the elector of Brandenburg, and the duke of Wirtemberg, ſent their ambaſſadors to Trent, who were ſoon followed by Sleidan the hiſtorian, as deputy from the city of Straſburg, who relating his own and his colleagues negotiations, ſays, that they would not confer with the pope's legates, leſt they ſhould thereby ſeem to allow them a right of judging; but addreſſed themſelves to the emperor's ambaſſadors, and to the cardinal of Trent and the electoral archbiſhops, deſiring their confeſſion of faith to be preſented to the council. A few days before they propoſed to preſent their confeſſion, the fourteenth ſeſſion was celebrated, on the 25th of November, when a decree was read concerning the ſacrament of penance and extreme unction, and thirteen articles concerning reformation [p].

The pope in the mean time, being tired of the expences of a war, ſent a legate to the emperor, and another to the king of France, with propoſals for a neutrality or truce for two years. Henry II. very readily embraced this offer, and in the beginning of the following year concluded a treaty with the pope, which gave great offence to the emperor, who was, however, afterwards obliged to conſent to it. Charles reſided then at Inſpruck, within three days journey of Trent, and was chiefly attentive to the proceedings of the council. About the beginning of January the Saxon ambaſſadors arrived at Trent, and demanded that a ſafe-conduct ſhould be given to the divines whom prince Maurice intended to ſend to the council, like that which was formerly granted by the council of Baſil to the Bohemians; that the pope ſhould not preſide; and that the prelates who compoſed the council ſhould be abſolved from their oath of obedience to him. A few days after, the ambaſſadors of the duke of Wirtemberg preſented their confeſſion of faith, in a general

A.D. 1552.

The pope agrees to a neutrality with the emperor and the king of France.

[o] Spond. Annal. Sleidan, lib. xxii. & xxiii. [p] Idem ibid.

The Protestants deliver their confession of faith to the pope's legates at Trent.

congregation which was held at the legate's lodgings, and demanded that proper judges should be appointed to decide the disputes betwixt their divines and those of the Catholics, and that all the past acts of the council should be revoked. The same demands were likewise made by the Saxon ambassadors, who were admitted in the evening; but they did not deliver their confession of faith, composed by Melancthon, as they had no instructions for that purpose. The fifteenth session was held next day, which was the 25th of January, when a decree was read, declaring, that, at the demand of the Protestants, all points which should have been decided that day were deferred till the 19th of March, and a new safe-conduct was granted to them, which the council affirmed was more ample than the former [q]. Accordingly, the Protestants received copies of the safe-conduct; but perceiving that the articles which they insisted upon being inserted were wholly omitted, they complained of this omission to the imperial ambassadors, without receiving any satisfactory answer (Q). News in the mean time arriving that prince Maurice had declared war against the emperor, the electors of Mentz and Cologne immediately left Trent; and the Saxon ambassadors having declared that they were entirely ignorant of their master's designs, retired to Brescia, from whence they returned home by different routes. A few days after their departure, six divines arrived at Trent from Wirtemberg and Strasburg; and the fathers of the council still refusing to allow their confession to be publicly read, they caused it to be printed and dispersed, a step which gave great offence to the Catholics. The next session, which was appointed to be held on the 19th of March, was deferred till the 1st

Their complaints are disregarded.

[q] Rainald. Spond. ad an. 1552 Pallavicin. lib. xii. cap. xv.

(Q) These articles, which had formerly been granted to the Bohemians, and were now omitted, were, 1. That the Protestants should have the right of voting in the council. 2. That the holy scripture, the practice of the primitive church, the ancient councils, and the fathers, whose writings agreed with the scriptures, should be the judges of all controversies. 3. That all ambassadors, during the continuance of the council, should be allowed the free exercise of their religion in their own lodgings. 4. That nothing should be said or acted in contempt or ridicule of their religion (1).

(1) Sleidan, lib. xxiii. Belcar. lib. xxv.

of

of May; and, in the mean time, the proteſtant ambaſſadors declared to thoſe of the emperor, that although the council had not granted their firſt demand, their divines offered to diſpute on the points of religion, on condition that their right ſhould not thereby be prejudiced; but as the Catholics had diſputed on the firſt fundamental articles, it was reaſonable that the Proteſtants ſhould be allowed to do the ſame. The legates paying no regard to this declaration, the proteſtant divines wrote to the imperial ambaſſadors, deſiring that their adverſaries would publiſh their objections to their doctrine in writing, which they were ready to anſwer [r].

Many prelates leave Trent on account of the diſturbances in Germany.

The legates, inſtead of complying with this requeſt, began to be afraid that the emperor was acting in concert with the Proteſtants, and intended, by means of the prelates in his intereſt, to depreſs and reform the court of Rome. They therefore readily embraced all pretences for delays. News arriving that the elector Maurice had made himſelf maſter of Augſburg, and that the confederate army was marching to ſeize the paſſes of the Alps, the greateſt part of the Italian biſhops fled to Verona, and the Proteſtants, after giving in a writing in juſtification of their paſt proceedings, likewiſe left Trent. The legates immediately diſpatched an expreſs to the pope, who having ſent a bull for ſuſpending the council in caſe of neceſſity, they held the ſixteenth ſeſſion on the 28th of April, in which the council was formally ſuſpended for two years, notwithſtanding a proteſtation given in by twelve Spaniſh biſhops, who alleged, that the war in Germany was not a ſufficient reaſon for the ſuſpenſion of the council, which, by being continued, would rather prove the means of procuring peace [s].

The council is ſuſpended for two years.

By this ſuſpenſion of the council the emperor loſt all hopes of inducing the Proteſtants to return to the old religion, eſpecially as he was ſoon after obliged to conſent to a peace with the elector Maurice and the confederates, which was concluded at Paſſau. Among other matters it was agreed, that a diet ſhould aſſemble within ſix months, to conſult of the means of terminating all differences on account of religion; that, in the mean time, none ſhould be moleſted on account of their religious opinions; and that, although no means ſhould be found in the diet for accommodating the religious difference, the preſent peace

The Proteſtants obtain an honourable peace.

[r] Sleidan, lib. xxiii. [s] Idem ibid. Belcar. lib. xxii. Adrian. lib. viii. Pallav. lib. xiii. Spond. Annal.

and concord should, nevertheless, continue for ever firm and unviolated [t]. Julius, also appointed several cardinals to consult of means to reform the abuses of the church, and the corrupt and dissolute manners of the clergy; but after several meetings and adjournments, nothing was determined of any consequence. His attention began to be engaged by the new commotions raised in Italy, on account of the revolt of Sienna, which city had expelled the
A.D. 1553. Spanish garrison, and admitted French troops. As Don Pedro de Toledo, the viceroy of Naples, in the month of January began his march for Tuscany with a formidable army, in order to reduce the rebels, Julius, remembering the fate of Clement VII. immediately levied eight thousand men for the defence of the ecclesiastical territories, the command of whom he gave to Camillo Ursini. About the same time he sent legates to the emperor and the king of France, offering them his mediation for a general peace.

Cardinal Pole sent as legate à latere to England.

Soon after, at the desire of Mary queen of England, who intended to restore the authority of the pope in that kingdom, he ordered cardinal Pole to go thither as his legate à latere, and in his journey through Germany to exhort the emperor to peace. The cardinal left Rome about the end of October; but as he had not yet taken priest's orders, the emperor was apprehensive that Mary would chuse him for her husband, in preference to his son Philip; he therefore found a pretence to stop him at Augsburg, and represented to the queen, that the cardinal's forward zeal for the interests of the holy see would certainly inflame the people of England. At the same time, he urged the alliance with his son so successfully, that the queen gave her consent to the match, which was likewise approved by the parliament [u]. During these proceedings, Julius confirmed Simon Sulaka the patriarch of the Christians on the east side of the Euphrates; and having ordered him to be ordained a bishop, he invested him with the patriarchal pall with his own hands, in the consistory, conferred upon him several rich presents, and invested him with the patriarchal pall with his own hands, in the consistory, conferred upon him several rich presents, and sent with him to his own country several religious

[t] Chytræ. Saxon. lib. xvii. p. 458. Goldast. Const. Imper.
[u] Burnet's Hist. Reform. vol. ii. Sleidan. lib. xxv. Pallav. lib. xiii. Rain.

men,

men, skilled in the Syriac language, and the rites of the Roman church [w].

He in vain endeavours to reconcile the emperor and the king of France.

Mean while, upon the complaints of cardinal Pole, the emperor had allowed him to proceed to Brussels, where he himself then resided; but that he might delay his journey to England till the marriage should be concluded, he pretended an inclination to a peace with France, and desired the cardinal to act as mediator. Pole accordingly had a conference with Henry II. but quickly found that neither he nor the emperor had any real inclination to peace [x]. Soon after an embassy arriving from king Philip and queen Mary, inviting him to England, he took leave of the emperor, and set out for London, where, on the 23d of November, he was received with great demonstrations of joy; and a few days after, being reinstated in his former possessions and dignity, he solemnly absolved the nation from the censures they had incurred on account of the schism and heresy. Ambassadors were then ordered to proceed to Rome, to declare the obedience of that nation to the apostolic see; the news of which proceedings being brought by an express to the pope, he immediately ordered public supplications over all Italy, and published general indulgences as in the year of jubilee [y]. About the same time, being informed that the emperor had appointed a diet to be held at Augsburg in the beginning of February, he sent the cardinal Moron to Germany as his legate, to exhort the Protestants to follow the example of England, and to acknowlege the authority of the see of Rome, charging him, however, to avoid all conferences on the disputed points of religion [z]. Moron had hardly arrived at the diet, when being informed of the death of pope Julius, he immediately set out for Rome, together with the cardinal of Augsburg. Julius died on the 23d of March, of a lethargy, according to some authors; but others affirm, that his death was occasioned by a change of diet, which his physician advised him to, on account of the gout, while many alleged, that he altered his diet at first under a pretence of sickness, that he might avoid calling a consistory, which he knew would oppose the demands of his brother Baldwin, who desired earnestly to be put in possession of Camerino [a].

A.D. 1555.

Julius dies at Rome.

[w] Onuphr. in Vit. Jul. III. [x] Spond. Annal. ad an. 1554. [y] Sleidan. lib. xxv. [z] Pallavicin. lib. xiii. Adrian. lib. xii. [a] Panvin. in Vit. Jul. III.

Marcellus II. is elected pope, and dies within twenty-two days after his election.

Julius III. was succeeded in the pontificate by Marcellus Cervinus, a native of Montfano, and cardinal of the Holy Cross at Jerusalem, who being elected on the 9th of April retained his own name, and was next day consecrated bishop, and then solemnly crowned. Upon his promotion he prohibited all his relations from coming to Rome, and communicated to the cardinal of Mantua his design of assembling a general council for a thorough reformation of the church, which, he said, would rather establish than depress the authority of the Roman see. However, he was prevented by death from putting his design in execution; for having fatigued himself with the many superfluous and troublesome ceremonies, which he performed in the holy week before Easter, he died of an apoplexy, or, according to some authors of poison, on the last day of April, on the 22d day after his election, and in the fifty-fourth year of his age [b].

A few days after the death of Marcellus, forty-five cardinals entered the conclave, where the cardinal of Augsburg, seconded by Moron, proposed that, among other articles which the sacred college usually swore to at an election, the two following should be added, by which the new pope should be obliged, within two years, to assemble a general council, for completing the reformation already begun, and to induce the Protestants to receive the decrees of the council of Trent; and that he should likewise bind himself by oath, not to create above four cardinals in the first two years of his pontificate [c]. This motion, however, was opposed, and on the 22d of May cardinal Caraffa was elected pope, notwithstanding the great opposition of the imperial party. As he seemed to have a great aversion to the Spaniards, and had received some bad offices from the emperor, it was generally concluded that he would favour the king of France. He assumed the name of Paul IV. and was crowned on the third day after his election (R). As he was of a morose disposition,

Paul IV. is elected.

[b] Panvin. in Vit. Marcellus II. Genebr. Chron. lib. iv.
[c] Rainald, ad an. 1555. Pallav. lib. xiii.

(R) Paul IV. was born of a noble Neapolitan family in the year 1476, and had obtained a great reputation for integrity and purity of manners. He was skilled in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew; and having been created archbishop of Chieti by Julius II. he instituted the order of regular

sition, and had been the author and contriver of the inquisition, his election struck a great terror into the Romans, who expected that he would proceed with great severity in the reformation of abuses. However, he began his pontificate with great magnificence, exceeded all his predecessors in pomp and ceremony at his coronation, and told the steward of his household, that he would be served as became a prince. Soon after he began to follow his natural temper, and published some very severe edicts for correcting the dissolute manners of the city. He reformed the offices of the datary, the penitentiary, and the rota, and ordered the priests to be more moderate both in their dress and in their tables. He likewise conferred several new privileges on the Romans, who as a testimony of their gratitude, erected a marble statue to him in the Capitol, and chose more than one hundred of their nobles, who were appointed to serve without any pay, as a life-guard to the popes, and were by him created Knights of the Faith [d].

He receives the submission of the English ambassadors.

In the beginning of his pontificate, the English ambassadors, who had been sent to Julius, arriving at Rome, he gave audience to them, with great state and pomp, in his first consistory; and, after they had continued for some time prostrate at his feet, begging that the nation might again be received into the bosom of the church, he raised them and embraced them, and, in reward for the piety of the king and queen, he gave the title of a kingdom to Ireland. Afterwards, at a private conference, he insisted that all the ecclesiastical possessions which had been seized by Henry VIII. should be restored, and that the Peterpence should be immediately collected for the use of the Roman see [e]. Soon after, being informed of the decree which was published by the diet of Augsburg on the 25th of September, confirming the peace of Passau, which the elector Maurice and the protestant confederates, three years before, had obtained from the emperor, he was greatly offended with Ferdinand, king of the Romans, who presided at the diet. He even declared, that he would make the emperor and his brother repent the injury they had done to the holy see; that he would ex-

He condemns the toleration granted to the Protestants of Germany.

[d] Panvin in Vit. Paul. IV.

[e] Spond. Annal.

gular clerks called Theatins, in 1524. He was elevated to the dignity of cardinal by Paul III. and Julius III. created him archbishop of Naples.

communicate

communicate the Proteſtants, and all thoſe who protected them; but if Charles and Ferdinand would retract what they had granted them, he offered to ſecond them with his authority, and to oblige all Chriſtian princes, under pain of cenſures, to aſſiſt them with their forces [f].

His reſentment againſt the emperor was owing to another cauſe than the peace granted to the Proteſtants; for having formerly received a perſonal injury from the Neapolitan viceroy, who had refuſed to allow him to take poſſeſſion of the archbiſhoprick of Naples, on pretence that he favoured the French party, he had then endeavoured, with great earneſtneſs, to excite Paul III. to declare war againſt the emperor. His hopes of revenge, however, being at that time fruſtrated, he now thought it a proper time to diſcover his enmity to the Spaniards; and having formed a deſign to deprive them of the kingdom of Naples, on the 16th of September he privately concluded a treaty with Henry II. for ſeizing that kingdom, by which means he hoped to aggrandize the princes of his family [g]. About the ſame time he began to perſecute the family of Colonna, and others, who were known to have an attachment to the emperor. Under pretence of a plot, which he alleged had been formed by the Imperialiſts againſt him, he increaſed his troops and guards by new levies, thruſt the cardinal Sforza, Camilla, Colonna, and the abbot of Briſegna into priſon, and confiſcating all the territories belonging to the Colonna family within the dominions of the church, beſtowed them on his nephew John, count of Montorio, whom he created duke of Paliano, and general of the forces of the church [h]. He likewiſe confiſcated the marquiſate of Montebello, which he conferred on Anthony Caraffa, another of his nephews; and being fully reſolved on a war, he fortified Paliano, which was conveniently ſituated on the frontiers of Naples.

Reſolves to deprive the emperor of the kingdom of Naples.

A D. 1556. Mean while he was greatly alarmed with the news of a truce, which his ally the king of France and the emperor had agreed to for five years. Though he was not a little offended with Henry II. yet he diſſembled his reſentment, and ſent the cardinal of Piſa to the emperor and Philip, and his nephew cardinal Caraffa to the French king, to congratulate them upon the truce, and to exhort them to a general peace, that the council might be re-aſſumed. Caraffa, however, preſſed Henry very much to engage in a Neapolitan war;

Perſuades the king of France to violate his truce with the emperor.

[f] Pallavicin. lib. xiii. Rainald. [g] Belcar. lib. xxvi. in fin.
[h] Adrian. lib. xiii. Panvin. in Vit. Paul IV.

and

and being seconded by the cardinal of Lorrain, and his brother the duke of Guise, he at length succeeded, and absolved the king from the oath he had taken to observe the truce. In the mean time the Imperalists, having marched to the assistance of the family of Colonna, under the command of the viceroy, the duke of Alva, quickly made themselves masters of all the Campania of Rome, while the duke of Guise was preparing to march into Italy with an army of twelve thousand French, to the assistance of Paul. This unexpected success of the Neapolitans greatly distressed the pope, who, to support the war, miserably harrassed his subjects. He exacted half a year's revenue from all offices, doubled the tythes upon all benefices, converted many of the churches into magazines and storehouses, seized all the horses in Rome to serve in the war, and compelled all the the monks, of what order soever, to labour at the works, and to carry earth to the fortifications. He likewise ordered all private debts to be paid into his treasury, promising to satisfy the creditors afterwards, and raised all the customs and taxes to an excessive degree. However, the miseries and groans of his subjects were not able to incline his fierce and implacable spirit to a peace; but A.D. 1557. the duke of Guise having, in the beginning of the year, entered Lombardy, he pressed him earnestly to advance with his army, and invade Naples, contrary to the opinion of the most prudent French generals, who thought it would be more advantageous to carry on the war in the Milanese, which was then in a very defenceless state [1].

Paul, in the mean time, having been informed that Charles V. had abdicated the empire in favour of his brother Ferdinand, he wrote to the ecclesiastical electors to prohibit them from receiving his resignation; which, however, was approved of by the electors at a diet held at Franckfort, where Ferdinand consented to receive the imperial ensigns, on condition that he should be allowed to send an embassy to the pope, to ask his confirmation. While Paul thus manifested his enmity against the emperor, the arms of Philip, to whom he had resigned his hereditary dominions, were very successful in Italy. The duke of Alva had obliged the French to raise the siege of some places on the frontiers of Naples; and towards the end of August advanced with his army towards Rome, in hopes of surprising the city. At the same time the duke of Guise being recalled with his forces to oppose the

[1] Onuphr. in Vit. Paul IV. Belcar. lib. xxvii.

Spaniards

He is obliged to conclude a peace with the viceroy of Naples.

Spaniards in Flanders, who in the beginning of the month had gained a signal victory over the French at St. Quintin, Paul, with great regret, was obliged to consent to a peace, which was concluded on the 13th of September.

The war being finished, Paul immediately sent legates to the kings of France and Spain, offering himself as mediator of their differences, but without any success. In the mean time, applying himself to the reformation of abuses, he ordered the inquisitors to compose an index of books, proper to be condemned and prohibited as impious and heretical (S). He likewise ordered the tribunal of the inquisition to take cognizance of several crimes, which before had been under the jurisdiction of the other courts; and was so active and diligent in his enquiry after criminals, that he quickly filled all the prisons of the inquisition.

Imprisons cardinal Moron on suspicion of heresy:

Suspecting that cardinal Moron had some secret correspondence with the Protestants in Germany, he imprisoned him, together with the bishop of Cava, in the castle of St. Angelo, where they underwent a severe inquisition; and though they both proved their innocence, and were afterwards set at liberty, yet, on their account, he detained the bishop of Modena a long while in prison [k]. About the same time, to the general surprize of his court, he deprived cardinal Pole of his legation in England, and recalled him to Rome, thereby, as it was supposed, gratifying his own private resentment against that prelate, whom he had formerly accused of heresy in the conclave [l] (T). He like-

Recalls cardinal Pole from England.

[k] Onuphr. Panvin. ut supra. [l] Spond. Annal.

(S) This Index Expurgatorius was published two years afterwards; and all were prohibited, under pain of excommunication, incapacity of enjoying any offices or benefices, perpetual infamy, and other arbitrary punishments, from possessing or reading any of the books mentioned in that catalogue (1).

(T) Some allege that he was offended with the cardinal for being the author of the truce betwixt the emperor Charles and Henry II. others say, for not preventing queen Mary from declaring war against France, while the duke of Guise was in Italy. But whatever was the motive of proceeding, he thereby greatly lessened his own reputation, without injuring in the least that of the cardinal, who died in the end of the following year in England, in the 59th year of his age (2).

(1) Spond. Annal. (2) Goduin. de Presul. Angl. Camden.

wise,

wise, soon after, published a severe bull against those who should receive benefices under the name of others, or should offer annual pensions for them, or should resign their their own for an annuity, or, lastly, should for a reward procure any benefices for another [m]. To put a stop to the cabals and intrigues of the cardinals of the imperial faction, he renewed all the former laws and canons against those who should hold conventicles or secret meetings; to solicit the votes of the sacred college for the pontificate, during the life of the pope, declaring them guilty of treason and simony, of whatever rank and degree, whether ecclesiastical or secular.

A.D. 1558. In the following year an ambassador arrived at Rome from the emperor Ferdinand, who, upon the resignation of his brother, had accepted the imperial dignity. Paul, however, would not admit him to an audience, but affirmed, that the resignation of Charles, and the substitution of Ferdinand, were both null, as done without the authority of the pope, into whose hands the resignation ought to have been made. He therefore insisted that Ferdinand should send a proxy to Rome, to renounce all the proceedings of the diet at Frankfort, and to resign the whole affair to his arbitration, declaring, that he would then confirm Ferdinand in the imperial dignity. The emperor hearing of the pope's determination, wrote to his ambassador to enter a protestation, and to leave Rome, if he was not admitted to an audience within three days after the receiving of his letter. Notwithstanding this peremptory command, Paul still remained inflexible. He only admitted the ambassador to a private interview, in the presence of some cardinals; desired him to enter his protestation, and to return to Ferdinand; and declared, that he would forthwith send a legate to the emperor Charles, to treat of the affair of the resignation. Charles died a few months after at a monastery in Spain, whither he had retired from worldly grandeur. Paul, however, during his whole pontificate, would never consent to acknowlege Ferdinand as emperor [n].

Refuses to acknowledge Ferdinand as emperor.

A.D. 1559. Though the pope, by his arrogance and severity, had rendered himself odious to the Romans, yet he gave general satisfaction in punishing the crimes of his nephews, who had greatly abused the trusts committed to their charge. On the 26th of January, in a full consistory, he removed the cardinal Caraffa from all administration of affairs, deprived him of his legation of Bologna, and banished him

The pope's nephews punished, and banished.

[m] Spond. Annal. Opus. Histor.

[n] Godelev. de Abdicat. Carol. in tit. ii.

to

to Patricia: he dismissed the duke of Paliano from being admiral of the gallies, and general of the army of the church; and ordered the marquis of Montebello to resign the office of captain of his guards, and to retire to his own castle: he refused to hearken to any intercessions made by the cardinals in their behalf; and suppressing some new taxes, which he pretended had been raised without his knowledge, he removed all those who had received any places from his nephews, and even put several of them in prison [o] (U). Applying his mind then wholly to the office of the inquisition, he ordered a box to be fixed in a public place of his palace, into which all persons were at liberty to put accusations and informations; and he commanded all causes belonging to the holy office to be tried before himself once a week. About the same time he published a bull, by which he renewed all the punishments and censures against heretics, which had ever been decreed by any popes, councils, and fathers, declaring all prelates, emperors, kings, and princes, convicted of heresy, to be thereby, without any farther declaration, deprived of their benefices, empires, kingdoms, and principalities [p]. He likewise ordered all bishops to proceed to their own dioceses, and all those who had embraced a monastic life, to return to their monasteries, admitting of no excuse in these last, but denouncing an anathema against those who should disobey; and executing his mandate in his own territories with such rigour, that many of the vagrant monks were imprisoned, and several of them sent to the gallies [q] (W).

Several new bishopricks erected in Flanders.

At this time he also erected thirteen cities in the Low Countries into bishopricks, where there were only two before, namely Cambray and Utrecht, which, with the city Mechlin, he raised to the dignity of metropolitan sees, with jurisdiction over the new-erected bishopricks; by which conduct he greatly irritated the minds of the inhabitants,

[o] Onuphr. in Vit. Paul IV. Natal. Comes. lib. xii. [p] Spond. Annal. [q] Onuphr. ut supra.

(U) After the banishment of his nephews, he behaved for some time with more than usual serenity, and is reported to have said, that from that period he ought to begin to count the years of his pontificate.

(W) In consequence of this edict thirty thousand monks of different orders, who could not be received into monasteries, took refuge in the state of Venice, where the authority of the pope is greatly limited (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

many

many of whom had embraced the doctrines of Luther, Calvin, and other reformers; and being apprehensive that these alterations were only a prelude to the introduction of the inquisition, began to consult about freeing themselves from the oppression of the Spaniards [r]. A few days before the bull for these alterations was published, he received the news of a peace, concluded on the 2d of April, between the kings of France and Spain, at which he expressed great joy.

Paul refuses to acknowledge the right of queen Elizabeth to the throne of England.

He was greatly dissatisfied, however, with the elevation of queen Elizabeth to the throne of England, which about this time was signified to him by the English ambassadors. He alleged, that as England was a fief of the apostolic see, she could not assume the administration of the kingdom without the leave of the pope, especially considering the defect of her right by birth; nevertheless, if she would submit to his arbitration, he would act towards her with paternal tenderness. This declaration was of great service to the queen, in weaning her subjects from any attachment to the Roman see. The pope, however, is supposed to have been only the dupe of the French ambassador, and to have objected to her succession from his insinuations of her secret attachment to Lutheranism, Henry II. being afraid that she would conclude a marriage with his rival in power the king of Spain; and besides, being desirous to promote the interests of his daughter-in-law, Mary queen of Scotland, who formed pretensions to the English crown, on the supposition that Elizabeth was an adulterous bastard [s].

He dies at Rome, greatly hated by the Romans.

Paul did not long survive the news of the revolution of religion in England, having been for some time afflicted with a dropsy, he died on the 16th of August, in the eighty-fourth year of his age, and the fifth of his pontificate, after exhorting the cardinals, whom he called into his chamber, to unite in chusing a worthy successor, and recommending to them the continuance of the inquisition [t]. Scarce any pope had ever acted with more arrogance and despotism. His intentions were good and sincere, but there was so much savage ferocity in his behaviour, that he rendered himself universally hated; so that, even before his death, while he lay expiring, the Romans assembled in a tumultuous manner, cursed his name and family, and, after

[r] Vanderhaer. de Init. Tumult. Belg. lib. i. lib. vi. cap. 86. Camden in Vit. Eliz. Thuan. lib. xx. ut supra.

[s] Belleforest.

[t] Onuphr.

having

having given liberty to the prisoners, set fire to the new building of the inquisition, and were with great difficulty prevented from doing the same to the convent of the Dominicans at Minerva. He was no sooner dead than they ran to the Capitol, broke off the head and right hand of his statue, which they tossed about the streets for three days, and at length threw into the Tiber; and an edict being published, in the name of the Roman people, for abolishing the arms of the Caraffa family, it was executed with such dispatch, that the same day there was no memorial of that name left in the city [u].

Upon the death of Paul IV. the Roman see was vacant more than four months, an interval, occasioned by the dissensions among the cardinals, who, to the number of forty-four, entered the conclave on the 5th of September, where, after long contests and repeated scrutinies, they at length, on Christmas eve, unanimously chose John Angelo Medicini, cardinal of Sancta Prisca, who assuming the name of Pius IV. was crowned on the 6th of January (X). Pius began his pontificate with pardoning the riotous proceedings of the Romans upon the death of his predecessor, on condition that they repaired all the damages done to the holy office of the inquisition. He received without any scruple the ambassadors of the emperor Ferdinand, whose election he confirmed; and examining the several innovations of his predecessor, he revoked the trials of common causes to the usual forms of law. A few months after his promotion, he ordered the nephews of the late pope, with several others of their kindred and servants, to be apprehended and imprisoned in the castle of St. Angelo, where, after long confinement, they were condemned and executed, on account of their enormous crimes, though the legal form of proceeding was not strictly observed at their trial. Cardinal Alfonso, the grand-nephew of the late pope, was only fined; but several other cardinals were likewise thrown into prison, and deprived of rich bishopricks.

A.D. 1560.

Pius IV. is elected.

[u] Onuphr. ut supra.

(X) John Angelo Medicini, or, according to some, de Medicis, was born at Milan in 1499. His father was a farmer of the public revenue; and his brother, the marquis of Marignano, distinguished himself as a general in the service of the emperor Charles V. (1.)

(1) Spond. Annal.

While

While he acted with this severity towards the nephews of Paul and their dependents, he called his own nephews to his court, on whom he conferred several dignities and rich benefices. The most distinguished of these was Charles Borromeo, then in the twenty-second year of his age, whom he created a cardinal, and, on account of his eminent virtues and abilities, appointed supreme administrator of all ecclesiastical affairs. Having likewise set cardinal Moron at liberty, he concerted his most secret councils with him and his nephew Borromeo[w]. Mean while he was sollicited by the duke of Savoy to allow a conference to be held in his dominions, to settle the disputes concerning religion, as many of the inhabitants of the vallies in the Alps had renounced the faith and obedience of the Roman church, and still persisted in their opinions, notwithstanding the punishments of the inquisition. Pius refused his demand; and persuading the duke that heretics were more easily refuted by the sword than by conferences, a war was begun in the vallies, which continued for a long time.

He excites the duke of Savoy to make war on the Protestants.

The attention of the pope was chiefly engrossed at this time by the disturbances in France, where the Protestants, together with several popish malecontents, had formed a design for depriving the duke of Guise, and his brother the cardinal, of the administration of the kingdom, and obliging the young king, Francis II. to allow the free exercise of their religion. Though the plot was discovered before it could be put in execution, and was thereby frustrated, yet the power of the Protestants or Hugonots appeared so formidable, that an edict was published, prohibiting all punishments on account of religion, provided that the doctrine and ceremonies of the Romish church should be observed for the future. By another edict, soon after published, the trial of heresy was taken from the secular courts and committed to the bishops, thereby depriving the ecclesiastics of any pretence for introducing the inquisition, which it was apprehended would have occasioned a general insurrection in the kingdom. Besides, a general convention of estates, in the end of August, was held at Fontainbleau, in which some bishops of Dauphiné, after exclaiming against the vices and ignorance of the popish clergy, and extolling the modesty, learning, and piety of the Calvinist ministers, had proposed to call a national council, as the most proper means to put an end to the disturbances of the kingdom. The pope was greatly alarmed

Great commotions in France on account of religion.

[w] Onuphr. et supra.

with the news of the proceedings of this convention, and was even apprehenſive that France intended to follow the example of England, and to form a church independent of the ſee of Rome, as the French prelates expreſſed a great deſire that the pragmatic ſanction ſhould be again renewed. He therefore ſent the biſhop of Viterbo immediately to France, to repreſent to the king, that a national council would be a great diminution of his royal authority, and would have the appearance of a ſchiſm from the univerſal church. He likewiſe wrote to the king of Spain, deſiring him to diſſuade the French king from aſſembling the Gallican clergy: but Francis ſtill inſiſting on the expediency of a national council, and deſiring the pope to ſend a legate into France, to aſſemble the biſhops of that kingdom, Pius, to cut off all pretences for aſſembling the French clergy by themſelves, reſolved to call a general council; and, after long conſultations, at length determined to renew that of Trent, which had only been ſuſpended.

The pope determines to renew the council of Trent.

The emperor and the king of France both objected to this propoſal, alleging, that the very name of Trent was odious both to the Proteſtants and Hugonots; and that they expected a new council, where all articles of faith might be canvaſſed with freedom. Notwithſtanding their objections, Pius, thinking it moſt for the honour of the Roman ſee to renew the old council, after long diſputes with the imperial and French ambaſſadors, on the 28th of November publiſhed a bull, taking off the ſuſpenſion of the council of Trent, which he appointed to be again opened on the following Eaſter. He began to be very anxious for the aſſembling of the general council; for Francis II. had died in the ſecond year of his reign, and the ſtates of that kingdom, aſſembled at Orleans, had, by a decree, ordered all thoſe who were impriſoned on account of religion, to be ſet at liberty; from whence he concluded that France, as well as Germany, intended to revolt from her obedience of the holy ſee [x].

A.D. 1561.

His nuncios meet with a general bad reception.

About this time two of his nuncios arriving with the ambaſſadors of the emperor at Naumberg, where the Proteſtants were aſſembled, invited them to ſend their deputies to the council of Trent. The Proteſtant princes declared to the imperial ambaſſadors, that they did not reject a council, provided their divines were allowed to ſit and vote, and the ultimate deciſion ſhould be left to the

[x] Belleſor. lib. xvi. cap. 91, 92. Belcar. lib. xxix. Thuan. lib. xxvi.

word

word of God, and not to the pope; but they replied to the nuncios, that as they did not acknowlege any authority or jurisdiction of the pope, they did not desire to know his intention in calling a council, and returned the letters unopened, which the pope had addressed to each of them singly [y]. One of the nuncios retiring from this diet, proceeded to Lubec, in the north of Germany, from whence he sent to the king of Denmark, desiring leave to enter his kingdom; but Frederic, who two years before had succeeded to the throne, replied, that as neither he nor his father had ever any concern with the pope, he knew no business his nuncios could have with him. The nuncio to the queen of Scotland was obliged to enter that kingdom in disguise, and obtained a promise from the queen, that she would adhere to the decrees of the council [z]. But queen Elizabeth of England, notwithstanding the intreaties of the emperor and the king of Spain, absolutely refused to allow the nuncio to enter her kingdom [a]. In Poland the nuncio was received in an honourable manner; but the duke of Muscovy replied to his solicitations, that, as he was an ally of the Protestants, he would not consent to the council. Neither did the nuncios meet with great encouragement from the emperor nor the king of France, who both objected to the word "continuation," and declared, that unless there was an alteration made in the bull, they could not approve of the council, which, instead of doing any good, would only occasion new schisms [b]. Charles IX. of France, who was then a minor, and in some measure under the direction of the admiral de Coligni, declared, that if the pope did not grant his demand, he should be obliged to have recourse to a national council, as the most proper means to quiet the disturbances of his kingdom.

Pius offends the king of Spain.

The king of Spain also formed objections to the council, from his resentment against the pope, who had granted a public audience to the ambassador of the king of Navarre. This Philip II. interpreted as a condemnation of his right to that kingdom, which had been unjustly seized by his grandfather Ferdinand of Arragon. Pius, to appease the king, sent a legate into Spain to excuse his proceeding; and, as the time for opening the council ap-

[y] Onuphr. in Vita Pii IV. Caytræ Saxon. lib. xxii. [z] Spond. Annal. [a] Sander. de Schism. lib. iii. [b] Polan. Hist. Trident.

proached, he sent two legates to Trent, who arriving at that city on the 9th of April, three days after Easter, found only nine bishops, who had come thither a few days before. The pope, likewise, to encourage the bishops and prelates to repair to the council, published a bull, granting several privileges to those who undertook that journey.

He sends his legates to Trent.

Mean while the authority of the Roman see appeared to be daily sinking in France, where, by a royal edict, the imprisoned Hugonots were set at liberty, and those who had been banished in the reign of Francis I. were permitted to return. In an assembly of the states, which was held in the month of August, at St. Germains, the admiral de Coligni, who was the chief of the Hugonots, having, by his interest, procured a confirmation of the administration to the queen-mother, she promised to allow the free exercise of his religion. A conference was likewise granted to the Hugonot divines, which the pope used great pains to prevent; but not succeeding, he sent the cardinal of Ferrara thither as his legate, to prevent any thing being determined concerning the controverted points.

A conference betwixt the Hugonots and the Papists.

The conference opened at Poisser, on the 2d of September, in which Augustine Marloratus, Theodore Beza, Peter Martyr, and ten other Hugonot divines, defended their doctrines in presence of the king, the queen-mother, the king of Navarre, a great many peers, six cardinals, and about ten bishops; but, after long disputes, the conference broke up, on the 25th of November, without any thing being determined [c].

A.D. 1562. As the reformation was spreading into all parts of Europe, Pius determined to delay the opening of the council no longer; and, having sent other three legates to Trent, desired the first session to be opened in the month of December. It was, however, deferred, on account of the emperor's ambassador, till the 18th of January, some preliminaries having been settled three days before in a general congregation. Upon reading the decree for the renewal of the council, a debate ensued; for it being therein proposed, that no question should be debated in the council but what was first moved by the legates (proponentibus legatis), four Spanish prelates refused their assent to that article, and urged, that it was an innovation, had never been used at former councils, and seemed to

The council is again opened at Trent.

[c] Spond. Annal.

deprive

deprive all others of the liberty of propoſing any queſtion. Their oppoſition, however, was over-ruled, and the next ſeſſion appointed to be held on the 26th of February. The king of Spain, upon the repreſentation of his prelates, objected to the above article in the decree by his ambaſſador at Rome; but he received nothing but evaſive anſwers from the pope, who in his turn complained, that the Spaniſh biſhops plainly diſcovered their alienation from the holy ſee, as they had granted their king a free gift of four hundred thouſand crowns annually for ten years, by which great injury was done to the Spaniſh church.

The Hugonots obtain the free exerciſe of their religion.

Mean while the queen-regent of France, at the perſuaſion of the prince of Condé, the admiral de Coligni, and the chancellor, publiſhed an edict, allowing the Hugonots the free exerciſe of their religion without the walls of the cities, on condition that they taught nothing contrary to the Old and New Teſtament, and to the council of Nice, and abſtained from railing againſt the maſs and other rites of the Roman church. The pope was greatly offended with this edict; nevertheleſs the queen, being afraid of an inſurrection, ſoon after publiſhed another, confirming the former, and even allowing them to hold their aſſemblies in all the cities of the kingdom except Paris. This ſecond edict, however, had not the deſired effect; for the Hugonots reſolving to ſecure to themſelves liberty of conſcience by arms, ſeized the cities of Orleans, Rouen, Lyons, Poictiers, Anjou, Berry, and Tours, which conduct occaſioned a civil war, that continued for ſome time with great animoſity.

Proceedings of the council.

Before the commencement of hoſtilities in France, the council celebrated the ſecond ſeſſion, held on the 26th of February, in which a decree was read concerning an index expurgatorius of books; the biſhops of five churches, the emperor's ambaſſador for Hungary, the patriarch of Venice, four archbiſhops, nine biſhops, one Benedictine abbot, two generals of the orders of Franciſcans and Auguſtines, having been appointed at a general congregation to compoſe the index, which was ordered not to be publiſhed till the concluſion of the council, for fear of exaſperating the Proteſtants. The 14th of March being appointed for the next ſeſſion, the fathers, in the mean time, aſſembled in general congregations; in one of which they granted a very ample ſafe-conduct to all thoſe, of whatever nation, who differed from the ſynod in points

of faith. They then disputed about those points which were afterwards to be decided in the sessions, particularly about the residence of prelates and priests in their dioceses and parishes. The greatest part of the divines and fathers asserted, with great warmth, that residence was de jure divino, or appointed by divine revelation; but the party for the pope maintained, that such a doctrine would be the ruin of the hierarchy, as every bishop would then conclude that he himself was supreme in his own diocese; nay, every priest would allege, that he had the sole jurisdiction in his own parish. This dispute continued for several days; but though the majority of the fathers proposed to form a decree for confirming the divine right of residence, yet the legates found means to drop the affair, and leave it undetermined [d]. The Spanish ambassador likewise proposed, that the present council should be declared a continuation of the former, held in the same city; but his motion being opposed by the imperial ambassadors, and the legates being also divided, nothing was decided on that head. As the French ambassadors were upon their journey to Trent, the third session was formally celebrated without any business being proposed, and next session was appointed to be held on the 4th of June.

The French ambassadors exclaim against the papal usurpations.

The French ambassadors arriving, were admitted to an audience, in a general congregation, on the 26th of May, when one of them made an elegant oration, wherein he exhorted the fathers to use freedom of debate, and to take such measures as would free the flock of Christ from usurpation and oppression, as there was then no hazard of having the safe-conduct violated, or of disputing with flames in that city. They then desired the legates to declare the council a new one, as the Hugonots would not otherwise acknowlege it; but they replying, that they were only commissioned by the pope to preside at the sessions, the ambassadors consulted with those of the emperor, and agreed not to insist upon their former demand, provided no mention should be made of the continuation of the council in the public acts. They afterwards desired that the discussing of the articles of faith might be delayed till the arrival of the deputies from the Protestants and Calvinists; and added, the English ambassador in France had declared, that queen Elizabeth intended to send deputies to the council. In consequence of their representations

[d] Spond. Annal.

all

all business was likewise deferred at the following session, only the prolocutor of the council made an harangue in answer to that of the French ambassador, wherein he endeavoured to prove that the council was free, notwithstanding the pope's legates presided, and it had been called by his authority. The next session was then appointed on the 16th of July, the pope, in the mean time, expressing great dissatisfaction at the proceedings of the fathers. He blamed his legate, the cardinal of Mantua, because he had opposed the motion of the Spanish ambassador, who wanted the present council to be declared a continuation of the former; and he accused the French ambassadors as favourers of the Hugonots and Protestants, alleging, that one of them had said that he would bring as many bishops to the council from France and Germany, as would be able to destroy the idol of of Rome.

The imperial ambassadors present the grievances of the Germanic body.

Great part of the council appeared no less dissatisfied with Pius, and intended to moderate and limit his authority. The imperial ambassadors presented the grievances of the Germanic body in a memorial, and demanded, that the pope should submit to a reformation both in his person and court; that the number of cardinals should be reduced to twelve, as at the first institution, or at least to twenty-four; that all exemptions, contrary to law, should be revoked; that dispensations should not be granted, unless for urgent reasons; that plurality of benefices should be abolished, and ecclesiastical offices should not be set to sale; that all superfluous canons should be repealed, and the rest not accounted of the same obligation with divine laws; that divine service should be so celebrated, that it might be understood by the people; that the distinction of meats, and the rigour of fasts, should be moderated; that ecclesiastics should be allowed to marry, and the communion be granted to the laity under both kinds [e]. The legates, to whom the memorial was presented, answered, that, before the next session, they could only have time to determine the dispute concerning the communion, and then proposed some articles on that head to be discussed. A great many of the fathers were of opinion that the cup ought to be granted to those of the laity who demanded it, very many Catholics, as well as the Protestants, expressing a great desire to communicate under both kinds. Gon-

[e] Rainald. ad ann. 1562. not. 60 & 61. Goldast. Const. Imper. tom. ii.

zaga, cardinal of Mantua, ſeemed inclined to this opinion; however, the papal party prevailed, and, in the ſeſſion, they eſtabliſhed four articles with regard to the communion; but, on account of the abſence of the German and French biſhops, they delayed determining whether the cup ought to be granted to the laity, and under what conditions it ſhould be allowed. They then read nine articles concerning reformation, by the laſt of which they entirely aboliſhed the name and office of queſtors (Y).

The legates, to prevent any farther diſputes about the cup in the euchariſt, remitted that article to the pope, out of regard, as they pretended, to the emperor, who would more eaſily obtain his demands from his holineſs than from the fathers at Trent; whereas, in reality, theſe laſt, who conſiſted almoſt wholly of Portugueſe, Spaniards, and Italians, were only the tools of the former[f]. Having likewiſe appointed the next ſeſſion to be held on the 17th of September, they propoſed the articles concerning the inſtitution and efficacy of the maſs; of the ceremonies to be obſerved in that office; and of mixing water with wine, to be diſcuſſed in the general congregations. The imperial and French ambaſſadors, with many others, inſiſted, that the ſeſſion ſhould be delayed till the arrival of the French and Poliſh biſhops, and till the concluſion of the German diet, which was to be held at Frankfort in the month of November; but as the pope had deſired the legates to haſten the concluſion of the council, it was carried againſt them; and the articles above mentioned were debated in the congregations, in which a queſtion was ſtarted, whether Jeſus Chriſt, when he firſt inſtituted the ſacrament of the euchariſt, did then offer and ſacrifice himſelf? If he did not at that time offer himſelf a ſacrifice, then the maſs which is founded on the inſtitution, "Do this in remembrance of me," is

[f] Pallavicini, lib. ii. cap. 9.

(Y) Theſe queſtors were a kind of ſpiritual tax-gatherers, who dreſſed themſelves in ſtrange habits; and, aſſembling the people with little hand-bells, extorted money from them, under pretence of alms and contributions for pious works, thundering out curſes and anathemas againſt thoſe who refuſed to buy their indulgences. They appropriated the money they raiſed to their own uſe, after having given part of it to the officers at Rome, who had procured the authority for raiſing the contributions.

no

no sacrifice; and if he did sacrifice himself, it must have been propitiatory, as it is said, "He offered himself but once," and then the sacrifice on the cross would have been unprofitable and unnecessary, as the sins of mankind were expiated by the sacrifice of the eucharist.

This question occasioned so much doubt and debate, that many proposed to leave the article concerning the mass undetermined by any particular canon: however, the majority were of a different opinion, and, in the following session, nine articles were read, containing the doctrine of the mass; the sum of which were, that it had been instituted by Christ in the last supper; that it was propitiatory for the living and the dead; that it was offered only to God, though it might sometimes be celebrated in honour of the saints; that the canon of the mass, and the rites and ceremonies appointed by the church for its celebration, were all free from error; that the masses in which the priest alone communicated were common to all the hearers; that, in the chalice, water ought to be mixed with the wine; that the mass ought not to be celebrated in the vulgar tongue, but that its mysteries ought frequently to be explained to the people; to all which articles anathemas were added against the adversaries of that doctrine: however, twenty-two or twenty-three prelates refused their assent to this canon. In the same session a decree was also read, concerning reformation, under eleven articles; by which among other things, full power was given to bishops to inspect the nature of dispensations, whether they were fairly or surreptitiously obtained: and, by another decree, the article about the cup in the eucharist was remitted to the decision of the pope. Several other determinations of this session were likewise universally blamed, as giving too ample power and jurisdiction to the bishops.

Decrees concerning the mass.

The fathers, in the mean time, continued their general congregations, and debated with great acrimony concerning the sacraments of ordination and marriage. Very many, especially of the Spaniards, asserted the divine right of episcopacy, and that the bishops held their power and authority immediately from Jesus Christ, and not from the pope. This declaration alarmed the legates, who at first allowed the debate to proceed freely, while the fathers were disputing concerning the superiority of the order of bishops to that of priests; but now they prohibited them from treating farther on that subject. However, they

Great disputes concerning the divine right of episcopacy.

they ſoon after appointed four divines to anſwer the arguments of the Spaniſh biſhops; the chief of theſe defenders being Lainez, general of the Jeſuits, who declaimed for two hours in a general congregation, and aſſerted, that epiſcopacy was no otherwiſe of divine right than as the whole order of the hierarchy was inherent in the pope. Both parties defending their opinions with great heat and paſſion, the legates, in order to cool their ardor, deferred the general congregations, and even the approaching ſeſſions, till the arrival of the cardinal of Lorrain with the French prelates, who had already entered Italy. The cardinal ſoon after entered Trent, where he was received with great honour, and, on the 23d of November, admitted to an audience in a general congregation, in which he delivered his credentials. Before his arrival, while the congregations were interrupted, the Spaniſh prelates aſſociated themſelves together, and demanded, in a poſitive manner, that epiſcopacy ſhould be declared of divine right. The legates, as the only means to excuſe themſelves, procured twenty prelates of their own party to come to their lodgings, and to demand that no determination might be made of that controverſy; ſo that, to ſatisfy both parties, the queſtion was ſtill left in ſuſpence. At the ſame time they uſed many arts to defeat the intentions of the cardinal of Lorrain and the French prelates, who had publiſhed, on their journey to Trent, that they intended to deſtroy the greatneſs and pride of the pope, and to free the people from the oppreſſions and tyrannies of the court of Rome.

Upon their arrival the number of prelates amounted to two hundred and eighteen; the majority of whom being ſuſpected to be enemies to the papal authority, Pius immediately diſpatched a number of cardinals and biſhops from Italy to the council, to reinforce his party. The apprehenſions of the legates, with regard to the French prelates, ſoon appeared to be juſt, for they eſpouſed, with great warmth, the doctrine of the divine right of epiſcopacy. The cardinal of Lorrain, after exclaiming againſt the corruptions of the clergy, and deſcribing the miſeries of France, ſaid, "We, the eccleſiaſtics, are the cauſe of all theſe ſtorms; we that have departed and fled from the face of God, caſt us into the ſea, and the tempeſt will ceaſe." Another declared, that if the cauſe of the civil diſturbances in France were required, he might anſwer as Jehu did to Joram, when he aſked, "Is it peace, Jehu?

Jehu? How can it be peace, so long as the whoredoms of thy mother Jezebel and her witchcrafts are so many?" As several others asserted that the authority of the pope differed not from that of any other bishop, but that the church, the spouse of Christ, was enslaved and prostituted to the arbitrary pleasure of a single person, the papal party endeavoured to prove, that the government of the church was monarchical, and that the authority of the keys was only committed to Peter and his successors [g].

During these transactions in the council, the pope published several bulls, ordaining reformations in some of his offices, and subjecting sacred places and confraternities to the authority of the ordinaries and parish-priests, and ordering, that all indulgences should, for the future, be given gratis [h]. He likewise received a letter from the emperor, who, after the diet at Frankfort, where his eldest son Maximilian was elected king of the Romans, had retired to Inspruck, to attend the deliberations of the council. Ferdinand declared, that he intended to go personally to Trent, to promote the reformation of the clergy and people, which was very necessary; and he exhorted the pope likewise to repair thither, and to favour the liberty of the prelates, who were principally offended with three things, namely, that all affairs were first deliberated at Rome; A.D. 1563. that the legates alone had the liberty of proposing what was to be debated in the general congregations; and that much time was spent in intrigues for promoting the grandeur of the court of Rome. Pius wrote to the emperor, justifying himself from any sinister views with regard to the council, and soon after sent the cardinal Moron to him as his legate, to dissuade him from proceeding to Trent, and to propose the translation of the council to Bologna, where, at the same time, he would confer upon him the imperial crown. Ferdinand, however, would not hearken to this proposal, but demanded the redress of the complaints he had mentioned in his letter, and besides required, that the council should treat first of those matters presented by his deputies and those of France.

The pope proposes to transfer the council to Bologna.

Mean while the tumults and confusions at Trent still increased. The session, which should have been held in November, was prorogued till the 3d of February; and, in the beginning of the year, the French ambassadors had presented a memorial in the general congregation, pro-

[g] Hist. Concil. Trident. Polan. [h] Spond. Annal.

posing

posing a reformation in thirty-four articles, which greatly alarmed the legates and the papal party, as they tended to retrench the revenue, and alter the rites of the Roman church (Z). The king of France, about the same period, to gain a favourable reception to the articles proposed by his ambassadors, repealed the decree of the convention of Orleans, which had prohibited the payment of annates to the court of Rome[1]. The pope, however, expressed great dissatisfaction upon reading the French memorial, and ordered his nuncios in France to solicit the king to alter several of the articles, which he said were greatly prejudicial to the apostolic see, and tended to pull his authority to pieces. As their remonstrances were ineffectual, Pius ordered his legates at Trent not to allow the memorial to be treated of in the congregations, where violent altercation and disorder still prevailed.

Notwithstanding the opposition of a great many fathers, the session was again prorogued to the 22d of April; and, in the mean time, the disputes concerning the sacraments of ordination and marriage still continued, while the cardinal of Lorrain went to Inspruck to have a conference with the emperor, whom he found greatly solicitous about the affairs of the council; which, on account of many prorogations, it was believed the pope had an intention of dissolving. At the same time Pius recalled his nephew Altaempsius, one of the legates, that he might assist him in raising some troops, as he was informed, that the dukes of Saxony and Wirtemberg, and the landgrave of Hesse, were making new levies, and that the Germans expressed a great desire of again attacking Rome. Hearing likewise of the death of the cardinal of Mantua at Trent, he sent the cardinals Moron and Navagerius thither, to supply his place and that of his nephew.

Soon after being informed that the king of France had consented to a peace with the Calvinists, by which he had

[1] Thuan. lib. xxxv.

(Z) These articles were immediately printed in Latin and French, and are inserted by Thuanus and Natalis Comes in their histories. Polanus has likewise transcribed them; and Goldast has also given them a place among his imperial constitutions or edicts (1).

(1) Thuan. lib. xxxv. Natal. lib. xiv. Polan. lib. vii. Goldast. tom. iii.

granted

granted them the free exercise of their religion, blaming the cardinal Coligni, brother to the admiral, who had renounced his ecclesiastical titles, and assumed that of count of Beauvais, he published a special mandate on the 8th of April, ordering the cardinals inquisitors general to cite all prelates, of what dignity soever, who were suspected of heresy, to appear at Rome; and, in case of their not appearing personally, to proceed against them according to the sentence which he should pronounce in a secret consistory. In consequence of this mandate, the inquisitors general summoned cardinal Coligni, and nine or ten French bishops, to appear within a certain time at Rome; but the French prelates despising the summons, and suffering the time to elapse, on the 22d of October three of them were deposed, and the others suspended, till they should clear themselves from the suspicion of heresy [m].

He deposes several French bishops on suspicion of heresy.

Before the publication of this sentence at Rome, the session being again suspended at Trent, the cardinal of Lorrain, in a general congregation, on the 10th of May, presented a letter from his niece Mary queen of Scotland, by which she declared, that she would submit to the council, and promised that, if she should ever succeed to the crown of England, she would subject both kingdoms to the authority of the Roman see. Four days after he made a long discourse concerning bishops, and the means of preventing abuses in their election, inveighing severely against pluralities, though he himself then possessed church revenues to the amount of one million of livres a year. As in the conclusion he exclaimed against the see of Rome, which he termed the source and original of all the corruptions in the church, the cardinal Moron made a reply, treating him with great severity; on which account the animosities, instead of abating, were inflamed more than before. In the following congregation, which was held on the 21st of May, great disputes arose about precedency betwixt the count de Luna, the Spanish ambassador, and those of France. These last at length consented, that he might sit in a place apart by himself; but the dispute was again renewed at the celebration of mass on the feast of St. Peter; when the French ambassadors, having been informed that the pope had ordered the incense and the peace to be given to them and the count de Luna at the same time, they interrupted the service by

Disputes about precedency betwixt the French and Spanish ambassadors.

[m] Idem ibid. Spond. Annal.

their

their remonſtrances, ſo that the maſs was that day celebrated without giving either the incenſe or the peace. As the legates juſtified themſelves by the orders of the pope, the cardinal of Lorrain next day ſent his ſecretary to Rome to complain of the injury; and one of the French ambaſſadors declared, that, unleſs their juſt precedency was allowed, they would proteſt againſt Pius, who, they could prove, had obtained the pontificate by ſimony, and would appeal to a future pope and a future council, and in the mean time would call a national council in France. As both the French and Poles threatened to withdraw their obedience from the apoſtolic ſee, ſeveral of the prelates prevailed with the count de Luna to inſiſt no farther on precedency, till he ſhould receive new inſtructions from Spain.

This diſpute betwixt the ambaſſadors being in ſome meaſure calmed, the legates began to think of means to moderate the debates betwixt the divines concerning the articles of religion and reformation. The French, by orders from their court, began to abate in their zeal againſt the corruptions of Rome, the queen being deſirous to prevail with the pope to confirm the royal edict for the perpetual alienation of ſome revenues of the Gallican church, to the amount of three hundred thouſand livres, under pretence of diſcharging a debt contracted in defence of the Catholic religion. The cardinal of Lorrain likewiſe wanted to ingratiate himſelf with the papal party, as he was recalled to France, and knew that he was deteſted by the Calviniſts in that kingdom. About the ſame time the emperor, finding that his reſidence at Inſpruck rather retarded than forwarded the proceedings of the council, left that city, after having ordered his ambaſſadors to prevent, as much as poſſible, all diſputes about the authority of the pope, and that nothing might be decreed which would render an accommodation with the Proteſtants more difficult. He likewiſe wrote to Pius, and to the legates of Trent, deſiring them to ſtop all proceedings againſt the queen of England, which would only prove the means of uniting the Proteſtants more firmly in their own defence. The debates ſtill continuing in the congregations, the cardinal of Lorrain moderated, to the utmoſt of his power, the animoſities of both parties, and propoſed that they ſhould only treat of the power of the order of biſhops, and that, in the article of reſidence, all expreſſions might be kept out that would give offence, either to thoſe who reckoned

koned it of human inſtitution or of divine. This propoſal was reliſhed by the legates, who, conſidering that a great part of the fathers were tired with the continual debates, and would agree to canons that were not abſolutely deciſive, they reſolved to draw them up in ſuch terms as would admit of a dubious interpretation.

All matters being at laſt ſettled, the ſeventh ſeſſion under Pius, and the twenty-third ſince the firſt commencement of the council under Paul III. was celebrated on the 15th of July; in which a Spaniſh biſhop declared in his ſermon, that though the faith of the Catholics was the beſt, yet their morals was much inferior to thoſe of the heretics. After the celebration of maſs, and the uſual ceremonies, a decree was read concerning the ſacrament of ordination, conſiſting of four heads, by which they declared, that Chriſt had given the apoſtles, and their ſucceſſors in the prieſthood, a power of conſecrating and offering the viſible ſacrifice, and of remitting of ſins; that the order of the prieſthood is divided into ſeven degrees; that as Scripture and apoſtolic tradition affirm, that ordination confers grace, it is therefore a ſacrament; that as by this ſacrament an indelible character is conferred, their opinion ought to be condemned, who aſſert that prieſts have only a temporary power, and, if they neglect their office, differ not from laymen; that all Chriſtians are not prieſts, but thoſe only who are ordained by the pope, or by authority derived from him. To theſe articles eight anathemas were added, condemning all thoſe who maintained any other doctrine; and then eighteen articles were read concerning reformation, the firſt of which ordained all prelates and curates to reſide with their flocks, prohibiting, under ſevere penalties, an abſence of above three months at a time; however, a proviſo was added, unleſs the benefit and ſervice of the church and ſtate ſhould require it. The other articles regarded the collation and regulation of orders, which ought not to be conferred on debauched perſons, or ſuch as were unworthy of them; and directed the form of the government of ſeminaries where prieſts ſhould be educated, with ſeveral other matters of no great importance.

The decrees of the council are ridiculed by the Proteſtants.

The decrees of this ſeſſion, which had been debated for near ten months, diſappointed the expectations of all Europe. The contradictions that appeared in the canons, and the weak preambles and abſurd concluſions, were every where the ſubject of ridicule, eſpecially to the Proteſtants,

teſtants, who, in their ſermons, took all opportunities of expoſing the proceedings of the council. The legates likewiſe, being ſenſible that the concluſion of the council was greatly deſired by the Catholics, reſolved to haſten the deciſion of all the remaining points. They therefore altered the method of diſputing in the congregations, and propoſed the doctrines of indulgences, invocation of ſaints, images, and purgatory, to be examined at once. Having likewiſe obtained the conſent of the Imperial, French, and Spaniſh ambaſſadors, to treat of the reformation of princes, they propoſed the article concerning marriage; and in the mean time drew up the heads of the reformation of princes, which they communicated to their ambaſſadors, who ſent them to their reſpective courts. This plan of a ſecular reformation was comprehended in thirteen articles in favour of the eccleſiaſtical liberty, which, as they were very extravagant, and tended greatly to the diminution of the prerogative of princes, the emperor declared that he would never ſuffer to be debated. The French ambaſſadors alſo affirmed, that they would proteſt againſt any deciſions of the fathers on theſe points, and would immediately withdraw from Trent with all the French prelates. The fathers of the council, upon theſe remonſtrances, entered into an aſſociation to compel the legates to propoſe the articles concerning reformation of princes; on account of which diſturbances the pope ordered the ſeſſion to be prorogued till the 11th of November, and in the mean time ſent for the cardinal of Lorrain to Rome, to conſult with him about diſſolving the council. During the abſence of the cardinal, one of the biſhops, in a general congregation, held on the 22d of September, having deſired the articles concerning the reformation to be propoſed, one of the French ambaſſadors immediately roſe up, and, after declaiming a long while againſt the corruptions of the Roman court, proteſted againſt the proceedings of the fathers, and a few days after retired to Venice.

The pope cites the queen of Navarre to appear at Rome on account of hereſy.

The prelates at Trent, however, continued their congregations, and drew up ſeveral articles of reformation; and the pope being greatly offended with the behaviour of the French ambaſſadors, who he believed were privately prompted by the queen of Navarre and her party, he cited her to appear within ſixty days at Rome, to clear herſelf from the ſuſpicion of hereſy, and other crimes, of which ſhe was accuſed. The cardinal of Lorrain, who had entered

tered into a great intimacy with the pope, remonſtrated but faintly againſt this citation; but the French ambaſſador at Rome exerting himſelf in behalf of the queen, a ſtop was put to all judicial proceedings againſt her, only the pope refuſed to abſolve her from the ſentence of excommunication, which gave her no manner of uneaſineſs. The cardinal of Lorrain having returned to Trent, the eighth ſeſſion was celebrated on the 11th of November, at which one of the legates refuſed to be preſent, as he could not give his conſent to the nullity of clandeſtine marriages, and affirmed that the church had no authority to diſſolve them. The decree, declaring marriage a divine inſtitution, indiſſoluble, and one of the ſacraments of the Goſpel, was unanimouſly confirmed; but the cardinals Moron and Simoneta, and fifty-ſix fathers, diſſented from that article, by which the church was declared to have a power of diſſolving clandeſtine marriages. Twenty-one heads of a general reformation were then read, tending chiefly to eſtabliſh the pope's authority over the clergy; plurality of benefices was condemned, grants of reſervation were aboliſhed, and the right to benefices acquired by ſimony was declared null and void.

All nations now, except the Spaniards, earneſtly deſired a concluſion of the council. They, however, at length conſented, on condition that the pope ſhould regulate the matters which ſhould be left undecided by the council, and that, in the decree concerning indulgences, they ſhould not be ordered to be given gratis, which would injure the cruſade in Spain. As news arrived at Trent that the pope was dangerouſly ill, the points concerning purgatory, the invocation and relics of ſaints, images, and indulgences, were hurried over ſuperficially, and publiſhed in the ninth ſeſſion on the 3d and 4th of December; in which likewiſe twenty-two heads of reformation were read concerning regulars and nuns; after which twenty-one articles were publiſhed concerning a general reformation. The fathers alſo concluded the decree for the reformation of princes, under a general exhortation to them to protect the eccleſiaſtical liberty, and declared that the pope had full authority to diſpenſe with any of the canons made by the council. On the ſecond day of the ſeſſion a decree was read concerning indulgences and faſts; but as the index of books, the catechiſm, the breviary, and the miſſal, were not yet finiſhed, it was determined to ſubmit what was already written to the judgment and authority of the pope.

The council of Trent is dissolved.

All the decrees of the sessions under Paul and Julius being then read, the council was solemnly dissolved, the fathers desiring the legates to ask the confirmation of the pope to their proceedings; three prelates, however, declaring that there was no need for that confirmation. The day after the fathers subscribed the decrees; namely, four legates, two other cardinals, three patriarchs, twenty-five archbishops, one hundred and sixty-eight bishops, seven abbots, thirty-nine proxies, and seven generals of orders, in all two hundred and fifty-five, very few of whom were from Hungary and Poland, none from Sweden, Denmark, Scotland, England, or the Low Countries, not one from Germany in the last session, and not above forty from Spain and France; but there were more than one hundred and fifty from Italy, on which account the council was called the assembly of the pope and his Italians.

SECT.

SECT. XVIII.

Containing the Transactions of Sixtus V. and the Absolution of Henry IV. of France.

A Few months before the conclusion of the council, the pope received an embassy from Maximilian, king of the Romans, informing him of his election, and offering, not obedience, but devotion and reverence, to the pope and the apostolic see. Pius refused for a long time to give the ambassador an audience; but, after several messages betwixt Rome and Germany, finding Maximilian inflexible, he admitted his ambassador to a public consistory; in which, though he still adhered to his instructions, the cardinals nevertheless gave the usual answer, that his holiness received the obedience of the king, and confirmed his election [a]. Soon after he had given audience to this ambassador, he was informed of the dissolution of the council, at which he expressed great joy, promoting nineteen of those who had served him at Trent to the dignity of cardinals; and though he received several petitions from the ministers of his court, complaining that their offices were abolished by the decrees of the council, and asking an equivalent for the money with which they had purchased them, he nevertheless, without regarding these petitions, published a bull on the 24th of January, confirming all the decrees of the council, and ordering them to be observed by all the faithful. By several other bulls, he ordered the bishops to reside in their dioceses, under pain of forfeiting their revenues to the apostolic chamber; he prohibited any from reading the books contained in the Index Expurgatorius; and enjoined all those who possessed any ecclesiastical dignity or benefice, and those who studied any of the liberal arts, to swear to a form of the confession of the Catholic faith [b].

Maximilian, king of the Romans, refuses to yield obedience to the apostolic see.

A.D. 1564.

Though the council of Trent was received without much difficulty at Rome and in Italy, yet many objections were raised against its decrees in Germany, France, Spain, and Poland. Several treatises were published against it by the Protestants. About the middle of February the

Objections are made to the proceedings of the council of Trent.

[a] Onuphr. in Vit. Pii IV. [b] Spond. Annal.

emperor wrote to the pope, deſiring, in his own name, and in the name of his ſon-in-law the duke of Bavaria, that the communion might be granted to the Catholics in their dominions under both kinds, and that the clergy might be allowed to marry [c] (A). Philip II. king of Spain publiſhed the decrees of the council in his dominions, without regarding the authority of the pope; but in France its decrees concerning reformation were generally condemned, as derogatory to the liberties of the Gallican church; on which account the pope, being apprehenſive that the young king Charles intended to renounce the communion of the Roman church, prevailed with the emperor, the king of the Romans, the king of Spain, and the duke of Savoy, to ſolicit him conjunctly to acknowlege the council, to revoke the privileges and pardon granted to the Hugonots, and to abſtain from any alienation of the eccleſiaſtical revenues. In the mean time he decided the diſpute betwixt the French and Spaniards concerning precedency in favour of the French; and being informed that the great numbers of Greek refugees in Naples and Sicily, who for many years had enjoyed the free exerciſe of their own religion, began to deviate from their ancient faith, and to infect thoſe of the Latin church with heretical opinions, he revoked all their privileges, and ſubjected them to the ordinances of the Roman church [d]. About the ſame time he was alarmed with the diſcovery of a conſpiracy againſt himſelf; ſeveral enthuſiaſts, under pretence of a revelation from heaven, having formed a deſign to murder him, in order to facilitate a general reformation, which they ſaid would be accompliſhed by his ſucceſſor, who was to convert the whole world to Chriſtianity. The conſpirators, being apprehended, were all put to death by torture [e]. Soon after the diſcovery of this plot, Pius received a letter from the emperor Maximilian, who, in the month of

A.D. 1565.

[c] Goldaſt. Conſt. Imper. tom. ii. [d] Spond. Annal. Onuphr. ut ſup. Natal. lib. xiv. Thuan. lib. xxxvi.

(A) The Catholics in Germany and Poland at this time expreſſed ſo great a deſire of communicating under both kinds, that they publiſhed a great many ſatirical verſes againſt their prieſts, whom they called the thieves of the cup; and they wrote thoſe words of our Saviour, "Drink ye all of it," in gold letters, upon their books, doors, and cups (1).

(1) Reſcius Polon. de Sect. Evangel. Verb. Calixt.

July,

July, had succeeded his father Ferdinand, intreating him to allow the marriage of priests: though the emperor likewise sent a memorial, justifying the necessity of his request, he could nevertheless obtain nothing from the pope, who thought he condescended sufficiently in permitting the laity to communicate under both kinds. While the cardinals were considering the memorial of the emperor, Pius, being informed that the Turks had invaded the island of Malta with a fleet and army consisting of eighty thousand men, published a jubilee for imploring the mercy of God, ordered money, gun-powder, and troops, to be sent to the assistance of the besieged; who likewise receiving some succours from Sicily and Spain, obliged the infidels to raise the siege, after it had lasted four months. Pius did not long survive the news of the defeat of the Turks; but, on the 10th of December, died of a surfeit, in the sixty-seventh year of his age, and the sixth of his pontificate. He adorned the city of Rome with several magnificent buildings, and repaired some ancient monuments and aqueducts; to supply the expences of which works he oppressed his subjects with severe taxes [f].

Pius dies at Rome.

Upon the death of Pius, the cardinal of Alexandria was unanimous elected pope, on the 8th of January, by the interest of the two leading cardinals Farnese and Borromeo, which last advised him to assume the name of Pius V. (B). As he had been a great favourite with Paul IV. and had acted with severity as inquisitor, his election was not very agreeable to the Romans; however, as his severity was not mixed with pride, ambition, and

A.D. 1566.

Pius V. is elected pope.

[f] Onuph. ut sup.

(B) Pius V. who, before his promotion, was called Anthony or Michael Ghisler, was born of mean parents at Boschi, a town near Alexandria della Paglia. He was received into the order of Dominicans or Jacobins at fourteen years of age; and having distinguished himself by his regular life and eloquent preaching, he was recommended by cardinal Caraffa to Julius III. who appointed him commissary of the inquisition. Upon the promotion of Caraffa to the papal chair, he was created at first bishop of Nepi and Sutri, and afterwards cardinal and supreme inquisitor; which last office no other cardinal ever enjoyed, the popes reserving it ever afterwards to themselves (1).

(1) Papyr. Masson. in Vit. Pii V. Spond. Annal.

worldly considerations, their apprehensions of his tyranny soon abated. Upon his promotion he ordered his relations to retire from Rome; but, at the intreaties of his friends, he created Michael Bonello, one of his nephews, a cardinal. Being earnest to promote a reformation, he published several regulations concerning the clergy and the officers of his court, he abolished some public diversions, and banished the greatest part of the courtesans from Rome, prohibiting the rest from appearing abroad except in a certain corner of the city. In remembrance of the favours conferred on him by Paul IV. he revived the cause of his nephews, whom he restored to their honours and estates; he prohibited physicians from attending the sick after the third day, unless their patients should confess their sins to the priests; and he ordered search to be made after all those who were suspected of heresy in Italy, that they might be brought to Rome and punished [g].

He publishes several decrees for promoting a reformation.

Hearing that the emperor had convoked a diet at Augsburg, he ordered cardinal Commendon, who was returning from his legation in Poland, to act as his legate at that assembly; and as Maximilian had appeared to favour the Lutherans, by being present at their sermons, he charged Commendon to threaten him with deposition if he allowed any point of religion to be treated of in the diet. The legate, however, having more prudence than the pope, concealed these instructions, which indeed he had no occasion to produce; for the grand signor making great preparations to invade Hungary, and besiege Vienna, the attention of the diet was chiefly engaged in providing for the defence of the empire against the infidels. Commendon was so successful as to prevail with the Catholics to accept of the decrees of the council of Trent, and at the conclusion of the diet presented the emperor with fifty thousand crowns as a subsidy from the pope against the Turks [h]. Pius about the same time hearing of the violent proceedings of the Calvinists in Scotland, some of whom had murdered David Rizio in the queen's presence, he wrote to the popish princes to send her assistance, ordered a nuncio to repair to Scotland to reside in that kingdom, and besides granted her a subsidy of twenty thousand crowns [i]. He likewise granted his benediction to certain small images, which were then begun to be worn by the Catholics in the Low Countries, to dis-

He gives subsidy to the queen of Scotland.

[g] Adrian. lib. xix. [h] Struv. Period. [i] Spond. Annal.

tinguish

tinguish them from the Protestants, bestowing indulgences upon those who wore them and recited certain prayers [k].

The king of Spain had sent the duke of Alva into Flan- A.D.1568.
ders with an army of ten thousand men, who imprisoned several chiefs of the late tumults. He afterwards put the counts of Egmont and Horn, with many other nobles, to death at Brussels, executed and banished great numbers of the people, and obliged the prince of Orange to withdraw with his army into Germany. The pope ordered supplications to be performed at Rome, on account of his success against the heretics, and soon after sent him a consecrated cap and sword [l]. The pope likewise sent an army of four thousand five hundred foot and nine hundred horse into France, to assist king Charles against the Hugonots, giving him leave at the same time to alienate the church lands to the amount of fifty thousand, or, according to some, a hundred and fifty thousand crowns of yearly value. In the mean time, being informed that the emperor intended to grant the free exercise of the Protestant religion to the nobles and people in Austria, Pius again sent cardinal Commendon as his legate, to prevent any such concession, and to threaten the emperor with deposition, if he should do so great an injury to the Catholic religion. Before the arrival of Commendon, the permission had been granted by the emperor, who justified his conduct to the legate; but soon after, upon the remonstrances of the Spanish ambassador, promised to revoke his grant, being desirous to live in good terms with Spain, the succession of which kingdom he hoped would fall to him or his children, as his cousin Philip had no issue [m].

He sends troops to France against the Hugonots.

Elizabeth, queen of England, being at variance with A.D.1569.
Philip, Pius seized that opportunity of endeavouring to dethrone her, and restore the Catholic religion in England. He sent over several emissaries to that kingdom, who formed a conspiracy against the queen, and excited the papists to raise a rebellion; which, however, was quickly quelled. In the mean time the French ambassador informed him of a considerable victory gained over the Hugonots, and presented him with twelve of their standards which had been taken in the action, which the pope received with great ceremony, and placed over the

Excites a rebellion against queen Elizabeth of England.

[k] Gabut. in Vit. Pii, lib. vi. cap. 2. [l] Spond. Annal.
[m] Londorp. Sleidan. Contin. ad an. 1568.

A.D. 1570. gate of St. Peter's[n]. At the same time a difference happening betwixt him and the duke of Ferrara about the freedom of navigation upon the Po, and the duties on salt, he favoured that prince's rival the duke of Florence, who at his desire had sent a thousand foot and two hundred horse into France, and at his request created him and his successors Great-dukes of Tuscany, notwithstanding the opposition of the Imperial and Spanish ambassadors, who protested that such a title was derogatory to the rights of their masters in that province[o]. Finding that his plots against the queen of England had been unsuccessful, he resolved to pull off the mask, and in the end of February published a bull against her, in which he declared her excommunicated and deposed from her throne, threatening with excommunication likewise all those who obeyed her laws and orders.

He confers the title of grand-duke of Tuscany on Cosmo de Medicis.

As the Turks at this time had fitted out a formidable fleet to seize the island of Cyprus, then in possession of the Venetians, this armament engaged his attention, and prevented him from pursuing his designs against Elizabeth. He promised the Venetians all the assistance in his power, and by his legates and nuncios not only pressed the emperor, and the kings of Spain, Portugal, Poland, and France, but also the sophi of Persia, to engage in a league against the Turks. The kings of France, Poland, and Portugal, excused themselves from engaging in the war, as did also the sophi of Persia and the emperor, which last pleaded in his excuse, that he had lately concluded a truce with the grand signor. The king of Spain did not seem averse to the league, and, at the intreaty of the nuncio, sent fifty gallies to join the Venetian fleet, while the treaty was negociating. Pius at the same time fitted out twelve gallies at Ancona, the command of which he gave to Antonio Colonna, who, about the month of August, joined Zanius and Doria, the Venetian and Spanish admirals, at Crete. The Turks, however, before the junction of the allied fleet, had landed

Proposes a league against the Turks.

A.D. 1571. their forces on Cyprus, and besieged the capital city of the island, Nicosia, which they took by storm after a siege of forty-five days. Doria returned to Spain, Zanius to Corcyra, and Colonna, bringing back only three gallies to Ancona, went from thence by land, to Rome, where he was received with great honours by the pope, who, during this unsuccessful expedition, had sent a

[n] Caten. in Vit. Pii V. [o] Idem ibid.

com-

commander with ſome forces to Avignon, to defend that city againſt the French Hugonots [p].

The ſucceſs of the Turks in Cyprus rendered the pope more urgent to conclude the league; accordingly, at his preſſing intreaties, the king of Spain ſent deputies to Rome; where, on the 16th of May, an alliance was concluded betwixt Philip, the pope, and the Venetians, by which they engaged to fit out yearly againſt the Turks a fleet of two hundred gallies and a hundred ſhips of burden, on board of which ſhould be an army of fifty thouſand foot and four thouſand five hundred horſe, to aſſemble every year in March or April at Otranto: the pope engaging to bear one-ſixth of the whole expence, and to furniſh twelve gallies, three thouſand foot, and two hundred and ſeventy horſe. The chief command was conferred on Don John of Auſtria, the king of Spain's natural brother, and Mark Antonio Colonna was appointed his lieutenant. An honourable place was reſerved in the treaty for the emperor, and the kings of France and Portugal, who were all three again ſolicited by the pope, but nevertheleſs ſtill declined engaging in the alliance [q]. To enable the king of Spain and the Venetians to bear their part of the expence, Pius confirmed the grant of his predeceſſor to Philip, for raiſing ſuch a tax upon the eccleſiaſtical revenues as ſhould ſupport a hundred gallies for the defence of the Spaniſh coaſt againſt the infidels, and he allowed the Venetians to raiſe a hundred thouſand crowns within five years from the eccleſiaſtics within their dominions.

During theſe tranſactions, the Venetian republic had made private overtures of peace to the grand vizir at Conſtantinople, againſt whoſe advice the war had been commenced. However, their preliminaries were rejected, and the Turks, having prepared a new armament againſt Cyprus, in the month of April landed a great many troops and military ſtores at Famaguſta, the only city of any conſequence in the iſland, which had been inveſted the year before. After a moſt vigorous defence, the city was at length obliged to ſurrender, the allied fleet, upon account of the delay of the Spaniards, not being able to give it any aſſiſtance. Don John at laſt arriving with the Spaniſh fleet at Meſſina on the 21ſt of Auguſt, *The Turks conquer Cyprus.*

[p] Nat. Comes. Thuan. Coutar. Comment. de Bell. Cypr. Caten. & Gabut. in Vit. Pii V. [q] Ext. integr. ap. Caten. & Gabut. in Vit. Pii V. Nat. lib. xxii. Mauroc. lib. x.

It

it was resolved to engage the infidels. The whole fleet having received plenary indulgences from the pope, and each ship being provided with priests, who animated the men to engage, they sailed in quest of the enemy with two hundred and nine gallies, twelve of which belonged to the pope, eighty-one to the king of Spain, one hundred and eight to the Venetians, two to the duke of Savoy, three to the Genoese, and three to the knights of Malta. There were besides six large galleasses, twenty-four ships of burden, and about seventy smaller vessels, which armament all together was considerably superior to that of the Turks. On the fifth of October the two fleets came to a general engagement in the gulph of Lepanto, when, after a fight of four hours, the Turks were totally defeated, a hundred and fifty of their gallies being taken, and many others burnt and sunk. Twenty-five thousand of their men, with several of their generals, were killed, three thousand five hundred were taken prisoners, and fifteen thousand Christians, who were slaves on board the Turkish fleet, recovered their liberty, the allies having lost only seven thousand six hundred men, the greatest part of whom were Venetians.

Their fleet is entirely defeated by that of the Christians.

Upon the news of this memorable victory, the pope immediately ordered public thanksgivings to be celebrated, and appointed the day of action to be commemorated annually by a divine service in honour of the Virgin Mary, and mass to be said on the octave of that feast for the souls of those Christians who were killed in the engagement[r]. Antonio Colonna, upon his return, entered Rome in triumph, where he was received with great pomp and ceremony by the pope, who again solicited the emperor, and the kings of France and Portugal, to enter into the alliance, and wrote to the kings of Ethiopia and Persia, exhorting them to attack the Turks. His intreaties, however, had no effect on the Christian princes, neither did the king of Persia think it safe to venture a rupture with the Turks; alleging, that it was of no consequence to have taken a few skiffs, while the woods were left, from whence the enemy might build more. The pope, not discouraged by the backwardness of others, made great preparations against the infidels, and, in the beginning of the following year, settled some disputes with his allies, and made some alterations in the league; but in the month of March, being seized with a suppres-

A.D. 1572.

[r] Idem ibid.

sion

sion of urine, he languished for some weeks, and died on the 1st of May, in the 68th year of his age. He was lamented by the Romans; but his death gave great joy to the Turks, who, upon receiving the news of it, made public rejoicings for three days[s]. He founded several public schools and colleges, built some churches and religious houses, was careful to promote learned and virtuous men to dignities, and distinguished himself by his bounty to the poor, and by the great strictness and purity of his life; on which account he was afterwards canonized by Urban VIII[t]. *Pius dies at Rome.*

Pius, before his death, having recommended to the cardinals to chuse a successor as soon as possible, they entered the conclave on the 11th of May, to the number of fifty-two, and next day unanimously chose Hugh Buoncompagno, cardinal of St. Sixtus, who assumed the name of Gregory XIII. and was crowned a few days after on the feast of Whitsuntide (C). Being desirous to prosecute the war against the Turks, Gregory, immediately after his election, had several conferences with the Spanish and Venetian ambassadors about continuing the league, and sent several nuncios to the Christian princes, to exhort them to enter into a general alliance against the infidels. He likewise sent a nuncio to John of Austria at Messina, urging him to proceed with the united fleet to the island of Corcyra; but the Spanish admiral, in consequence of orders from Philip, refusing to quit Sicily, the papal and Venetian admirals sailed to Corcyra about the middle of July to oppose the Turks, who again appeared at sea with a fleet of two hundred sail, and attacked several of the maritime places belonging to the *Gregory XIII. is elected.* *He prosecutes the war against the Turks.*

[s] Caten. & Gabut. in Vit. Pii V. [t] Spond. Annal.

(C) Gregory XIII. was born at Bologna in 1502, of reputable parents. Having spent several years in the study of the civil law, he received the degree of doctor at twenty-eight years of age, after which he taught that science in his native city eight years; and then, repairing to Rome, he quickly obtained some preferments in that capital. On account of his skill in the law Paul III. sent him to the council of Trent; Paul IV. created him bishop of Veste; and having, under Pius IV. assisted at the general council of Trent a second time, he was by that pope created a cardinal and legate in Spain (1).

(1) Spond. Annal.

Christians.

Christians. The king of Spain pretended to be apprehensive of an invasion from France; but his apprehensions being soon after removed, he sent orders to Don John to act in concert with the allies; but, before his arrival, much time was spent, and, after he joined their fleet, no plan of conduct was unanimously agreed to; so that the whole season elapsed without any remarkable action, and the fleets separated in the beginning of October.

He expresses his joy for the massacre of the Protestants in Paris.

The pope, having been informed of the massacre of the Protestants at Paris, on the eve of St. Bartholomew, gave public thanks at Rome for the preservation of the king from their conspiracy, as Charles IX. in excuse for his barbarity, alleged, that the admiral Coligni, with several other Hugonots, had formed a design of murdering him, and all the Catholic princes of the royal family. Though the truth of this excuse was universally questioned, yet A.D. 1573. the pope published a jubilee over all Christendom, in consideration of the great blow given to the heretics, and likewise on account of the success of the duke of Alva in the Netherlands, and the signal victory gained the year before over the Turks; and he walked in procession on foot to the church of St. Lewis at Rome, where divine service was performed with great pomp by the cardinal of Lorrain. He likewise made great preparations against the infidels for the ensuing season; but, in the beginning of the following year, he was greatly alarmed with the news, that the Venetians, by the mediation of the French ambassador at Constantinople, had concluded a separate peace with the Turks. He refused audience to the Venetian envoy, who came to Rome to excuse the conduct of the republic; afterwards, however, being convinced by one of the senators who arrived at Rome, that the Venetians had been compelled by necessity to sue for peace, he declared himself satisfied with their conduct.

The Venetians conclude a separate peace with the Turks.

A.D. 1574. In the mean time Henry de Valois, brother to the king of France, having been elected king of Poland, his holiness sent a nuncio to Paris, to congratulate him upon his election, and to present him with a golden rose. He sent also another nuncio to Poland; who, upon the king's arrival there the following year, prevented him from confirming to the Protestants what had been promised to them in his name. The Protestants in that kingdom, however, were soon after freed from their apprehensions from Henry; who, succeeding to the crown of France by the death of his brother, left Poland in a few months.

Gregory

Gregory in the mean time published a bull on Ascension-day, and another on the fourth Sunday of Advent, appointing a jubilee to be celebrated the following year at Rome; which festival accordingly commenced on Christmas-eve, when the pope, with his golden mallet, opened the holy gate of the Vatican church, where there were said to be no less than three hundred thousand pilgrims waiting for the ceremony. During the whole holy year there were always upwards of a hundred thousand foreigners at Rome; which, by the care of the pope, abounded with all sorts of provisions. A.D. 1575. *A jubilee celebrated at Rome.*

During the celebration of this festival at Rome, the pope interested himself for the safety of Genoa, which state was threatened with ruin, both from a foreign enemy, and from its own intestine divisions. As the ancient nobility in that republic had, for several years, opposed the election of the new nobles and the commons to the offices of the state, these two last parties, after long disputes, had recourse to arms, to deliver themselves from oppression, and to assert their privileges; which contention encouraged Don John of Austria to form a design of invading the republic. Gregory ordered Don John to lay aside his enterprize; and prevailing on the Genoese to accept of his mediation, together with that of the emperor and the king of Spain, after several months negociations the differences were composed in an amicable manner, and all the three parties were declared to have an equal right to enjoy any office in the administration of the republic[t]. A.D. 1576. *He composes the dissensions in Genoa.*

While the arbitrators were negociating this accommodation, which was concluded in the month of March, a great plague desolated the northern parts of Italy; particularly the cities of Trent, Verona, Venice, and Milan; in which last city cardinal Borromeo distinguished himself by his humanity and charity, as he continually spent his time in visiting the infected, and disposed of all the furniture of his palace, even to his own bed, to support the wants of the poor. The pope, at the request of the French king, and to defray the expences of the wars against the Hugonots, granted a bull for the alienation of the church-lands in France, to the amount of fifty thousand crowns of yearly revenue; and as the emperor Maximilian, who who had been elected king of Poland by a party in that kingdom, died in the month of October, he received the

[t] Natal. Com. lib. xxv, xxvi, xxvii. Ubert. Foliet. Comment.

obedience,

obedience, and confirmed the election, of Stephen Batori, the other competitor for that crown.

In the following year, he erected a college at Rome for the education of the children of Greeks in the sciences, and in divinity; and likewise founded another for the new converts from Judaism. He confirmed an archbishop and bishop, sent by the patriarch of the Maronites to Rome; and, upon their return, sent with them two Jesuits to Mount Libanus, to instruct the Christians in
A.D. 1578. those parts in the doctrines of the Roman church. Being intreated by the States of Flanders to act as mediator betwixt them and the king of Spain, he immediately sent a nuncio to be present at the congress, which was held the following year at Cologne. He likewise ordered his nuncio in Portugal to accompany king Sebastian in his expedition to Africa, where that unfortunate prince, with the nuncio, and a great part of his army, were cut off by the Moors. Next year, Gregory confirmed the new order of knights of the Holy Ghost, established by the king of France; but refused to allow any of the church-lands to be alienated for their support. He ordered a treatise of Scholarius, against the errors of the Greeks, to be printed, and sent into Greece; he restored the order of the monks of St. Basil; sent several Franciscan missionaries to the East Indies; and granted assistance to the king of Ceylon, who had been expelled his kingdom for having embraced the Christian religion[a]. Mean while his nuncio, with the deputies from the emperor, the king of Spain, and the States of Flanders, assembled at Cologne, to deliberate upon measures for quieting the disturbances in the Low Countries. After long disputes, the Imperial deputies proposed a plan of pacification; but it was almost universally rejected by the deputies of the States, who began to think of imploring the
A.D. 1580. protection of some neighbouring prince. Gregory at the same time, at the solicitation of the English refugees, founded an English college at Rome; and, as he had formerly erected one at Rheims, in France, for the instruction of the exiles from England, who resided in that kingdom, he published a writing, by which he exhorted all the faithful to assist the English refugees to the utmost of their power. He likewise prevailed upon Philip, king of Spain, to send assistance to the popish rebels in Ireland, who had deceived him by giving him

His mediation is desired betwixt the king of Spain and the Flemings.

He founds an English college at Rome.

[a] Spond. Annal.

a false

a falſe account of their forces, which they repreſented as very formidable; whereas they, with the Spaniſh auxiliaries, were eaſily defeated by the Engliſh troops.

Cardinal Henry, who had ſucceeded his nephew Sebaſtian on the throne of Portugal, dying, and the royal line becoming extinct in that kingdom, many competitors appeared, who claimed the ſucceſſion, among whom was Philip king of Spain, who, in order to make good his pretenſions, fitted out a formidable fleet, and ſent the duke of Alva into Portugal, with an army of thirty thouſand men. Though Philip's claim was acknowleged to be juſt, yet the greateſt part of the Portugueſe, from their hatred of the Caſtilians, refuſed to receive him as their ſovereign; but they implored the protection of the pope, who ſent cardinal Riario, as his nuncio, to Portugal, to act as mediator between the two parties, and to perſuade Philip to lay down his arms. The king of Spain, however, rejected the mediation of the nuncio; and having defeated his rival Don Antonio, who had been crowned by the oppoſite faction, took poſſeſſion of Liſbon, where he was acknowleged as king of Portugal, and received the homage of the nobles.

Intereſts himſelf in the ſucceſſion to the crown of Portugal.

Gregory having received an embaſſy from the great duke of Muſcovy, deſiring his mediation betwixt him and the king of Poland, ſent Antonio Poſſevini, a Jeſuit, as his nuncio, to Ruſſia, who concluded a peace betwixt the two princes in the month of December; after which he ſolicited the Ruſſian duke to acknowlege the authority of the Roman ſee, and in three public diſputes impugned the rites and ceremonies of the Greek church. Though his arguments in behalf of the church of Rome had no influence on the Ruſſians, yet the duke, at his requeſt, ſent a ſecond ambaſſador to Rome to return thanks to the pope, who in the mean time had received a complaint and appeal from the grand-maſter of Malta, who had been depoſed and impriſoned by the knights of that order. Gregory greatly reſented this inſolence of the knights, and immediately ſent a legate to Malta, who took the grand-maſter out of priſon, and ſent him, with thoſe who had been chiefly concerned in the outrage, to Rome; where he was received with great honours, while his accuſers were treated with ſcorn and contempt[w].

A.D. 1581.

He mediates a peace betwixt Muſcovy and Poland.

[w] Spond. Annal.

Gregory

A.D.1582. Gregory having received a treatise from one Antonio Lilly, for the reformation of the calendar, which was then very erroneous, sent copies of the book to be examined by the celebrated universities of Europe; and having received their approbation of the plan, he sent for the most eminent mathematicians from all parts to Rome, by whose advice he composed a new cycle of epochs for the perpetual regulation of Easter. By this reformation of the calendar, he threw out ten days from the common reckoning of time, and brought down the vernal equinox to the same day of the month on which it was at the time of the council of Nice, and appointed the usual bissextiles to be observed, excepting only in the first year of a century; of which years he ordered every fourth only to be accounted bissextile. This regulation, was generally approved; however, it was not universally received in Europe. The Greeks, and the Protestants in Germany, Britain, Sweden, and Denmark, rejected it, that they might not seem in any thing to acknowlege the authority of the pope; however, it was admitted without opposition in Italy, Spain, France, and Poland; but though some Protestants in Germany wrote in its defence, yet the princes and deputies of that profession, in the diet of Augsburgh, opposed its reception, so that the emperor was obliged to defer the farther consideration of that affair, and to order the imperial chamber to observe the old calendar [x].

Orders a reformation of the calendar;

which is rejected by the Greeks and Protestants.

The pope was not surprised at the opposition of the Protestants to the new regulation of the year; but he was greatly alarmed to hear, that the electoral archbishop of Cologne had embraced the Protestant religion, and taken a wife. As the chapter had sent complaints of his apostasy to Rome, the pope wrote to him, exhorting him to renounce his error before it should be too late.

A.D.1583. But the archbishop paying no regard to this exhortation, and endeavouring to retain the possession of his electorate by force of arms, Gregory, on the 1st of April, published a sentence of excommunication and deposition against him; and, ordering the chapter of Cologne to proceed to the election of a successor, the canons accordingly, on the 23d of May, chose Ernest, duke of Bavaria, at that time bishop of Frisingen, Hildesheim, and Liege.

[x] Idem ibid. Thuan. lib. lxxix. Merc. Gallo Belg. tom. iii. lib. i. p. 201. Lehman. lib. ii. cap. 44.

One

One Parr, an English Catholic, then in France, having informed the pope, that he intended to go over to England to do some signal service to the Roman church, Gregory granted him his benediction, and wrote to him by the cardinal of Como, exhorting him to persevere in his design. As Parr, next year, was detected in a conspiracy against the queen's life, the pope was accused of having encouraged him in his design of assassination, though all the writings from Rome were only expressed in general terms[y]. Italy and Rome in particular, was at this time distressed with a severe famine, owing chiefly to the avarice and rapacity of the pope's relations, who, instead of distributing the corn in the magazines to the people, sold it in the country at an extravagant price. They likewise bought up all that was in private hands; and prohibiting others to sell corn, harassed the poor people by the most violent extortion. A.D. 1584.

He is suspected of having encouraged the assassination of queen Elizabeth.

This general distress greatly increased the number of the banditti, who were before very numerous, all over the ecclesiastical state, and some of them even had the confidence to enter Rome, presuming upon the lenity, or rather the weakness of the pope. Gregory at last resolved to exert himself against them, and gave orders to the provost-marshal of Rome, to make diligent search after those who were lurking in the city. This officer being informed, that one of the chiefs of the robbers had taken sanctuary in the palace of Orsini, went with the archers, and brought him from thence; but, in his return, meeting with Orsini, Savello, and Rusticucci, three nobles, who had been riding in the country, he was desired by them, in an imperious manner, to dismiss his prisoner, and reproved for violating the sanctuary of the palace. As he refused to comply with their demands, one of the nobles struck him with his whip; which blow he resented, by ordering the archers to fire at the nobles, one of whom was instantly killed, and the other two mortally wounded. This scuffle occasioned a general tumult through the city, all the nobles espousing the cause of Orsini; and many of the people, who were their dependents, assembling in a riotous manner, and murdering all the sbirri, or archers, whom they could find. Gregory, not being able to suppress their vio-

[y] Camd. in Eliz. Thuan. lib. lxxix.

lence, dissembled his resentment for some days; but, having apprehended some of the chiefs of the sedition, he ordered them to be executed; and, to calm and appease the people, he caused the provost-marshal to be put to death [z].

To take off the attention of the city from the late disorder, he soon after made a promotion of nineteen cardinals, the greatest part of whom were distinguished for their virtues and abilities. About the same time he founded a college at Rome for the Maronites of Mount Libanus; and, being desirous to form a new alliance against the Turks, he sent a legate to the king of Persia, and another to the king of Ethiopia, to exhort them to declare war against the grand signor [a]. He likewise published a bull, ordaining a sermon to be preached weekly to the Jews, in all places where they had a synagogue; and ordered at least the third part of them, above twelve years of age, to attend, if no lawful impediment prevented them [b]. Soon after he was earnestly solicited by the duke of Guise, and those Catholics in France who had formed the holy league, to excommunicate the king of Navarre and the prince of Condé; but he refused to grant their request, being persuaded, that the league was chiefly formed, not to defend the Catholic religion, but to advance the duke of Guise to the throne.

He endeavours to form an alliance against the Turks.

A.D. 1585.

Mean while he received an embassy from three kings in Japan, who some years before had been converted to the Christian religion by Francis Xavier and other Jesuits. The two ambassadors, with their retinue, and other two nobles that accompanied them, after a voyage of two years, arrived in Spain; where they were received with great respect by Philip, who conducted them to Leghorn, from whence they went to Florence, where they were entertained with great magnificence by the grand duke. Upon their arrival at Rome, Gregory desired all the cardinals and foreign ambassadors to wait upon him in form, and granted them an audience, and received their obedience, in a public consistory, when he could not refrain from shedding tears of joy [c]. After the audience he admitted them to the honour of

He receives an embassy from Japan.

[z] Thuan. lib. lxxxii.
[b] Spond. Annal.
[a] Annal. Greg. apud. Victor.
[c] Apud. Victor. in Addit. ad. Ciacon.

lifting

lifting up the hem of his garment, appointed the Jeſuits' convent for their reſidence, ordered them to be clothed after the Italian manner, and granted them a large allowance for their expences (D). A fews days after this event, being ſeized with a quinzy, he died on the tenth of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age. He had enjoyed a very ſtrong conſtitution, improved by temperance and exerciſe; his countenance was chearful and pleaſing, and he was greatly beloved by the Romans on account of the lenity of his government, for they did not conſider that the weakneſs of his adminiſtration gave encouragement to all manner of vices and irregularities. The greateſt crimes were committed during his pontificate with impunity, and a general corruption of manners overſpread the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate; however, upon his death, the diſorders increaſed during the vacancy of the ſee, at which time the Romans generally commit great tumults and riots, as the laws are then ſilent through all the papal territories, and the new pope always begins his government with a general pardon to all criminals. All manner of reſtraint was now thrown off: the whole eccleſiaſtical ſtate was one ſcene of debauchery and barbarity; and, at Rome, aſſaſſinations, murders, and rapes, were committed by all degrees of people, clergy as well as laity. The palaces of five cardinals were robbed; and that of Farneſe, where there were above thirty ſervants and guards, was plundered, not ſecretly, or in a private manner, but publicly, and in the middle of the day.

He dies at Rome.

(D) Many people affirmed, that the embaſſy was an impoſition of the Jeſuits, to advance the credit of their order; and that the pretended ambaſſadors were only mean perſons, hired and inſtructed to perſonate that character, by thoſe fathers, who likewiſe forged their credentials; and, being their interpreters, made them ſpeak whatever beſt ſuited their purpoſes. Their honourable reception gave occaſion to ſome paſquinades, and ſeveral Spaniſh merchants then at Rome, who had lately been at Japan, affirmed, that, when they were in that kingdom, they had heard no mention of any embaſſy, or the converſion of any king (1).

(1) Greg. Alt. Vit. di Sixt. V.

During the ten days that the funeral ceremonies of the deceased pope lasted, the cardinals, who had any pretensions to the papacy, were carrying on their schemes and intrigues, running about to solicit the suffrages and interest of their friends. On the 21st of April they entered the conclave, to the number of forty-two, being divided into six particular factions, who more or less favoured different candidates. As the interest of some of the chiefs was very near equally balanced, they were a mutual check to each others promotion, and were, in their turns, rejected at several scrutinies. At length the cardinals Alexandrino, Medicis, and D'Este, resolved to join their interest in favour of cardinal Montalto, an old decrepid mortified prelate; who declined that dignity with great appearance of humility, and told them, that they must not think of making him pope, unless they resolved to take the burden of the administration on their own shoulders. They readily agreed to this exception; and having by their interest brought over several other cardinals, produced a legal majority for Montalto, who was chosen on the 24th of April, and assumed the name of Sixtus V.

Sixtus V. is elected pope.

An account of his birth.

He was born of poor and mean parents, in the March of Ancona, at a village called Le Grotte, in the lordship of Montalto. His father, Francis Peretti, who was a common plowman, could not afford to give him any education, and, when he was nine years old, hired him out to one of his neighbours, to look after his sheep and hogs. He did not long continue in this mean occupation; for being desired by a Franciscan friar, who had lost his way, to shew him the road to Ascoli, he deserted his hogs, and ran before him to the town. The friar, after he had found his road again, desired him several times to return; but the boy refusing to leave him, he at length asked him if he would take upon him the habit of his order, which he described as very austere? the boy replied, "That he would willingly suffer the pains of purgatory, if he would make him a scholar." He was accordingly received, with the consent of his parents, into the convent of Franciscans at Ascoli, where he quickly made a surprising progress in learning. In his thirteenth year he assumed the habit of that order, but he retained his own name Felix, or Felice. He soon after distinguished himself at several public disputations, and acquired a considerable reputation as an elegant preacher; but at the same

same time he raised himself a great many enemies by his fiery impetuous disposition, as he resented the least injury with great animosity and vehemence, which he frequently provoked by his own insolence and disdainful behaviour. He early discovered a great ambition; and though he was envied and hated by his brother monks, yet, by his abilities, he acquired the favour and esteem of cardinal Carpi, whose protection was of great service to him against his numerous enemies. By the interest of this cardinal he obtained several small promotions; and having likewise ingratiated himself with father Ghisilieri, afterwards Pius V. and with the Colonna family at Rome, he obtained the office of inquisitor-general at Venice, where, by his insolent and overbearing behaviour, he so greatly offended the senate, that, upon the death of Paul IV. he was obliged to consult his safety by flight. However, upon the election of Pius II. he returned to that city, and again sacrificed his own repose to trouble, and disturb that of others: but at last, being apprehensive of the resentment of the senate, he provided a gondola, by which he made his escape in the middle of the night, after he had ordered an insolent monitory to be fixed upon the door of St. Mark's church. Upon his return to Rome he was made consultor of the inquisition, and soon after went with the legate à latere, Buron Campagnon, as his chaplain, to Spain. While he was in that kingdom, his friend Ghisilieri being chosen pope, created him general of his order, afterwards bishop of St. Agatha, and at last a cardinal; to enable him to support his dignity, he assigned him a pension, and besides made him a present of a considerable sum of money.

He is created a cardinal.

Upon his promotion to the sacred college, which happened in the forty-ninth year of his age, he quite altered his former manner of life; in order to conceal his aspiring views, he affected a total disregard of all worldly pursuits, and became humble, meek, patient, and affable; which mask of hypocrisy he wore with great perseverance for fifteen years. He led a very retired and private life, exercised himself in works of piety, spent much of his time in the confessional chairs, seldom appeared at the consistories, and, during the three last years of the pontificate of Gregory, affected to be very infirm and sickly; so that he was often saluted in a manner that would not have been very agreeable to any

Artfully disguises his natural disposition.

body elſe, "God help you, poor old man; you have almoſt run your race."

His behaviour upon his election to the pontificate.

The cardinals, out of contempt, uſed to call him the Aſs of la Marca; ſo that their aſtoniſhment was inexpreſſible when he threw off the diſguiſe. While they were crowding towards him in the conclave, to congratulate him, he ſat coughing and weeping, as if ſome great misfortune had befallen him; but he no ſooner perceived, upon the ſcrutiny, that there was a ſufficient number of votes to ſecure his election, than he threw his ſtaff, with which he uſed to ſupport himſelf, into the middle of the chapel, ſtretched himſelf up, and appeared taller, by almoſt a foot, than he had ſeemed for ſeveral years before. This behaviour alarming the cardinal-dean, he called out, "Stay a little, ſoftly, there is a miſtake in the ſcrutiny;" but Montalto, with a ſtern look, boldly anſwered, "There is no miſtake:" and immediately begun the Te Deum Laudamus, in ſuch a ſtrong and audible voice, that the whole conclave was at firſt ſtruck dumb; but at length accompanied him in a tame and ſpiritleſs manner. After the hymn, the maſter of the ceremonies aſked him, according to the form, "Whether he was pleaſed to accept of the papacy?" To which he replied, "It is trifling and impertinent to aſk whether I will accept of what I have already accepted. However, to ſatisfy any ſcruple that may ariſe, I tell you that I accept it with great pleaſure, and would accept another, if I could get it; for I find myſelf ſtrong enough, by the divine aſſiſtance, to manage two papacies." While the cardinals were putting on his pontifical robes, he ſtretched out his arms with great vigour and activity; upon which one of them ſaid to him, in a familiar way, "I perceive, holy father, the pontificate is a ſovereign medicine, ſince it can reſtore youth and health to old ſick cardinals;" he replied, in a grave and majeſtic manner, "So I find it." After cardinal Farneſe had performed the ceremony of the adoration, he ſaid to him, "Your holineſs ſeems a quite different ſort of a man from what you was a few hours ago." "Yes," ſaid he, "I was then looking for the keys of paradiſe, which obliged me to ſtoop a little; but now I have found them, it is time to look upwards, as I am arrived at the ſummit of all human glory, and can climb no higher in this world." In his paſſage from the conclave to St. Peter's, the people, who at firſt would not believe that he was the ſame perſon with the old decrepid cardinal Montalto, cryed out, "Long live the pope!" and added, according to cuſtom, "Plenty,

holy

holy father, plenty and justice!" To which exclamation he replied, "Pray to God for plenty, and I will give you justice."

His rigid administration of justice.

Having now attained to the height of his ambition, he laid aside that appearance of humility he had so long worn, and behaved with great state and reserve. He received the foreign ambassadors in a complaisant manner, and was particularly kind to those from Japan, to whom he gave several rich presents. Having created them knights of St. Peter and St. Paul, he dismissed them a few months afterwards with his benediction. Upon the news of his election, many criminals and banditti voluntarily surrendered, not making the least doubt of a pardon from the general character of Montalto's lenity. But they were much disappointed; for having haughtily rejected the intercession of the ambassadors, cardinals, and nobles, in their behalf, he gave orders to the governor of Rome to confine them more strictly, and to execute four of them on the day of his coronation. He likewise published regulations to be observed on that day: and having ordered the governor to provide twelve executioners of different nations, he commanded them some days before to parade through the streets, with an ax in one hand and a halter in the other; which appearance struck such a terror into the Romans, that during the procession of the coronation there was not the least disturbance or riot; whereas formerly, upon such occasions, rapes, murders, and a thousand enormities, were usually committed.

He promotes his relations.

Soon after the coronation he sent for his only sister Camilla, with her daughter and two grandsons, and a niece, the daughter of his deceased brother, who, upon their approach to Rome, were met by three cardinals, who dressed them in magnificent habits, and conducted them to the Vatican. But Sixtus disdaining, in such a trifling matter, to be obliged to the cardinals, pretended not to know his sister, till she had resumed her former dress; then he received her kindly, and declared, that nobody should make a princess of her but himself. He assigned her a considerable revenue, and gave her one of his palaces for her residence; at the same time advising her to content herself with that sober modesty which became the meanness of her birth, and the gravity of those who were related to the papal chair: he likewise conferred the dignity of a cardinal on the eldest of her grandsons, Alexander Peretti, who was then about eighteen years of age, and afterwards distinguished himself by his learning and abilities.

The king of Spain and the grand duke of Tuscany offered to confer titles of honour on his sister, which he refused; however, he expressed his satisfaction with the behaviour of the Venetians, who ordered public rejoicings upon his exaltation, and admitted the family of Peretti to the honour of nobility in their state, being afraid of his resentment for their treatment of him when he was inquisitor at Venice.

Compels the poor to work, and the nobles to pay their debts.

Being shocked with the great numbers of poor at Rome, who were perishing for want, he vested authority in four persons, of great prudence and experience, to summon before them all those who had no visible way of getting a livelihood, and to compel them to work, or to banish them from the city. He likewise prohibited foreigners from settling at Rome, unless they brought a certificate that they were able, by some trade or profession, to maintain their families; and none were allowed to marry without a previous examination of their circumstances. He gave great encouragement to trade and manufactures; and, to check the insolence of the nobility, he commanded all the merchants and tradesmen to bring him in a list of their debts, with the names of the people that owed them, which he paid off, and became general creditor himself. This order occasioned such a general alarm, that many paid their debts the same day it was published, and begged of their merchants to give them such receipts as though they had been paid long before. At the same time he deprived the cardinals and nobles of those privileges and immunities, by which they sheltered debtors and criminals from the law, and continually urged the governor of Rome to make examples of justice, chiding him for his remissness, and declaring, that he would rather have the gibbets and gallies full than prisons.

He extirpates the banditti.

In order to extirpate the banditti, who still continued in great bodies in the ecclesiastical state, their numbers having been increased by many, who, from the rigorous proceedings of Sixtus, despaired of pardon, and fled from justice, he published an edict against them, offering all those a free pardon who should surrender within three months, and excluding them from mercy after that term, promising a pardon, and a reward of five hundred crowns, to any of them who should betray his fellow; and prohibiting all persons whatever, not excepting nobles and ecclesiastics, from corresponding with them, or concealing them, under the penalty of death upon the wheel or gallows. Having appointed three severe judges, with a body of

of five hundred soldiers, to put this order in execution, in less than six months all the banditti were either taken or disappeared.

He likewise ordered the syndics, or mayors, of every town and lordship, as well those that were actually in office, as those who had enjoyed that dignity for the last ten years, to send him a list of all the vagrants, common debauchees, loose and disorderly people, in their districts, threatening them with the strapado if they omitted or concealed any individual, which punishment the syndic of Albano actually underwent, for omitting the name of his own nephew. In order to suppress all manner of vice, he not only punished several people, upon the information which he had received from themselves at their confession, when he was cardinal, but likewise obliged other confessors to acquaint him with any thing extraordinary that was communicated to them; and, to inspect the conduct of the magistrates, he dispersed a great many spies through the city and the ecclesiastical state, to whom he allowed considerable pensions.

Obliges the confessors to inform him of the crimes of their penitents.

He employed also a great many others at all foreign courts, by which means he had intelligence of the secret designs of other states. In particular he gained information that the king of Spain had formed a design to seize Naples, one of the dependencies of that crown, which was suspected by his behaviour to the Spanish ambassador, a few weeks after his promotion; for when the horse, with seven thousand crowns, were presented to him on the feast of St. Peter, as a tribute for Naples, he ridiculed his predecessors, who had exchanged a kingdom for a beast, and added, that he would soon put an end to that simple custom; which words being transmitted to Philip, he gave orders to the duke of Ossuna, viceroy of Naples, to strengthen the garrisons upon the frontiers, and to do his utmost to penetrate into the designs of the pope. Sixtus quarrelled with the king of France, who had sent orders to the new nuncio, then on his journey to France, to stop at Lyons, as he had wrote to Rome, desiring that the old nuncio might not be recalled. This conduct of the king incensed the pope, who immediately ordered the French ambassador to leave Rome within three days. However, soon after, by the intercession of several cardinals, the difference was compromised, the king agreeing to accept of the new nuncio, and his ambassador returning to his residence at the court of Rome.

Whether

Whether this rupture had alienated him from the king of France is uncertain; but about two months after, he declared his approbation of the Catholic league made by the Guise faction, who, under pretence of defending the old religion, had formed an association against the king and Henry of Navarre, the presumptive heir of the crown. He wrote with his own hand to the duke of Guise, and, comparing him to Judas Maccabæus, promised him all the assistance in his power. Then he published a bull of excommunication against Henry, king of Navarre, and the prince of Condé, and all their adherents, pronouncing them heretics, and, as such, declaring their estates and possessions forfeited, and both them and their dependents incapable of succeeding to any sovereignty, especially to the crown of France. The pope, upon the publication of this bull, wrote to the emperor Adolphus, desiring him to prevent any assistance going from Germany to the French Hugonots, and to prohibit all foreign levies, under pain of incurring the ban of the empire.

He excommunicates the king of Navarre; who appeals to a general council.

The king of Navarre, being roused by the pope's proceedings from a life of pleasure, answered the manifesto of the league, and by means of his friends at Rome stuck up his protest, with that of the prince of Condé, in every street, upon all the cardinals' doors, and even upon the gates of the Vatican, accusing Sixtus of being a false and malicious liar, and appealing from him to a free council, where they would prove that he himself was a heretic; and that, if he did not appear, they would account him antichrist, and declare perpetual war against him. Sixtus was enraged at this appeal, and at several pasquinades that were then published; but could not, by all his spies, discover the authors. After his fury was somewhat subsided, he spoke of the king of Navarre in terms of respect, and admired his courage and greatness of mind, who, at that distance, had taken so proper and bold a method to shew his resentment. From that time he refused to contribute any money to the war that was carrying on against him; and he was afterwards frequently heard to say, that there were but two princes in the world, meaning Henry of Navarre, and Elizabeth of England, whose friendship and correspondence he would court and desire, if they were not both infected with the guilt of heresy [x]. Ac-

[x] Thuan. lib. lxxxii. & xci. Spond. Annal. Greg. Let. Vit. di Sixt. V.

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cording to Gregorio Leti, he, about this time, gave some secret encouragement to queen Elizabeth to take the states of Holland under her protection, from his desire of repressing the overgrown power of the Spaniards.

Sixtus is grateful to his former benefactors.

Having now rendered himself respected abroad, and terrible to his own subjects, who trembled at the mention of his name, he began to open his bowels, and yield to the dictates of gratitude and generosity. Before his promotion to the pontificate, he had noted down in a diary the most remarkable transactions of his life, and the names of his benefactors and enemies; and as he had now an opportunity of shewing his gratitude to those who formerly obliged him, he with great humour and kindness rewarded his former benefactors, many of whom had entirely forgot the services they had done him. Towards the end of the year he made a promotion of eight cardinals, all men of extraordinary merit, and most of them persons of high birth; but though the Jesuits used great art to insinuate themselves into his favour, he always refused patronizing them, but used them upon many occasions as his spies.

A.D. 1586.

He adorns Rome with many new structures.

Rome, and the whole ecclesiastical state, being now rendered secure by the extirpation of the banditti, and strict administration of justice, Sixtus applied his mind to the embellishing of the city with magnificent buildings, by which means he gave employment to great numbers of the poor. By the assistance of the celebrated architect Dominic Fontana, born at Como, he erected a famous obelisk, that had been brought from Thebais in Egypt to Rome, and dedicated to the emperor Augustus, and Tiberius his adopted son. This obelisk was overturned by Totila, king of the Goths, and had long lain neglected behind the vestry of St. Peter's church. It consists of one piece of marble of seventy-two feet in length, and the difficulty of removing it had been hitherto accounted so great, that several popes, who had designed to have erected it, desisted, after some weak efforts, from that undertaking; but Sixtus resolved to surmount every obstacle; and at length accomplished the arduous enterprize by the ingenuity of Fontana, who invented an amazing machine for that purpose, and employed a great number of people more than twelve months. Sixtus, during his whole pontificate, employed several thousands of people in great and magnificent works. He erected several other obelisks; built a chapel, which he dedicated to the Holy Manger, and adorned with the finest marble; brought water to his palace on Monte Cavallo, by an aqueduct twenty-two miles

miles in length; founded a large hospital, capable of containing two thousand people; repaired, or rather rebuilt, the bridge of Sixtus IV. over the Tiber, and erected a fine palace, for the use of the popes, near the Lateran church. He also built several new streets, one of which was two miles long, and called after his own name, Strada Felice: he enlarged the Vatican palace; from whence he made a grand stair-case to St. Peter's church, the dome or cupola of which he completed: he founded a college in the convent of the Holy Apostles, and another at Bologna: he likewise intended to have built a city at the village of le Grotte, where he was born; but the situation of the place being incommodious, he was not able to accomplish this design; however, he granted several privileges to the Borgo di Montalto in the neighbourhood of le Grotte, and afterwards erected that new city into a bishop's see. He regulated his militia, enrolling all his subjects that were able to bear arms, and appointing officers in every city to discipline and exercise them. In order to favour his designs against Naples, he fortified several towns on his frontier towards that kingdom, and laid a tax upon all the ecclesiastical state, to defray the expence of building a fleet.

He restores the authority of the apostolic see in Switzerland.

At the request of the popish cantons of Switzerland, he sent a nuncio into that country, who restored the authority of the holy see, which was almost extinguished among them. He likewise published a bull, condemning the practice of judicial astrology; by another, he ascertained the qualifications necessary for those that should be received into the sacred college, and limited the number of cardinals to seventy. However, the regulations of this bull were too strict to be observed, and were almost all annulled by his successors. At the repeated solicitations of the French king, he granted him a bull for the alienation of the church-revenues in France, to the amount of fifty thousand crowns a year[y].

A.D. 1587.

The Romans erect a statue to him.

The Romans, out of gratitude to the pope, who had restored tranquillity and plenty to the ecclesiastical state, ordered a statue to be erected to him in the Capitol. However, his patriotic schemes did not prevent several pasquinades and satires from appearing against him, the authors of which he sometimes punished in a severe manner, and at other times despised. This year he ordered a general chapter of the Franciscan order to be held at Rome,

[y] Spond. Annal.

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the whole expence of which he defrayed from his own purſe. He condeſcended to honour one of their meetings with his preſence, and after the chapter broke up, he deſired them all to attend at the Vatican, as he intended to grant every one of them ſome favour. This declaration occaſioned great diſcontent and murmurings among the other orders; but, in the end, turned out to the mortification and confuſion of the Franciſcans. After Sixtus had heard all their requeſts, ſome of which were ridiculous and extravagant, he diſmiſſed them all with an abſolute refuſal, alleging, that their deſires had all been ſelfiſh, and inconſiſtent with their vows. However, he granted the petition of a poor lay-brother, which was of a public nature; and, at his requeſt, ordered an elegant fountain to be erected in the convent of the Holy Apoſtles, which was in great want of water.

He erects ſeveral congregations of cardinals.

For facilitating the adminiſtration of affairs, Sixtus, about this time, eſtabliſhed fifteen congregations of cardinals, ſome of which had been inſtituted by other popes, but were now altered and new modelled by him (K). In the mean time, being informed that Erneſt, the new elector of Cologne, on account of the oppoſition of the Proteſtants, was thinking of reſigning his archbiſhoprick,

(K) The firſt of theſe is the congregation of the holy office eſtabliſhed by Pius IV. and reformed by Pius V. It conſiſts of at leaſt twelve cardinals, with ſeveral other prelates and divines of different orders, who were called conſultors of the holy office. The ſecond, for expediting grants of reſervation. The third, for erecting new churches. The fourth, for providing the eccleſiaſtical ſtate with corn. The fifth, for ſacred rites and ceremonies. The ſixth, for the defence of the eccleſiaſtical ſtate, and the ſupport of the fleet. The ſeventh, the congregation delle indice, to cenſure what books they think cenſurable. The eighth, for expounding the canons of the council of Trent. The ninth, the congregation delli ſgravi, or de bono regimine, for redreſſing all grievances, oppreſſions, and vexations of the ſubject. The tenth, for ſupporting univerſities. The eleventh, for the conſultations of the regulars of every order. The twelfth for the conſultations of biſhops and the viſitation of churches. The thirteenth, for the roads, bridges, and waters in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. The fourteenth, for the printing-office in the Vatican. And the fifteenth, the congregation of ſtate for the well government of the pope's dominions (1).

(1) Spond. Annal. ex tom. ii. Bullar. Sixt. V.

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and retiring to Bavaria, he sent the bishop of Verceil to dissuade him from that design, and wrote to those princes, who had formerly engaged as his auxiliaries, still to continue their assistance. He likewise wrote to the duke of Parma to assist the elector, and sent the abbot Grimani, his chamberlain, with the present of a consecrated hat and sword for the duke, who received them in the midst of his camp with great ceremony, after he had taken the cities of Grave, Venlo, and Nuits [z]. About the same time also he sent a consecrated sword to the duke of Guise, the head of the league in France; and as the grand duke of Tuscany died at Florence without heirs, he allowed cardinal di Medicis, who succeeded him, to resign his hat, obliging him, for that indulgence, to make rich presents to the church of St. John de Lateran [a]. His nuncio in Poland informing him, that the archduke Maximilian had been elected king by a party in that kingdom, immediately sent him twenty-two thousand ducats, to to assist him against his competitor the prince of Sweden, who was chosen by another faction. At the earnest solicitation of the Spaniards he excommunicated queen Elizabeth of England, who, in the beginning of the year, had put to death the queen of Scotland. The queen, in return, excommunicated the pope and all his adherents, and made great preparations to oppose the intended invasion of the Spaniards [b].

A.D. 1588.

He excommunicates Elizabeth, queen of England.

As Sixtus was very earnest to see the formidable power of the Spaniards weakened by a war with England, he wrote to Philip with his own hands, exciting him to that enterprize, promising to bear part of the expence, and to advance a million of crowns as soon as he should be certainly informed that his forces had landed in England. At the recommendation of Philip, to whom he gave the investiture of England, he made William Allen a cardinal; and, to encourage the Spaniards, he sent, for the use of the Armada, several large chests full of agni Dei, medals, crucifixes, relics, pardons, and indulgences, with which the men, especially the officers, were so loaded and incumbered, that they looked more like pilgrims than soldiers. The Spaniards pressed him earnestly to grant five hundred thousand crowns before the sailing of the fleet, but he absolutely refused their request; and, upon being informed of the loss of the armada, to prevent the

[z] Strada de Bell. Belg. dec. ii tom. ii. [a] Thuan. lib. xcii.
[b] Idem, lib. xciv.

king

king from making any demands upon him, he wrote a consolatory letter to him, in which he found great fault with the conduct of all his officers, attributing the unsuccessful issue of the expedition entirely to them. Philip, upon receiving his letter, discovered no emotion, and, two days after, returned an answer to the nuncio, declaring, that the misfortune of his fleet ought to be esteemed a loss common to them both, and that, for the future, he would leave him to fight the battles of the church with his own weapons.

During these transactions Sixtus had issued a bull for the abolition of quarters, or the privileges claimed by ambassadors, cardinals, nobles, or prelates, of protecting banditti and malefactors in their houses, declaring, those who should any way obstruct the course of justice, ipso facto, excommunicated, not to be absolved by any but the pope himself, except in the article of death. He likewise received an ambassador from the king of Persia, with great pomp and magnificence; and, to give him a high idea of the grandeur of the Roman court, he ordered all the cardinals and prelates at Rome to be present at his first audience. The ambassador came to desire the assistance of the Christian princes against the Turks; but as Philip of Spain was then exhausting the strength and riches of his own kingdom in his war with England and the states of Holland, and in supporting the catholic league in France, and Sixtus was chiefly intent upon accumulating treasure for his design against Naples, the Christian powers discovered no inclination to embark in a crusade, and the ambassador was dismissed with many compliments and a few presents, after he had continued about a month at Rome.

He receives an embassy from Persia.

The ambassador of the duke of Savoy, who came to demand the pope's assistance against the city of Geneva, was equally unsuccessful; for Sixtus, considering that the undertaking would be attended with many difficulties, as the Swiss were interested in the preservation of that city, refused any assistance to the duke, and declared, that the treasure of the church ought only to be employed in defending itself, or enlarging its own territories. At the earnest solicitation of the king of Spain, the pope, about this time, consented to canonize Diego, or Didacus, of Alcala, to obliterate, in some measure, by the splendor of that ceremony, the disgrace of his unsuccessful expedition against England. He likewise instituted the festivals of the presentation of the Virgin, and that of St. Francis, the

He refuses to assist the duke of Savoy against Geneva.

the founder of the Franciscan order, and canonized St. Anthony of Padua, and St. Januarius of Naples [c]. Being attentive to every opportunity of extending the influence and power of the holy see, he sent cardinal Aldobrandino, as his legate à latere, to Poland, upon hearing of the imprisonment of the archduke Maximilian, who had been defeated by his competitor Sigismond, prince of Sweden. Aldobrandino arrived in Poland about the end of June, and, after a long and difficult negociation, at length, in the beginning of the following year, concluded a peace betwixt the Poles and the house of Austria, by which Maximilian renounced all right to that crown, and acknowleged Sigismond as king [d].

During his absence Sixtus completed the famous Vatican library, and filled it with a great number of manuscripts in the Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, Latin, and most other languages, which he had collected, with immense labour and expence, from all parts of the world. He likewise wrote to the duke of Guise, commending his zeal for the catholic religion, and informing him, that he intended to send the bishop of Brescia, whom he had created a cardinal, as his legate a latere to France, to assist him with his authority and advice. Although the pope, from the beginning of his pontificate, had given great countenance to the catholic league in France, and had honoured the duke of Guise with several marks of his favour and esteem, he expressed, however, very little concern upon
A.D. 1589. the news of his murder. He rather seemed to approve of it; and, in a conversation with cardinal Joyeuse, a Frenchman, after some reflections upon the duke's unbounded ambition, and insolent behaviour towards the king, he said, "We should have done the same if we had been in Henry's place."

He expresses great resentment at the murder of cardinal Guise.

But, a few days after, being informed that the cardinal of Guise, the duke's brother, had likewise been put to death without a trial, and that the cardinal of Bourbon, and the archbishop of Lyons were imprisoned, he sent for the French ambassador, and one Giralamo Gondi, whom the king had sent to Rome to excuse his conduct; and, after bestowing many harsh names upon them, he upbraided the king of France in the severest terms. Next day he called a consistory, in which he exclaimed with great violence against the king, his rage or his grief oblig-

[c] Thuan. lib. 100. [d] Idem, ad fin. lib. lxxxviii.

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ing him to make ſeveral pauſes in his ſpeech [e]. He likewiſe reprimanded ſeveral cardinals who had ventured to excuſe the murder, and appointed a congregation of ſeveral members of the ſacred college to deliberate upon the ſtate of France. Though he expreſſed great reſentment againſt the king, he nevertheleſs gave but a very cold reception to the deputies of the Pariſians, who a few weeks after arriving at Rome, requeſted an abſolution from their oath of allegiance, and that he would grant a plenary indulgence to all thoſe who ſhould take arms againſt their prince. Each party, for ſeveral months, uſed their utmoſt endeavours to procure the friendſhip of the pope; but Henry abſolutely refuſing to ſet the cardinal of Bourbon and the archbiſhop of Lyons at liberty, Sixtus, on the 24th of May, publiſhed a monitory againſt him, threatening him with excommunication if he did not ſet the cardinal and archbiſhop at liberty before the 3d of June, and give information thereof within thirty days after to the apoſtolic ſee: beſides, he cited the king, and all thoſe concerned in the murder of the two Guiſes, to appear perſonally, or by proxy, within ſixty days at Rome. Upon the publication of this decree or monitory, the cardinal Joyeuſe retired to Venice, and the French ambaſſadors left Rome, and embarked at Leghorn for Marſeilles. As interceſſions had no effect upon the pope, the republic of Venice, and the dukes of Tuſcany and Mantua, preſſed the king of France to ſeize the county of Avignon, and to threaten to march an army to Rome; but he was prevented from following their advice by death, being aſſaſſinated on the 1ſt of Auguſt, by one Clement, a Dominican friar.

Sixtus, being informed of the murder, made a premeditated ſpeech in the conſiſtory in praiſe of the aſſaſſin, whom he extolled above Eleazar and Judith; and as he affirmed that the king had died in mortal ſin, by refuſing obedience to his monitory, he ordered that no prayers ſhould be made for his ſoul. However, he paid but little regard to the deputies of the league; and, notwithſtanding their ſolicitations, he refuſed to publiſh a cruſade againſt the king of Navarre, who had been declared king of France by the other party. At firſt, indeed, being deceived by their repreſentations, he ordered cardinal Cajetan, whom he had appointed as his legate in France, to

Praiſes the murderer of the king.

[e] Thuan. lib. xciv.

favour the election of cardinal Bourbon; but, before his departure, having received a letter from the duke of Luxemburgh, acquainting him that the king of Navarre had been declared king of France by the greatest part of the nobility, and that he had appointed him as his ambassador at Rome, he wrote to those nobles who were in the king of Navarre's camp, exhorting them to continue steadily in the catholic faith, declaring, that he was indifferent who was their king, provided he was but a Catholic. He likewise wrote to the duke of Luxemburgh, desiring him to come to Rome; and gave new instructions to cardinal Cajetan, ordering him to favour the election of a Catholic king, without specifying any person.

He publishes an edition of the Bible in the vulgar tongue, which gives offence to the Roman Catholics.

Though the king of Spain was greatly disobliged by this behaviour of the pope, yet another affair happened about this time, at which he expressed much more dissatisfaction. Sixtus, during these transactions with France, had published an Italian version of the Bible from the vulgar Latin, which gave a general offence to all the Roman catholics. The most zealous of the cardinals wrote to Philip, intreating him to prevail with the pope to suppress the edition; and several of them, with the Spanish ambassador, ventured to expostulate with Sixtus against the book; but he treated them with contempt, and only said, "We do it "for the benefit of you that don't understand Latin." (M). The king of Spain, who was a great bigot, not being able to prevail with the pope to suppress the edition, and besides being offended with him for neglecting to sup-

(M) Some authors have affirmed, that Sixtus never published an edition of the Bible in Italian; but Gregorio Leti assures us, that there were in his time several copies of such an edition to be seen in the library of the grand duke of Tuscany, in that of St. Lawrence, and the Ambrosian at Milan, besides two copies in the public library at Geneva, and several others; and that he himself had read in a manuscript history of those times, that the cardinal of Toledo, when he found that the pope absolutely refused to suppress the edition, said, "How has God abandoned his church! may he be pleased soon to deliver us from this wicked pope!" He cites likewise Philip Brietius, who in the three hundred and forty-seventh page of his annals, printed at Paris, in 1663, says, "Inter hæc mortuus est Romæ Sixtus V. editis Bibliis sacris in lingua Italica, quæ tantum negotii nobis exhibuerunt," (1).

(1) Greg. Let. v. ut supra.

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port the catholic interest in England, and countenancing the king of Navarre and his party, resolved to call a general council in his dominions, and to cite the pope to appear before it, if he should oppose his design. He accordingly ordered Olivarez, his ambassador at Rome, to notify his resolution to the pope in a public manner; but Sixtus being informed by his spies, that Olivarez intended to present a paper to him for that purpose, at a solemn cavalcade that he had appointed upon his going to reside at his new palace at St. John de Lateran, he ordered the governor of Rome immediately to precede his person at the procession with the hangman and two hundred guards, and to seize any one that should offer to present a paper to him, and to put him to death upon the spot. Olivarez hearing of this general order, was afraid to appear at the procession; which difficulty, in the beginning of the opposition, influenced the king to drop his design of assembling a council, and to think of more moderate measures.

He confers honour and wealth on his relations.

Sixtus, in the mean time, was not forgetful to aggrandize his own family by riches, honours, and noble alliances. He gave his nephew, cardinal Montalto, the value of two hundred and fifty thousand crowns in houses, rich furniture, plate, and jewels, besides an income of one hundred thousand crowns a year in estate and ecclesiastical benefices. He gave the eldest of his nieces, Donna Orsina, then seventeen years of age, to Mark Anthony Colonna, prince of Sonnino, with a fortune of one hundred and twenty-six thousand crowns; and to enable him to pay his debts, he lent him four hundred thousand crowns out of the apostolic chamber for ten years, without interest. And the youngest of his nieces, Donna Flavia, he gave with the same fortune to Virginius Ursino, who had a yearly estate of one hundred thousand crowns, and whose family was superior to any in Italy, except that of Colonna. These marriages were celebrated with great pomp and magnificence, and the two young brides were both of a disposition that would have done honour to the most exalted birth. For his other nephew, Michael Peretti, he purchased the principality of Venetro, the marquisate of Lamentado, and the county of Celano. He gave him besides an estate of sixty thousand crowns a year, and two superb palaces, one in the country, and another at Rome, and contracted an alliance betwixt him and a princess of the Colonna family.

In resentment for the behaviour of Philip of Spain, he gave a very favourable reception to the duke of Luxemburgh, the ambassador of Henry IV. of France, who ar- A.D. 1590.

rived at Rome in the beginning of January. At the same time he sent his master of the ceremonies to count Olivarez, acquainting him that he did not intend to acknowlege him for the future as ambassador, and that he had sent an express to the king his master, to inform him of his intention. Philip, who was at this time greatly embarrassed with the affairs of France and the Low Countries, dissembled his chagrin at this affront, and recalling Olivarez, sent the duke of Sessa in his room; however, he ordered the Spanish clergy to preach up the great necessity of assisting the league against king Henry, and even encouraged them to censure the pope's lukewarmness in that cause. Olivarez, till the arrival of Sessa, was allowed to act as ambassador, and, in his master's name, was very urgent with the pope to dismiss the duke of Luxemburgh, and to denounce a sentence of excommunication against Henry IV. and all his followers. He likewise attended Sessa when he required the pope, in his master's name, to declare himself protector of the league, and to enter into an alliance with Philip, for placing a catholic king upon the crown of France. Sixtus was greatly offended with the king of Spain, for offering to direct him whom to absolve and whom to condemn; and that he might shun the proposed alliance, he declared, that he intended to write to the nobles and cities in France to elect a catholic king, otherwise he himself would chuse one [f]. Hearing about the same time that his legate Cajetan, contrary to his instructions, openly declared for the league, had taken up his residence at Paris, which they had made their head-quarters, had encouraged his chaplains to preach against the king, and refused to consult with those cardinals who adhered to the king's party, he revoked the letters of exchange, which he had given him for three hundred thousand crowns upon the bankers of Lyons, and recalled the most turbulent of his chaplains to Rome.

He refuses to declare for the league in France.

Although his attention at this time was greatly engaged with the affairs of France, he was no less vigilant in the government of his own dominions; and as all Italy, and particularly the ecclesiastical state, was afflicted this year with a severe famine, he excused the people their taxes, and lent them money, which however he did very sparingly (N).

By

[f] Idem lib. xcvii. Spond. Annal.

(N) The famine was so severe, that the flesh of asses, dogs, cats, and mice, was reckoned a delicacy, and a pound of coarse bread was sold for thirteen julios, or six shillings

By the advice of cardinal Aldobrandino he publiſhed a ſumptuary law, for repreſſing the great luxury and extravagance that prevailed at Rome, which law was immediately conformed to, and was ſo ſtrictly obſerved during the few remaining months of his pontificate, that no one incurred the penalty for diſobedience. As he had undertaken to drain the fens and marſhes about Terracina, he went about this time to that city, under pretence of ſeeing the progreſs of the works, but with the intention, as it was ſuſpected, of invading the kindom of Naples, as he had ordered a conſiderable body of troops to march to that frontier, to prevent, as he ſaid, the incurſions of the banditti. The Spaniards, alarmed at the motions of the pope, ſent four thouſand troops towards their frontiers, under pretence of driving the banditti out of their dominions, but in reality to oppoſe the papal forces; by which diſpoſition the pope was deterred from commencing hoſtilities, and returned ſuddenly to Rome, where he died on the 27th of Auguſt, in the 69th year of his age, and the 6th of his pontificate. As he was troubled ſome months before he died with an intenſe pain in the head, his death was attributed by many people to poiſon, which was ſuppoſed to have been given him by the Spaniards.

He threatens to invade Naples.

He dies at Rome.

He advanced the power and grandeur of the holy ſee, during the few years that he reigned, more than all his predeceſſors had done, for almoſt a hundred years before: and notwithſtanding the great works he carried on and finiſhed, at his death he left five millions of crowns in his treaſury, which by a bull he prohibited from being uſed, except upon the moſt preſſing neceſſity. It is ſuppoſed, however, that he intended this treaſure as a fund for his expedition againſt Naples, which he delayed only in expectation of the death of Philip II. vainly hoping that he himſelf would

and ſix pence. However, the rigour of the pope had ſo great an effect, that there was not the leaſt theft or robbery committed in the city, though, to make a trial of their honeſty, he had cauſed a waggon load of bread to be brought to Rome from ſome diſtance. So great a reformation had he wrought in the manners of the Romans, that the governor of the city told him one day, that the place of judge was now become a perfect ſinecure; to which he anſwered, "If he thought the people would relapſe into their former licentiouſneſs after he was dead, he would hang them all whilſt he was alive (1)."

(1) Greg. Let. ut ſupra.

have lived ten years longer. The money that he had amaſſed, was chiefly raiſed upon his own ſubjects, who, during his pontificate, were heavily taxed; but as he had introduced a ſpirit of induſtry among them, they were not ſo oppreſſed with the taxes, as they had been by their former poverty and indigence. Beſides, he increaſed his fund by retrenching yearly penſions, to the amount of ſixty thouſand crowns, by ſelling the chief places and offices of his court, by the commutations for the puniſhment of crimes, and by the ſtricteſt perſonal frugality and œconomy. He was indefatigable in buſineſs, and took the management of the minuteſt affairs wholly into his own hands: he ſlept little, and had no ſtated time of going to bed. Though he was remarkably abſtemious while he was cardinal, yet, after his promotion, he made hearty meals, his ſpirits being exhauſted by his inceſſant labour, which he would not even intermit in his laſt illneſs, but followed ſtrictly the maxim of Veſpaſian, which he often repeated, "that a prince ought to die ſtanding," that is, labouring to the very laſt moment of his life for the good of his country.

Urban VII. is elected pope. Eighteen days after the death of Sixtus, cardinal Caſtagna was unanimouſly elected pope, and aſſumed the name of Urban VII. He enjoyed the pontificate only thirteen days, and died before his coronation, on the 27th of Sep-

His death. tember. He had then entered the ſeventieth year of his age, and was born at Rome, his father being a noble Genoeſe, and his mother a Roman, of the family of the Ricci. His piety and learning had rendered him illuſtrious; and as he had great experience, and had gone through all the degrees of the court, the pontificate was aſſigned to him by the univerſal voice, even before the death of Sixtus [g].

Upon the death of Urban VII. the Roman ſee was vacant two months and nine days, an interval occaſioned by the great factions in the conclave, where there were no leſs than fifty-four cardinals, ſixteen of whom were candidates for the pontificate. After ſeveral ſcrutinies, cardinal Montalto was prevailed upon to go over with his party to the Spaniſh faction, and by that means a legal majority was procured for Nicholas Sfondrati, cardinal of Cremona, who was elected on the 5th of December, and

Gregory XIV. is choſen. took the name of Gregory XIV. His father, after the death of his wife, had been created a cardinal, and he himſelf, after he had been ſome time ſenator at Milan, em-

[g] Ciacon. Spond. Annal.

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braced an ecclesiastical life, and was created bishop of Cremona by Pius IV. under which title he remained three years at the council of Trent. Gregory XIII. created him a cardinal, in gratitude to whom he assumed the same name upon his promotion to the pontificate. He was crowned with the usual solemnities, and began his pontificate with restoring those Romans to their places and offices, whom Sixtus V. had deprived. He likewise made a present of one thousand crowns to each of the cardinals, provided against the scarcity and dearness of corn and other provisions, and in the first consistory, which he held on the 19th of December, created one of his nephews a cardinal.

In the beginning of the following year he published a jubilee, granting indulgences to all those who should offer up their prayers to God in his behalf: and, at the instigation of the Spanish ambassador, he declared for the Catholic league in France, promising to furnish the Catholics with fifteen thousand crowns a month out of the apostolic treasury, as long as he should see it necessary for their defence. The Spanish faction, however, were not yet satisfied; but being seconded by the cardinal of Lorrain and the duke of Maine's secretary, they pressed the pope to send an army into France, and to grant a power to the duke of Mayenne to alienate the ecclesiastical benefices in that kingdom. Gregory by no means would consent to this last request; but he agreed to their first demand, and sent an army over the Alps, under the command of his nephew, Hercules Sfondrati, whom he had created duke of Mont Marcian. A.D. 1591. *He declares for the league.*

In the mean time he again wrote two letters to France, by which he declared Henry IV. excommunicated, and deprived of all his possessions, and threatened the nobles with ecclesiastical censures, if they did not desert his cause, and also all the clergy with excommunication and deposition, if they did not, within thirty days, declare against him. These letters were approved by the parliament of Paris; but the other parliaments of the kingdom, particularly that of Chalons, which was a part of that of Paris, appealed from them to a future council, declared them derogatory to the rights of the kingdom, and to the liberties of the Gallican church, and ordered them to be burnt in the market-place by the common hangman. King Henry likewise published an edict, or declaration, against them; and the prelates of his party assembling at Chartres, *Excommunicates Henry IV.*

published a letter, addressed to all the Catholics, declaring them of no obligation, and that they intended soon to send an embassy to the pope, to inform him fully of the justice of their cause. They were prevented, however, from sending this embassy, by the death of the pope, who having been afflicted during his whole pontificate with the stone, died on the 15th of October, in the fifty-seventh year of his age. During his transactions with the chiefs of the league, he had created seven cardinals; he had indulged the cardinal friars with the privilege of wearing red hats; and had given the investiture of the duchy of Ferrara to duke Alphonsus, who, as he had no issue, came to Rome to solicit the renewal of his fief in favour of some of his relations, but without effect [h].

He dies at Rome.

Innocent XI. is elected.

Thirteen days after the death of Gregory, John Anthony Fachinetti, cardinal of Santi Quatro, was elected pope, with the unanimous consent of the whole conclave, and assumed the name of Innocent IX. His parents were natives of Gravegni, a city of Navarre, but he was born at Bologna, where he was also educated. Coming afterwards to Rome, he passed through several degrees of preferment, and was at length created cardinal by Gregory XIII. at the same time with his two predecessors. Immediately after his election he renewed the ancient custom, and wrote to all the patriarchs, archbishops, and primates, informing them of his promotion. He then applied himself to relieve the necessities of his subjects, by publishing a regulation of the prices of provisions, and ordering the barons of Rome to bring their corn into the city. In the mean time he was seized with a distemper, of which he died on the 29th of December, in the seventy-third year of his age, having enjoyed the pontificate only two months.

His death.

There never were greater disputes at the election of a pope than at this present vacancy. On the 11th of January fifty-three cardinals entered the conclave, where the Spanish faction immediately proposed five candidates, none of whom could procure a legal majority. After long disputes and intrigues, which are particularly related by Thuanus [i], Montalto at length proposed cardinal Aldobrandino, who he knew was not disagreeable to the king of Spain. A majority immediately declared for him; and, on the 28th of January, he was elected pope, and assum-

A.D. 1592.

Clement VIII. elected pope.

[h] Spond. Annal. [i] Thuan. lib. ciii.

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ed the name of Clement VIII. (O). Upon the news of his promotion, he appeared filled with great fear and confusion, and shed abundance of tears. He continued silent when the master of the ceremonies asked him if he would accept of the pontifical dignity; and before he would sit upon the throne, he fell down upon his knees and prayed at the altar. Immediately after his coronation he published a bull, declaring his intention of visiting all the churches, monasteries, convents, and religious houses, in Rome, exhorting all to an external and internal reformation before the visitation, which was to commence on the 14th of June. As the banditti were again beginning to commit outrages in the ecclesiastical state, he ordered some troops to march against them; and soon after he published a bull against duelling, denouncing an anathema against all those who should give, receive, or carry, a challenge, and a sentence of interdiction against the places where duels should be fought [k].

Espouses the interest of the league.

In the mean time, at the instigation of the Spanish faction, he espoused the interests of the league in France, and on the 15th of April wrote to Sega, his legate at Paris, who had been created a cardinal by his predecessor, charging him to procure the election of a catholic king. His letter was published in the month of October at Paris, and registered by the parliament of that city: however, the parliament at Chalons published an edict against it, and exhorted all the prelates, princes, peers and others, to persevere in their allegiance to the king. The bishops likewise of the king's party entered into several deliberations, derogatory to the authority of the pope, and sent the

[k] Spond. Annal.

(O) Hippolito Aldobrandino was born at Fano, a city of the ecclesiastical state, on the coast of the Adriatic. He was descended of a very ancient family, originally called Aldebrando, or Hildebrando, which had resided at Florence near a thousand years, and had enjoyed the office of gonfaloniere of that city twenty-three different times. He received the first rudiments of his education at Rome, and studied afterwards at Ferrara and Bologna, where he received his doctor's degree. He was distinguished by his natural eloquence and the probity of his disposition; and his brother John having been created a cardinal by Pius V. he succeeded him as auditor of the rota. Sixtus V. created him a cardinal, and sent him as his legate à legatere to Poland, where, by his successful negociation, he acquired a great reputation.

cardinal

cardinal de Gondy and the marquis of Pisani, as their deputies to Clement, to give him true information of the affairs of France. Pisani stopt at the lake de la Garde, in the Venetian territories, and the cardinal proceeded on his journey; but, in his passage through Tuscany, he received a charge from the pope, forbidding him to enter the ecclesiastical territories, as he had not acted like a good Christian, by openly favouring the king of Navarre, who was a relapsed heretic. Gondy, however, having excused his proceedings, was soon after permitted to continue his journey, on condition that he should not, openly or secretly, favour heretics [1].

A.D. 1593. During his residence at Rome, the Catholics of the league, in consequence of a proclamation from the duke of Mayenne, assembled at Paris to elect a king. The cardinal legate likewise wrote to the Catholics of the king's party, inviting them to be present at the assembly. They, however, paid no regard to his letter; but published a declaration at Chartres, proposing a conference with the chiefs of the league; which was accordingly agreed to, and held in the beginning of May, at a village within two leagues of Paris.

Henry IV. embraces the popish religion.

Henry IV. to defeat the designs of his enemies, about this time was persuaded to embrace the Roman Catholic religion. Having solemnly renounced Calvinism, and made a public profession of the faith of the Holy See, he received absolution and a benediction from the archbishop of Berry. By this conversion of the king, Philip of Spain, and the chiefs of the league, were greatly confounded; however, they still hoped to prevent the succession of Henry. A subject of Spain published a short treatise at Rome, wherein he endeavoured to prove, that the apostolic see had no authority to dispense with a relapsed heretic, with regard to the succession of a kingdom; which treatise was answered by Arnold, afterwards cardinal Ossat, who was then in Italy. The pope likewise sent Anthony Possevini, a Jesuit, who had formerly been legate in Russia, to the Alps, to meet the duke of Nevers, the king's ambassador, and to inform him that he would not receive him in that character, as he had not yet acknowleged the king. Notwithstanding this declaration, the duke still continued his journey; however, he received a second message from the pope, ordering him to enter Rome as a private person, with a small retinue, and limiting the time of his residence to ten days. Cle-

[1] Thuan. ut supra.

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ment granted him two audiences in the end of November; but absolutely refused to absolve the king, or to grant him his benediction, declaring, that he would not believe his conversion real, unless he was assured of it by an angel from heaven. But that he might still keep both parties in suspence, by the advice of his legate in France, and the duke of Mayenne, he did not urge the departure of Nevers, though he swore in the consistory, that he would never grant absolution to Henry [m]. During these transactions he published a bull, banishing all the Jews from the ecclesiastical territories, excepting the cities of Rome, Ancona, and Avignon; and by another he prohibited any one from possessing or reading the Talmud, and several other Jewish books [n].

In the beginning of the following year he admitted the duke of Nevers to another conference; but though that ambassador again demanded absolution for the king, and whether it was lawful for Catholics to be present with him at the celebration of mass, or how they were to proceed in France with regard to the nomination to vacant bishopricks, he could receive no satisfactory answer; on which account he soon after left Rome, and returned to France, causing a journal of his embassy to be printed at Venice; to which he added a spirited remonstrance, complaining of the partiality of the pope, and the injustice of his legate; and proving, by many arguments and authorities, that the king had been legally absolved. A.D. 1594.

The pope dismisses his ambassador.

Although Clement behaved with great rigour towards the French ambassador, he about the same time received two monks, who came as ambassadors from the patriarch of Alexandria, with great kindness and civility. In the beginning of his pontificate he had sent a nuncio into Egypt, by whose persuasion the patriarch was prevailed upon to write to the pope, and to acknowlege him as the supreme head of all Christians. The two monks, who brought this letter, were treated with great magnificence, and, during their residence at Rome, were maintained at the pope's expence. In the beginning of the following year they made a public profession of the faith of the church of Rome, rejecting the Nestorian, Eutychian, and Dioscoran heresies, and sent a copy of their confession to Egypt; where it was confirmed and published by the patriarch.

[m] Idem, lib. cvii. & cviii. [n] Spond. Annal.

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A.D.1595. In the mean time, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of the cardinal legate, Henry IV. was acknowleged as king by ſome of the chiefs of the league; and, being admitted into Paris, received the ſubmiſſion of ſeveral cities, formerly attached to the Guiſian faction; namely, Lyons, Orleans, Berry, Rouen, Rheims, and others. However, as there was an attempt made upon his life, towards the end of December, by a diſciple of the Jeſuits, who had been taught by them, that it was a meritorious action to kill the king; and as many other religious orders ſtill looked upon him as a perſon excommunicated, and therefore refuſed to pray for him, the king, at the requeſt of the clergy and divines, ſent Davy du Perron, biſhop of Evreux, as his ambaſſador to the pope, again to ſolicit apoſtolical abſolution [o]. The pope, now perſuaded of the juſtice of the king's cauſe by the proſperity of his affairs, gave him aſſurances of a reconciliation; and Perron arriving at Rome about the middle of July, he immediately ordered ſupplications to be made through all the churches, and the prayer of forty hours to be recited for imploring divine aſſiſtance in ſuch a weighty affair. He himſelf likewiſe, two ſucceſſive mornings, went barefooted from his palace to the church of St. Mary Major, where he celebrated maſs; weeping, upon his return, at each ſtation, without looking up, or giving any benediction as uſual to the people [p]. During theſe ſupplications and proceſſions, every fifth day he conſulted one of the cardinals about the conditions of the abſolution. Thoſe of the Spaniſh faction, in hopes of rendering the embaſſy unſucceſsful, propoſed extremely hard conditions, which were rejected by Perron and Oſſat; who, after long diſputes, at length agreed with the pope upon ſixteen conditions; the chief of which were, that the king ſhould promiſe obedience to the apoſtolic ſee; ſhould reſtore the catholic religion in the principality of Bearn; ſhould build a monaſtery or nunnery in each province of his kingdom, and ſhould cauſe the decrees of the council of Trent to be publiſhed and obſerved throughout all his dominions. The ambaſſadors ſwearing to the performance of the articles agreed to, Clement, with great ſolemnity, granted abſolution to the king on the 17th of September [q].

Many cities reconciled to Henry IV.

The pope grants him abſolution.

[o] Thuan. lib. cx, cxi. cxiii. [p] Oſſat, epiſt. iii. [q] Iid. ibid.

SECT.

SECT. XIX.

Containing the Transactions of the See of Rome until the Treaties of Munster and Osnabrug.

AT this period, Clement received an embassay from the metropolitan of Kiovia and all Russia, and from other bishops in Lithuania and Poland, who followed the rites of the Greek church, professing their desire of an union with the church of Rome. The archbishop of Livonia likewise, arrived at the city with his nephew, and abjured the doctrines of Luther; but the joy on account of these new converts was soon abated; for accounts arrived in Europe, that the Alexandrian embassy had been a forgery, and it was publicly reported, that the Russians had disclaimed the submission of their metropolitan, and refused to acknowlege any subjection to the Roman see[r], During these transactions, Clement, at the earnest solicitation of the emperor, had sent his relation Francis Aldobrandino, with two thousand horse and eight thousand foot, into Hungary; who having joined the imperial army, commanded by the count of Mansfield and the archduke Matthias, defeated the Turks before Gran or Strigonia, and obliged the city to surrender on the 2d of September. He likewise sent a nuncio to the emperor, to negociate an alliance betwixt him and the Poles against the Turks, and ordered him to promise, in his name, forty thousand crowns a month to Bathori, prince of Transilvania, who had come to Prague, to have a conference with Rodolphus, and to solicit succours against the infidels. Clement at the same time prohibited Bathori from attacking the Poles, who had seized upon Moldavia, and offered himself as a mediator betwixt them, requiring them both to submit to his arbitration. He could not, however, prevail with the king of Poland to accept of him as mediator in the dispute with Bathori, nor could cardinal Cajetan, who a few months after was sent as his legate to Poland, persuade the diet to agree to an alliance against the Turks[s].

The pope receives an embassy from the Russians.

A.D. 1596.

Sends an army to Hungary.

[r] Thuan. lib. cxiv. Spond. Annal.

[s] Thuan. lib. cxv.

In

Sends cardinal de Medicis as his legate to France.

In the mean time the pope sent Alexander de Medicis, cardinal of Florence, as his legate to France, to receive the ratification of the articles agreed to by the French ambassadors at Rome, and to certify the apostolical absolution granted to the king. He was received at Paris with great magnificence; and, in consequence of the king's edict, his instructions, or his faculties, as they are usually called, were registered by the parliament, without any particular limitation. On the 12th of August he was admitted to a public audience, when the king confirmed the conditions of his absolution agreed to by his ambassadors at the court of Rome. Henry then appointed Francis Luxembourg, duke of Piney, as his ambassador to the pope; who did not arrive at Rome till the following year in the middle of April. His reception was very different from what he received in his first embassy; for the pope now strove, by his kindness, to obliterate the remembrance of his former morose behaviour. A triumphal arch was erected at the gate through which the ambassador passed, and next day he was admitted to an audience in the Vatican. After he had solemnly yielded obedience, in the king's name, to his holiness, he was invited by him to an entertainment; at which both the pope and he dined in the same room, but at different tables[t]. Mean while Clement, by means of his legate in France, and nuncio in Spain, earnestly sollicited both Philip and Henry to agree to a peace. As Henry was now firmly established on the throne of France, and Philip began to feel the infirmities of old age, and to be sensible of the dismal effects of his extravagant ambition, the mediation of his holiness was acceptable to both; and by means of a Franciscan, employed by cardinal de Medicis, Henry's secretary, agreed to a conference with a deputy from the governor of Flanders, when they appointed the negociations for a peace to be held at Vervins.

A.D.1597.

The pope claims the duchy of Ferrara.

While these preliminaries were settling in France, Italy was threatened with new commotions by the death of Alphonso, duke of Ferrara. As the duke had no issue, he left all his estates, by his will, to a bastard relation named Cæsar d'Este, who, upon his death, immediately took possession of his dominions, and wrote to the Christian princes, informing them of his succession. He likewise sent an ambassador to Rome with a letter to the pope, who alleged, that as Alphonso had died without issue, his

[t] Idem, lib. cxix.

fief

fief had devolved to the holy see. He therefore, upon reading the titles assumed by Cæsar, threw away the letter, dismissed his ambassador, and immediately assembled a considerable body of forces, which he sent, under the command of his nephew, cardinal Aldobrandino, into the territory of Bologna. He also published a monitory against Cæsar, denouncing an anathema against him, if he did not immediately renounce his claim to Ferrara; and cited him to appear at Rome within fifteen days, under pain of being declared a rebel. Cæsar, at first, paid no regard to the pope's menaces, but, raising an army, gained a small advantage over the papal troops; however, as the Christian princes refused to engage in this quarrel, and Henry IV. of France openly declared for the pope, he thought proper to agree to an accommodation; which was concluded on the 11th of January, on these conditions; that Cæsar, and all those who had espoused his cause, should be absolved from excommunication; that he should renounce all right to Ferrara, and all territories belonging to the church; that he should have leave to carry off one half of the artillery, and to keep the allodial possessions of the family; that he should enjoy the same rank at Rome as the late duke Alphonso, and should retain the titles of duke of Modena and Reggio; which cities, with that of Carpi, being under the imperial jurisdiction, the emperors, Maximilian and Rodolphus, had permitted Alphonso to leave them, by his will, to Cæsar. The news of this accommodation were joyfully received by Clement, who confirmed the conditions agreed to, and, on the 11th of February, published a bull, uniting the city and duchy of Ferrara to the apostolic see. In order to settle the affairs of that new acquisition, he soon after left Rome, and, proceeding through the ecclesiastical state with great pomp and ceremony, arrived at Ferrara on the 8th of May, attended by twenty-seven cardinals; where he continued till the end of November [u].

A.D. 1598.

Cæsar d'Este renounces his pretensions to it.

Mean while a peace was concluded between France and Spain at Vervins, by the mediation of his legate in France, and his nuncio, Francis Gonzaga, bishop of Modena, after a negociation of four months; some disputes, however, between king Henry and the duke of Savoy were still left undecided, and referred to the arbitration of the pope. A match having been concluded between Isabella, sister of the king of Spain, and her cousin, cardinal Al-

A peace concluded betwixt France and Spain.

[u] Thuan. lib. cxix. Spond. Annal.

bert,

bert, the emperor's brother, and governor of Flanders, he solemnly resigned his hat and sacerdotal habit in the church of St. Mary of Halle, near Brussels. An alliance had likewise been concluded between Margaret of Austria and her cousin Philip III. of Spain, who had succeeded to that crown by the death of his father, while she was on her journey to Ferrara. There the pope received Albert and Margaret with great honour and respect; and having granted both parties a dispensation, with regard to the degrees of consanguinity, he himself celebrated both marriages on the 15th of November, in the cathedral church, the archduke standing sponsor for the king of Spain, and the Spanish ambassador for the infanta Isabella [w]. A few days after this ceremony the pope, having conferred a great many privileges on the city of Ferrara, left that place and proceeded to Rome, where he arrived on the 20th of December. The joy expressed by the Romans for his return was quickly allayed by a dreadful inundation of the Tyber, occasioned by the frequent rains, and a strong south wind, which stopt the current of the river. On Christmas-day the whole city was covered, excepting only the seven mountains, and a few other rising grounds. Upwards of a thousand people perished, and the city received more damage than if it had been plundered by an enemy [x]. The charity of the pope, and of several cardinals, was very conspicuous during this public calamity, by alleviating the distresses of the poor, and furnishing them with provisions. After the inundation had ceased, he, to the utmost of his power, supplied the losses which particular persons had suffered; and, attributing the calamity more to the sins of the people than to natural causes, he published a bull, exhorting all to repentance, and to works of charity, appointing likewise supplications, and granting general indulgences.

A D. 1599.

A great inundation of the Tyber at Rome.

Soon after this calamity he was greatly afflicted with the news of the publication of the edict of Nantz, by which liberty of conscience was granted to the Hugonots of France; however, by the representations of cardinal Ossat, he was in some measure reconciled to the king's proceeding; and, a few months after, at his request, he appointed delegates to examine into the validity of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. He likewise consented to act as arbitrator in the differences betwixt him and the duke of Savoy, concerning the marquisate of Saluces; but the

[w] Thuan. lib. cxxi. Spond. Annal. [x] Idem ibid.

duke

duke refusing to deposit the disputed territories in the pope's hands, and alleging that he had engaged, by private agreement, to decide in favour of the king, Clement, with indignation, rejected the arbitration, as his integrity and justice had been called in question by such a suspicion. In the mean time, the corpse of St. Cæcilia being lately found, he, with great solemnity, transferred it to the church of that name[y]; and, as the following year was the commencement of a new century, according to the common computation, he published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee at Rome; where he ordered great preparations to be made for the reception and entertainment of the pilgrims. He wrote also to all Christian princes, exhorting them to give no interruption to those who should undertake a journey to Rome to receive the benefit of the indulgences, which he suspended for one year in all other places; and, on the last day of December, in the evening, he, with the usual ceremony, opened the holy gate of St. Peter's, while three of the cardinals at the same time opened the gates of St. Paul's, in the road to Ostia, St. John's in the Lateran, and St. Mary Major's. A.D. 1600. *A jubilee celebrated at Rome.*

The number of those, who, during the holy year, resorted to Rome on account of religion or curiosity, was immensely great. Besides, many nobles and princes came to Rome, among whom was the duke of Bavaria, and Andrew, cardinal of Austria, both incognito, in the habit of pilgrims; likewise the dukes of Bar and Parma, the French king's ambassador, and the viceroy of Naples; which last yielded obedience to the pope in the name of the new king of Spain. Among the strangers were many Protestants and Turks, several of whom embraced the faith of the church of Rome. The duke of Bar came to Rome to endeavour to obtain a dispensation for his marriage with the king of France's sister, Catharine, whom he had married the year before, though she was his own cousin and a Hugonot. The pope absolutely refused his request, unless Catharine would abjure the heresy of Calvin, and profess the Roman faith; which conditions she rejected with great constancy. As the duke, however, promised to dismiss her publicly, he was absolved from all his past sins, admitted to the sacred com-

[y] Spond. Annal.

munion, and allowed the benefit of the indulgences of the jubilee [a] (P).

Clement was more complaisant to the king of France with regard to his marriage. He readily confirmed the sentence of the delegates, who had declared his marriage null, because his queen, Margaret, was within the third degree of consanguinity, and although he had obtained a dispensation from Gregory XIII. yet that had no effect, as it had been granted without the desire and knowlege of Margaret, and the king had not then truly abjured his heresy. For these, and some other frivolous reasons, the delegates had declared the marriage null from the beginning. The pope, remembering the fatal consequences of the behaviour of his predecessor Clement VII. to Henry VIII. of England, confirmed their sentence without any difficulty; and, as the king had declared his intention of marrying Mary de Medicis, daughter of the late grand duke of Tuscany, he presented the bride with a hundred thousand crowns, besides many rich jewels, and sent his nephew, cardinal Aldobrandino, as his legate to Florence, who, on the 5th of October, solemnized the nuptials with great pomp, Henry IV. having sent Bellegarde, his master of the horse, to be his proxy [b]. From Florence the legate proceeded to Savoy, and, having had many difficulties, at length prevailed upon both parties to agree to a peace; the marquisate of Saluces being exchanged for La Bresse, Henry quitting all claim to the former, and the latter being declared part of the kingdom of France.

The pope annuls the marriage of the king of France.

Clement, in the mean time, founded a monastery for those poor girls, who, without any habitation, wandered in the streets of Rome, having four years before founded one for the poor boys, who were afterwards called Lite-

[a] Offat. Epist. ccxviii. ccxxi. Annal.

[b] Thuan. lib. cxxiv. Spond.

(P) The dispensation was granted three years afterwards, the duchess having pretended a desire of conversion; but she died before it took effect, in February, 1604. Thuanus, in the hundred and twenty-fourth book of his history, gives a different account, and says, that the duke immediately obtained a dispensation from the pope without any difficulty. We have preferred the authority of cardinal Offat, then at Rome (1).

(1) Offat. Epist.

rati,

rati, from one Literatus, who was the firſt promoter of that charity [c]. Having been patron and protector of the Scotch nation at the court of Rome before his promotion to the pontificate, he now founded and endowed a college for the inſtruction of the young men from that kingdom; and, at the requeſt of the Portugueſe, he publiſhed a bull, allowing the generals of all the mendicant orders to ſend what number of Monks they pleaſed from Portugal into the Eaſt Indies, prohibiting, at the ſame time, any monks to paſs from the Philippine iſlands, or the Weſt Indies, to any of the Portugueſe ſettlements in Aſia, as the nations of Spain and Portugal, though then under the ſame king, ſtill purſued ſeparate intereſts, and were mutually jealous of their national privileges. He was likewiſe very earneſt with the king of France to publiſh the decrees of the council of Trent in his kingdom, according to one of the conditions of his abſolution; but though Henry declared his willingneſs to comply with the pope's deſire, and even ſigned and ſealed the edict for the promulgation of the council, the oppoſition of the parliament of Paris prevented the edict from being publiſhed. Clement, at the ſame time, ſolicited, without any effect, the re-admiſſion of the Jeſuits, who had been baniſhed from France ſeveral years before; and, having concluded the jubilee at Rome, he allowed a feſtival of the ſame kind to be celebrated for a certain time, in the following year, in ſome kingdoms and provinces (Q).

He founds a Scotch college at Rome.

A few

[c] Spond. ut ſupra.

(Q) Spondanus, the abridger and continuator of the Eccleſiaſtical Annals of Baronius, informs us, that he was preſent at this ceremony, having accompanied the cardinal de Sourdis to Rome; where, a few years after, he was ordained prieſt. Five years before he had abjured Calviniſm, in which he had been educated; and, having diſtinguiſhed himſelf by his great abilities and zealous attachment to the popiſh cauſe, in the year 1626 he was nominated by Lewis XIII. of France to the biſhoprick of Pamiers: which dignity, however, he refuſed to accept of, till he received a mandate from pope Urban VIII. His annals are wrote in a clear animated ſtyle, and he ſeems to have been extremely well qualified for an hiſtorian, if he had been diveſted of his flagrant partiality for the church of Rome, and unjuſt prejudices againſt all thoſe of a different communion, whom he rails at without any temper or decency. He concluded

A.D.1601.

He receives an embassy from Persia.

A few months after two ambassadors arrived at Rome from the king of Persia, to solicit the assistance of the Christian powers against the Turks, and to inform the pope, that he had lately recovered a large province from them, and had drawn the governors of Georgia, Mingrelia, and Circassia into his interests. The two ambassadors, one of whom was an Englishman, had a fierce dispute about precedence, upon their public entry into Rome; after some blows the Englishman obtained possession of the honourable place, and was admitted to a separate audience from his colleague; but their embassy was without any effect; and each of them having received several thousand crowns from the pope, left Rome, the Persian sailing to Spain, and the Englishman, having deceived his creditors, pretending to return directly to Persia[d]. Soon after their departure from Rome, Clement published a bull to quiet the great dissensions among the Catholics in England. The Jesuits, for several years, had been endeavouring, by the most unjustifiable means, to subject all the popish priests in that kingdom to their authority, and, by fraud and violence had prevented the deputies of the clergy from presenting their appeals to the pope. The poor priests, who complained that they were more oppressed by the Jesuits than by queen Elizabeth, at length got an opportunity of laying their grievances before his holiness; who, finding that the intrigues of the Jesuits were prejudicial to the popish cause, retrenched their authority by his bull, and thus put an end to the dissensions[e]. About the same time he sent twelve thousand men to the assistance of the emperor against the Turks. These troops, commanded by his nephew, Francis Aldobrandino, having embarked at Ancona, crossed the Adriatic, and arrived about the middle of September, before Canisa which they invested, in conjunction with the other imperial troops; but the garrison, which was very numerous, having defended the place with great vigour, they were obliged to abandon the siege towards the end of November, and to leave behind them the greatest part of their artillery[f].

[d] Spond. Prol. ad Sæcul. XVII.
[e] Thuan. lib. cxxvi.
[f] Idem ibid.

cluded his annals at this period, but added a short continuation to the year 1640, under the title of Prolusio ad Sæculum XVII.

In

In the following year Clement allowed the Dominicans and the Jesuits to dispute in his presence concerning grace and free will, and published a declaration, prohibiting sacramental confessions to be made by letters or proxies to absent confessors[g]. He again solicited the king of France for the re-establishment of the Jesuits in that kingdom. He likewise ordered his nuncio to complain to the king against the Hugonots, who, in a synod which they held in the month of October, at Gap, in Dauphiné, had, among their other canons, decreed, that the pope was the real antichrist. Henry himself was offended with the decree, as it accused him of worshipping the beast; and all the catholic clergy remonstrating against the new heretical article, the king used his utmost endeavours with the chief of the Hugonots to have it abolished, but without any effect[h]. A.D.1603.

A disputation betwixt the Jesuits and Dominicans at Rome.

At the same time the authority of the pope received an attack from the Jesuits; who, being offended that, in the late dispute with the Dominicans, he had not patronized their order, began to assert that the pope was not infallible, and that it was not an article of the Catholic faith to believe that Clement VIII. was the lawful successor of St. Peter. They likewise defended the lawfulness of confessing by proxy, and asserted the orthodoxy of the opinion of the Jesuit Molina concerning grace. These questions greatly alarmed the assertors of the papal supremacy. The Jesuit, who impugned the infallibity, was imprisoned, and the whole order would have suffered, if the Spanish ambassador had not interceded earnestly in their behalf. The question about confession was also suppressed; but the pope allowed the dispute, concerning the influence of grace and the freedom of the will, to be canvassed more fully. As he was not a little offended with the behaviour of the Jesuits, he absolutely refused to canonize their founder Loyola, notwithstanding the great interest they at this time made in the papal court, and though they were now supported by Henry IV. who, in the beginning of this year, allowed their order to return to France, and chose his confessor from their society. Though Clement had repused the Jesuits, yet, at the request of the clergy of Milan, he canonized cardinal Charles Borromeo. A.D.1604.

The Jesuits deny the infallibility of the pope.

Mean while the peace of the city was, in some measure, disturbed by a contest about the privilege of an asylum. A prisoner having been pursued by the sbirri, or consta-

A commotion in Rome.

[g] Sond. ut supra. [h] Mezer. Abreg. Chron. tom. xiv.

bles, took refuge in the palace of cardinal Odoard Farnese, where he was protected by force against the prefect of Rome. The cardinal, with several Roman nobles, and the Spanish ambassador, after continuing in arms all night, with several of their dependents, next morning marched out of the town with the criminal, to a castle at thirty-six miles distance; which behaviour irritating the pope, he sent to him, and ordered him to resign his government of St. Peter's Patrimony, which his ancestors had enjoyed ever since the pontificate of Paul III. Upon his refusal Clement immediately ordered new levies to be made, and prepared to reduce him to his obedience by force; which design the cardinal being informed of, he thought proper to submit, and effected his reconciliation by means of his brother the duke of Parma, who had married one of the pope's nieces[j]. The pope survived this disturbance only a few months. He died on the 2d of March, in the seventieth year of his age, and the fourteenth year of his pontificate; during which he had created, at different promotions, upwards of fifty cardinals, among whom were Baronius, Bellarmine, Du Perron, De Sourdi, D'Offat, and Olivier. This pope was greatly extolled for his piety and moderation. He was a great patron of learned men, and is said to have promised liberty of conscience to the celebrated Scipio Gentilis, to induce him to accept of a professor's chair in the university of Bologna[k]. He is represented, however, in another light by Heydegger; who says, that he formed a scheme of a holy league for oppressing the Protestants, which was approved by the emperor[l].

A.D. 1605.

The death of Clement VIII.

Cardinal Aldobrandino, the nephew of the late pope, who, a few months before his death, had succeeded to the archbishoprick of Ravenna, and had great authority in the sacred college, upon entering into the conclave, endeavoured to procure the tiara for the famous Baronius. He was seconded by the cardinals of the French faction; but the Spanish party, which for a long time had been superior in the Roman court, opposed him with great violence and malice, in resentment of what Baronius had written in the eleventh volume of his Ecclesiastical Annals, against the right claimed by the king of Spain to the kingdom of Sicily, independent of the holy see. They produced a letter of complaint against him, as if written from the viceroy of Naples to the late pope; which, to

[j] Thuan. lib. cxxxi. [k] Piccart. in Orat. Funeb. Scipion. Gent. [l] Heydeg. Hist. Papat. Ætat. vii.

the

their great confusion, was proved to be a forgery. After two or three scrutinies his interest was found to be considerable; but as there were no less than sixty cardinals in the conclave, he could not procure a legal majority; the Spaniards being sufficiently strong to put a negative upon the election of any one whom they disapproved. Bellarmine and some others were also rejected. At length cardinal de Joyeuse, chief of the French faction, proposed cardinal Alexander de Medicis, who was accordingly elected, by a scrutiny with open billets on the 1st of April, when he assued the name of Leo XI. He was the son of Octaviano, cousin of Cosmo, great duke of Tuscany. Having been created cardinal by Gregory XIII. he had long distinguished himself at the court of Rome by his magnificence and kindness to learned men. His predecessor sent him as legate to France; where, by his wise and moderate conduct, he gained great reputation. His promotion, which gave great joy to the Romans, made no alteration in his behaviour; but he gave audience with his usual affability, and continued those in office who had been appointed by his predecessors. He promised to ease his subjects of their taxes, and to adorn the city of Rome; but he was prevented from executing his designs by death, on the 27th day of his pontificate, and in the seventieth year of his age [m].

Leo XI. is chosen pope.

His death.

Upon the death of Leo XI. the conclave was divided into four principal factions; namely, the Spanish and French, and those of Aldobrandino and Montalto. Cardinals Sauli, Mariano, and Bellarmine, were proposed, and rejected. Tosco de Reggio was also nominated by the Spanish and Aldobrandine factions; but, by the clamours of Baronius, who exclaimed loudly against him, forty-four cardinals deserted him, and proposed to adore the other, whom they conducted to the Pauline chapel. The election of Baronius, however, met with an interruption, and Tosco, when he returned to his cell, found it pillaged, his palace in the city being also plundered, according to custom, as his election was looked upon as certain. Aldobrandino then proposed Camillo Borghese, who, being acceptable to Montalto and De Joyeuse, was conducted to the Pauline chapel, where he was elected by an open scrutiny, on the 16th of May, and took the name of Paul V [n]. He was then only in the fifty-third

Paul V. elected.

[m] Hist. de Concl. Thuan. lib. cxxxiv. [n] Idem ibid.

year of his age. He was born at Rome, to which city his father had come from Sienna, and acted as consistorial advocate. Camillo had a great reputation for his knowlege in the civil law, and was created a cardinal by Clement VIII. who sent him as his nuncio to Spain. Soon after his elevation he gave his own cardinal's hat to Scipio Caffarelli, his sister's son, and elevated his two surviving brothers, Francis and John Baptist, to the chief dignities in Rome, the first being appointed governor of the Vatican, and the other governor of St. Angelo.

He endeavours to advance the ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

The chief concern of the new pope was to advance the ecclesiastical authority and jurisdiction. He earnestly pressed the king of France to publish the decrees of the council of Trent. He solicited the king of Spain to grant the Jesuits an exemption from the payment of their tithe; and to send the regent of Ponte to Rome, because, in consequence of the king's edict, he had sent two booksellers of Naples to the gallies, for selling the eleventh volume of the Annals of Baronius, contrary to the royal prohibition. He was offended with the republic of Lucca, because it had published an edict, prohibiting all commerce and correspondence with those Lucchese, who had left their country and embraced the Protestant religion. He insisted, that the edict should be repealed, that there might be an opportunity to act by the censures of the church. He likewise threatened the Genoese for having suppressed a seditious congregation, which assembled at a chapel of the Jesuits in their city; but his chief dispute about ecclesiastical immunity was with the republic of Venice.

A.D. 1606.

On which account he quarrels with the Venetians.

The Venetians had published several laws for restraining the power and licentiousness of the clergy: they had prohibited the building of new churches, convents, and monasteries, in their dominions, without the express permission of the seignory, and had declared ecclesiastics incapable of making any new acquisition of immoveable property, without leave of the senate. They had likewise, by their own authority, imprisoned an abbot and a canon, who had been guilty of enormous crimes; on which account the pope sent two briefs to his nuncio at Venice, one for annulling the new made laws; and the other ordering the two prisoners to be remitted to the ecclesiastical courts. The republic defended their proceedings with great spirit, while some of the cardinals endeavoured to mediate an accommodation. Others, with more success, inflamed the difference, in hopes that the pope, by being

being engaged in such an intricate affair, would be seized with grief, which might shorten his days [o]. Paul, being unable to obtain his imperious demands from the Venetians, on the 17th of April thundered out a bull of excommunication and interdict against the republic, unless they would give him satisfaction within twenty-four days. A great number of treatises appeared on both sides of the controversy; but the Venetians resolved to defend their cause, not by writings, but by arms. They prohibited the ecclesiastics within their dominions from paying any regard to the pope's bull (S). They began to equip a fleet, hired eight thousand Grisons, and assembled forces on the borders of the Milanese. The pope likewise, at first, with great ardour, assembled an army in the duchy of Spoleto, and solicited succours from the kings of France and Spain; who promised to assist him with a formidable army. In the mean time he put an end to the controversy concerning grace, betwixt the Jesuits and Dominicans, ordaining that each party might modestly defend their own opinion in the schools, without condemning that of the other, till a determination of the apostolic see should be published [p]. He likewise erected a congregation of war, which institution surprised all Italy, as the court of Rome, till that time, had always covered their temporal designs with spiritual pretences. However, as he found the Venetians not terrified by his threats, and that they had the promise of assistance not only from the

[o] Thuan. lib. cxxxvii.

[p] Spond. ut supra.

(S) Some few of the clergy thought proper to obey the pope; but the monks continued quiet in their monasteries, only the orders of Capuchins and Jesuits asked leave to depart. The Capuchins had liberty to return when they pleased; but the Jesuits were banished for ever by an edict, and all were prohibited from holding any correspondence with them, under pain of the gallies and the loss of goods. At their departure from the city, the mob conducted them to the shore, shouting, and calling after them, that they might go to the devil if they pleased. They, in resentment for this treatment, endeavoured, by private intrigues, to raise factions among the nobility, and caused two gentlemen of the Venetian ambassador's retinue in Poland to be affronted at mass, and to be expelled the church (1).

(1) Thuan. lib. cxxxvii. Peref. Hist. de Hen. IV. Heydeg. Rycaut.

king

king of Great Britain and the States of Holland, but even from the grand signior, he expressed his desire of an accommodation to the French ambassador at Rome; for he found that the king of Spain only designed to amuse him, that monarch having demanded, as the condition of engaging in the war, a releasе of the yearly tribute for the kingdom of Naples, and a surrender of Ferrara and Ancona. Henry IV. of France was more sincere in his endeavours to serve both parties, and, by his ambassador at Venice, pressed the republic to make some offers of a submission. They, as well as the pope, accepting of his mediation, he sent the cardinal de Joyeuse into Italy, who conducted his negociation with such prudence, that he at last concluded a peace on these conditions; that the republic should give up the two prisoners into the hands of the French ambassador, to be delivered to the pope; should revoke the protest against the apostolical censures; and restore all ecclesiastics to their estates; on which account the pope should give them absolution. Paul having thus settled the articles, left Rome, and, arriving at Venice, with great solemnity revoked the sentence of excommunication on the 21st of April [q].

A.D. 1607.

The difference with the Venetians accommodated.

The pope, being informed that the king of Great Britain had published the form of an oath, by which all his subjects in England were required to swear, that king James was supreme lord of all the dominions which he possessed, and that the pope had no authority of deposing a king, he immediately dispatched a brief into England, prohibiting all the papists from taking that oath, and exhorting them patiently to endure all manner of persecution rather than comply [r].

The pope receives an embassy from the king of Congo.

In the course of the following year Paul received an embassy from the king of Congo in Africa, where the monks, after a long interval, had again insinuated themselves. He received the ambassador with great respect, and promised to send several learned and pious preachers with him into his own country; but as he died soon after his arrival at Rome, the design of sending missionaries to Congo was at that time laid aside. About the same time the archbishop of Goa procured letters to the pope from the king of Persia, and next year the Persian ambassador

A.D. 1609.

And from the king of Persia.

q Thuan. ut supra. Rycaut. Mezer. Abreg. Chron. tom. vi. Perefix. Hist. d'Hen. IV. Fra Paolo Droit de Souverains, Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom. i. r Spond. ut sup. Etat. du Siege de Rome. p. 34.

arrived

arrived at Rome, to yield obedience, as it was pretended, to Paul, and to inform him, that he allowed Christians to build churches and schools in his dominions[s]. An embassy arrived likewise this same year from Elias, the Nestorian patriarch at Babylon; who, having received a confession of the Roman faith from Paul, in the beginning of his pontificate, now sent one Adam, an archdeacon, to Rome, with a new confession, drawn up in different terms from the Roman, but without any material alteration as to the sense; intending to shew the pope, that the faith of the orientals differed only in words from that of Rome. The pope's secretary, in his examination of this writing, explained every article in an unfavourable sense, and obliged the legate of the patriarch to submit, not only to the doctrines, but to the words of the Roman church. The legate signed every thing that the pope proposed to him, and not only abjured the errors of his nation, but also addressed some treatises to his countrymen, exhorting them to an entire conformity with the church of Rome. At his departure, which happened two years afterwards, he was accompanied by two Jesuits, and carried with him a brief from the pope to the patriarch, requiring him to renounce all expressions which might seem to countenance error[t].

The Nestorians are re-united to the church of Rome.

During his residence at Rome, the pope was earnestly pressed by the king of France to enter into a defensive alliance with him and the princes of Italy; and, to prevail upon him to accede to the treaty, a match was proposed betwixt his nephew and the king's natural daughter. But Paul absolutely refused to engage in the alliance, as he was apprehensive, from the great preparations made by the king, that he intended a rupture with Spain, and to invade the Milanese; in which case he proposed to observe a strict neutrality, though he was desirous to prevent, if possible, any hostilities in Italy. This negociation was interrupted by the assassination of Henry IV. at which the pope expressed great sorrow; and, as a testimony of his regard, he assisted personally at his obsequies; which were celebrated at Rome with great solemnity. Hearing that some young Frenchmen in the city rejoiced at the king's death, and styled the assassin the deliverer of their country, he ordered them to be seized; and, upon process made against them, condemned them to the

A.D. 1610.

Paul expresses great sorrow for the murder of the king of France.

[s] Spond. ut sup. [t] Stroz. de Dogmat. Chald. R. Simon. Hist. Crit. de Dogmat. des Orient. Nic. Godig. lib. i. de Reb. Abassyn. ap. Aub. Miræum de Stat. Rel. Christ.

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gallies[u]. About the same time the congregation delle Indice published their censure of the history of Thuanus, while Paul, in imitation of Clement V. and other popes, published a bull, ordering all the religious orders to maintain professors in the Hebrew, Arabic, Greek, and Latin languages[w].

Paul is remiss in the administration of public affairs.

The pope being disgusted with business, on account of the great trouble and vexation in which he had been involved by his rupture with the Venetians, now indulged himself in sloth and indolence. He neglected the administration of affairs, and was chiefly intent upon enriching his nephew cardinal Borghese, by conferring upon him many opulent benefices, and drawing pensions from a great many others both in Spain and Italy[x]. He took great delight in adorning the city with magnificent buildings, and about this time finished the large palace of Monte Cavallo, which had been begun by Sixtus V. Besides, he greatly enlarged the church of St. Peter, and the Vatican palace and library; he built two magnificent palaces for his relations, one in the city, and the other, with spacious gardens, without the walls; and in both he collected the most valuable works in sculpture and painting, and the finest monuments of antiquity which he could purchase. He brought water to several parts of the city by aqueducts, and embellished the streets with a great number of fountains; on which account he was styled, by Pasquin, Pontifex Maximus[y].

He published a bull for founding a seminary of cardinals at Rome; and, at the request of the queen-regent of France, he confirmed the congregation of pious priests, which had been instituted by her at Paris, under the title of the Congregation of the Fathers of the Oratory, in honour of the prayers put up by Christ in the days of his flesh[a]. He likewise, by a treaty with Lewis XIII. regulated the limits of the county of Venaissin, situated between Dauphiné and Provence, and belonging to the holy see[b]. Being informed that the queen-regent was treating with the king of Great Britain about a marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and her second daughter Christina, he ordered his nuncio Ubaldini to remonstrate against the proposed alliance, as prejudicial to the church. The nuncio, finding that he made no impression upon the

[u] Nic. Rigalt. de reb. Gal. Rycaut. Rigalt. ut sup.
[w] Spond. ut sup.
[x] Nic. de Marb. Request. a l'Emper. Edit. de Leyd 1613.
[y] Etat du Siege de Rome, lib. i. p. 33.
[a] Spond. ut sup.
[b] Hist. des Traitez de Paix.

queen,

queen, endeavoured to alarm the devotees at Paris; but his intrigues were unneceſſary; for the queen was not ſincere in the negociation with the Britiſh court, and only intended to quiet the diſcontents of the French, who murmured greatly at the double alliance which ſhe had contracted the year before with Spain[c]. This alliance chiefly gave offence to the prince of Conde and the Hugonots, who remembered the late fatal effects of the Spaniſh councils in their kingdom. Together with the prince, the duke of Mayenne and ſeveral other nobles entered into an aſſociation; and, after publiſhing ſeveral remonſtrances againſt the queen's mal-adminiſtration, had recourſe to arms. An accommodation, however, was ſoon effected, by means of the parliament of Paris, the queen having made great conceſſions to the prince of Condé, with which the pope's nuncio was greatly offended, as he imagined the prince intended to renounce the popiſh religion, and to claim the ſucceſſion to the crown. A.D. 1614.

The pope oppoſes an alliance betwixt the prince of Wales and a daughter of France.

As the parliament of Paris condemned a book of Suarez, a Spaniſh Jeſuit, to be burnt by the hands of the common hangman, as containing pernicious and damnable doctrines, the pope made great complaints againſt them to the French ambaſſador at Rome, and ordered him to deſire the queen-regent to annul the decree, promiſing, that, if any propoſition of Suarez was derogatory to the ſovereignty of the king, it ſhould be cenſured at Rome. The ambaſſador repreſenting the impracticability of annulling the decree, and obſerving that, if the doctrine of aſſaſſinating princes, who are accuſed of tyranny, ſhould become general, the popes themſelves were not ſafe, but might happen to be murdered by ſome fanatical heretic, Paul, after ſome reflection, agreed to write to his nuncio in France, and ſent briefs to the cardinals Joyeuſe, Perron, and Rochefoucault, enjoining them to confer with the nuncio about the means of procuring ſatisfaction to the holy ſee. Lewis XIII. being declared major about the beginning of October, in order to ſatisfy the pope, publiſhed a declaration, affirming, that the execution of the decree of parliament ſhould not infringe the lawful authority of the pope, or the privileges acknowleged by his anceſtors to belong to the holy ſee. Paul was far from being ſatisfied with this declaration, as by the word *lawful*, the authority of the holy ſee ſeemed in ſome meaſure limited; he therefore ſtill inſiſted, that the decree ſhould be judi-

He accuſes the parliament of Paris of encroaching upon the juriſdiction of the church.

[c] Siri ut ſup. Vaſſor Hiſt. de Lewis XIII.

cially

cially annulled; but all the satisfaction he could obtain, was only the suspension of its execution [d].

A.D.1615. He was likewise disappointed in his endeavours to prevail with the states of France, who were then sitting at Paris, to order the publication of the decrees of the council of Trent. Though the clergy, who were zealous in the interest of the court of France, had gained the nobility, yet they were both opposed by the third estate, whose delegates made a motion for treating of the extent of the pope's authority over kings. But as that dispute would have only kept alive the factions in the kingdom, they were opposed by the two other estates; who, on that account, received congratulatory briefs from the pope [e]. Paul in the mean time received a letter from the bishop of Paphlagonia, acknowleging his supremacy; and two ambassadors arrived at Rome from Japan, one of whom was a noble Japanese, and the other a Spanish friar, of the order of St. Francis, who had converted one of the kings in that distant country. Those ambassadors requested of the pope, that he would send a greater number of missionaries into that kingdom to convert the infidels, and mentioned several other particulars, which are fully related by the continuator of Thuanus [f]. An ambassador extraordinary also about the same time arrived at Rome from France, who solemnly yielded obedience to the pope, in the king's name.

He endeavours to cause the council of Trent to be received in France.

In the course of the following year the pope endeavoured to mediate a peace betwixt the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy, who, though a few months before they had agreed to an accommodation, now renewed hostilities with greater animosity. His attention, however, was much more engaged with a controversy betwixt the Dominicans and Franciscans, about the immaculate conception of the Blessed Virgin. Ever since the beginning of the former century, there had been great disputes among the papists about this very important point; but they had never been arried to so great a height as at present. The Dominicans maintained the affirmative, and the Franciscans supported the negative; but both parties were transported with such animosity and furious zeal, that Spain was almost engaged in a religious civil war on their account. The catholic king, to prevent the fa-

Great disputes about the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary.

[d] Le Vassor & Siri, ut sup. de Lewis XIII. Spond, ut sup.

[e] Contin. de Mezer. Hist.

[f] Thuan. Contin. lib. viii.

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tal effects of this blind contest, pressed the pope, by repeated embassies, to give an authoritative decision of the question in dispute; but all that he could obtain of Paul was a renovation of the constitutions of Sixtus IV. and Pius V. on that subject, with more severe sanctions than formerly; to which the next year, in the month of August, he added a decree, prohibiting absolutely all persons from teaching, or asserting publicly, that the Holy Virgin was conceived in original sin[g]; though every one was left at liberty to believe or not to believe this proposition, according to the dictates of his own conscience. A.D. 1617.

By these means he, in some measure, put a stop to the animosities in Spain; but quickly after he was engaged in another dispute with the court of France, on account of the possessions of marshal D'Ancre at Rome. As that Florentine, by the abuse of his power, had acquired immense wealth, which he laid out in purchases at Florence and Rome, the parliament of Paris, after his murder, which happened in the end of April, declared him a traitor, and confiscated, for the use of the king, all the estates that he had acquired, whether within or without the kingdom. In consequence of this parliamentary decree, the archbishop of Lyons demanded, for the use of the French king, all the estates which the late marshal possessed at Rome. This arrogant demand was at first treated with contempt by the pope; but at length, after many propositions, he agreed to a partition of the estate with Lewis XIII. in such a manner, that of the whole, which amounted to four hundred and twenty-five thousand livres, the king should have two hundred and fifty thousand, and the remaining one hundred and seventy-five thousand should be left to the pope, to be appropriated by him to the building of St. Peter's church[h]. This treaty of the partition of the succession of D'Ancre was concluded about a year after his death, which had occasioned great revolutions at the court of France. The queen-regent was obliged to retire to Blois, and Richelieu, bishop of Luçon, one of the late marshal's creatures, was ordered to quit the kingdom. He retired to Avignon, where he was at first countenanced by the pope, who interceded for him as a persecuted bishop; but the French ambassador at Rome, by order of the king, representing that some of the bishop's intrigues had been discovered prejudicial to A.D. 1618.

A partition of the marshal D'Ancre's estates at Rome betwixt the pope and the king of France.

[g] Heydeg. Hist. Papat. Spond. ut sup. [h] Le Grain Decade de Louis le Just. Relat. Exact. de la Mort du Marechal D'Ancre, a la Fin de l'Hist. des Favoris, Leyd. Edit. 1661.

the

the state, Paul ceased to interest himself in his behalf, though he allowed him still to reside in his territories.

A.D. 1619. In the mean time he employed himself in confirming several monkish orders. In the beginning of the following year, he published a universal jubilee, for imploring the assistance of God for the defence of the church, which was endangered by a general insurrection of the Protestants in Bohemia, and the other countries under the Austrian dominion. They had been provoked to take arms, on account of the oppression which they suffered from the emperor Matthias, by the instigation of his cousin Ferdinand, archduke of Gratz, who a few years before had been declared heir of the crown of Bohemia by the States. Ferdinand, a few weeks after the publication of the jubilee, succeeding to all his cousin's hereditary dominions, and not long after being elected emperor, endeavoured to prevail with the rebels in Bohemia to hearken to an accommodation, by offering them a full confirmation of all their privileges; but they, distrusting his sincerity, rejected his offers, chose the elector Palatine for their king, and entered into an alliance with the Protestants in Hungary, Austria, Moravia, Silesia, and Lusace, who were also in arms. The pope, alarmed at this powerful confederacy, gave assistance in money to the emperor; who, next year, gained a decisive victory over his competitor in the neighbourhood of Prague, which secured to him the possession of Bohemia, and obliged the other rebels to submit[i].

An universal jubilee published at Rome.

A.D. 1621. Paul survived the news of this victory only a few months, and died at Rome on the 28th of January, in the 69th year of his age, and the sixteenth of his pontificate. He is greatly commended by father Hyacinthe de Graveson, who was a dependent of his nephew Mark Anthony Borghese[k]. But he is represented in a very different light by Nicholas de Marbais, doctor in divinity, who complains he had bought lands for his nephew to the value of two millions of crowns, which sum he had raised by distressing the clergy, as he conferred no benefice without reserving a part of it as a pension to some person whom he had not the confidence to name; that he did not regulate his conduct according to the laws and canons of the Roman church, the rights and jurisdiction of which he entirely neglected; that the ecclesiastical immunities

The death of Paul.

[i] Spond. ut sup. See the History of the German Empire.
[k] Amat. de Graveson Hist. Eccles. tom. viii.

were

were not only trampled upon in France and Spain, but alſo at Florence and Naples, and in the Milaneſe; that in Spain and Naples, if any criminal took ſanctuary in the churches and monaſteries, he was dragged from thence to the magiſtrates by force and violence, who contemned the pope's bull prohibiting ſuch proceedings under pain of excommunication. The falſe pope Paul, he ſays, left the adminiſtration of affairs entirely to his nephew Borgheſe, who opened the letters of the legates and nuncios, and anſwered them in the pope's name. He countenanced licentiouſneſs and debauchery among the cardinals, biſhops, and other prelates, that they might not reproach him with his own crimes; and all of them lived, not like Chriſtians, but like the corrupt heathens of ancient Rome. To procure the pontificate to his nephew Borgheſe, he created a great many young and worthleſs cardinals, of mean birth and no education, whom he kept needy and dependent, hoping to ſurvive all the ancient cardinals, and to renew the whole ſacred college before his death[l].

After the celebration of the funeral obſequies of Paul V. which, according to cuſtom, continued nine days, on the 8th of February fifty-two cardinals entered the conclave in proceſſion, where the different factions immediately began to cabal. The moſt ancient party was that of Montalto, the ſecond of Aldobrandino, the third was the Spaniſh, and the fourth the French faction. Some cardinals, ſuch as Bonti, Sforza, Farneſe, Medici, and Eſte, formed ſmall parties of their own; but the moſt powerful of all was that of Borgheſe, who was confident of carrying the election in favour of cardinal Campora. That candidate, however, being diſagreeable to the other parties, they united together; ſo that Borgheſe could not obtain a legal majority of votes, and Campora, who before the ſhutting of the conclave began to aſſume the ſtate and dignity of a pope, ſuffered a moſt mortifying diſappointment. Borgheſe finding his intrigues in favour of Campora ineffectual, propoſed cardinal Ludoviſio, who, being approved of immediately by almoſt the whole conclave, was conducted to the Pauline chapel, where he was unanimouſly elected and adored, and aſſumed the name of Gregory XV[m] (U). *Gregory XV. is elected pope.*

A few

[l] Nic de Marbais Requeſte a l'Empereur, Leyden, 1613.
[m] Hiſt. de Conclaves, art. xxvi.i.

(U) Gregory XV. whoſe former name was Alexander Ludoviſio, was born at Bologna, of an illuſtrious family which

A few days after he was crowned with the usual pomp in St. Peter's church, and made a grand procession to that of St. John di Lateran, to take possession of the sovereign power; after which ceremonies he published a universal jubilee, to implore the divine blessing upon his government [o], and perhaps to bring some money into his coffers. This was probably his motive for creating several new saints; for in his short pontificate he canonized Ignatius Loyola, Francis Xavier, Lewis Gonzaga, Stanislaus Kolka, Isodore Agricola a Spaniard, Ambrose Sonsedan of Sienna, James de Salomiome a Venetian, Philip de Neri, founder of the Fathers of the Oratory, and Theresa, the reformer of the order of the Carmelites [p].

He excites the king of France against the Hugonots.

As the Hugonots in France, on account of the violation of the edict of Nantz, about this time again had recourse to arms, Gregory wrote to the young king, exhorting him to root them out and destroy them; which letter was accompanied with a bull, animating the Papists to rise up against them. For that purpose he likewise sent into France a Spanish Carmelite friar, one Dominicus de Jesu Maria, a most cunning hypocrite, who had acquired a great reputation for sanctity among the ignorant people [q] (W). While this impostor was fomenting the civil dissensions

[o] Graveson, ut supra. [p] Heydeg. Hist. Papat. Letters of Jansenius. Rycaut. Spond. ut supra. [q] Granv. Hist. Gall.

which had been associated among the Neapolitan nobility by Jane, queen of Naples. He was in his youth educated in the Jesuits' college at Rome; and returning afterwards to Bologna, he there studied the civil law, in which he arrived at the degree of doctor. Settling afterwards at Rome, he acquired the friendship of the three popes, Gregory XIV. Clement VIII. and Paul V. the last of whom conferred upon him the bishoprick of Bologna, created him cardinal, and appointed him his nuncio to adjust the differences betwixt the Spaniards and the duke of Savoy (1).

(W) He had attended the emperor's army in Bohemia, and the victory of Prague was, in a great measure, owing to him, as he ran up and down among the imperial troops, during the engagement, with a crucifix in his hand, animating them to the combat. He was sent to Rome by the emperor with some booty and standards taken from the enemy, and the pope now thought him a fit agent to inflame the French Papists against the Hugonots. As he impudently

(1) Graveson, Hist. Eccles. Spond. ut supra.

pretended

ſenſions in France, Gregory publiſhed a bull, preſcribing a new form of election of a pope, altering the manner of giving the votes publicly, and allowing the cardinals to give their ſuffrages ſecretly by way of ſcrutiny, a method which would prevent the chiefs of parties from having ſo great an influence.

In the ſecond year of his pontificate he publiſhed a bull, amplifying that of his predeceſſor, concerning the diſpute about the imaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, and prohibiting expreſly any public or private writings or diſcourſes on that ſubject, except among the Dominicans themſelves. About the ſame time likewiſe he eſtabliſhed the congregation de Propaganda Fide; and, at the deſire of Lewis XIII. he erected the ſee of Paris into an archbiſhoprick, ſubjecting to its juriſdiction the dioceſes of Chartres, Orleans, and Meaux. As the war ſtill continued in Germany betwixt the emperor and ſeveral princes, who eſpouſed the cauſe of the elector Palatine, the pope ſent a reinforcement of troops to the former, who conquered the Palatinate, ſent the famous library of manuſcripts at Heidelberg to Rome: but the greateſt part of the books never arrived, the beſt of them being ſecreted, and many of the reſt loſt at ſea [r]. Gregory not only aſſiſted the emperor, and excited the king of France againſt the Proteſtants, but deſigned likewiſe to extirpate hereſy from Geneva, and ſolicited Lewis XIII. to allow the duke of Savoy to ſeize that city. He quarrelled alſo with the Venetians, for granting a church, and the free exerciſe of the Greek religion, to ſome Greek ſoldiers whom they had taken into their ſervice [s]. A.D. 1622.

He endeavours to ſuppreſs the Proteſtants.

As James I. of England diſcovered great earneſtneſs to conclude an alliance betwixt his ſon the prince of Wales,

[r] Spond. ut ſupra. Spanheim. Memoires de l'Electrice Palatine. [s] Heydegger. ut ſupra.

pretended to the gift of miracles, and undertook to cure all manner of diſeaſes in France, he was continually attended with great numbers of people, who cut off pieces of his cloak, and publiſhed every where that it was not diminiſhed. At laſt his impoſtures were detected and expoſed by Richer, a ſyndic and doctor of the faculty of divinity at Paris, who, a few years before, had acquired a great reputation, and had incurred the reſentment of the eccleſiaſtics by a book that he had publiſhed, De Eccleſiaſtica & Politica poteſtate (2).

(2) Hiſt. de la Mere & du Fils. Continuat. de Mezerai.

and an infanta of Spain, Gregory laid hold of that opportunity to advance the interest of the Catholic religion in England. He refused to grant a dispensation for the marriage, unless it should be celebrated in Spain, according to the rites of the Romish church; and that the ecclesiastics of the infanta should all be Spaniards, and subject to a bishop; and that, besides the queen's chapel, the Papists should be allowed to build a church in London. King James agreeing to these conditions, the abhorrence of the Spaniards to the match was greatly lessened. Gregory granted the dispensation, and wrote to the prince of Wales, exhorting him to enter into the bosom of the church. As he was informed of his arrival in Spain before the dispensation was expedited, he added new articles to the brief, and insisted that the children of the marriage should be educated by the queen till they were ten years of age, and that the king of Great Britain should immediately give security to the Papists in his dominions, for the quiet possession of their estates, and for liberty of conscience. These new articles occasioned some difficulties, which the king with great zeal was endeavouring to remove; but, in the midst of the negociation, the affair was again suspended by the death of the pope [t].

He grants a dispensation to the infanta of Spain to marry the prince of Wales.

Receives the deposit of the Valteline and dies at Rome.

During this negociation the pope was solicited by the Spaniards to accept of the deposit of the Valteline. About two years before they had assisted the Papists in that valley to massacre the Protestants; but as it was a convenient pass from Germany and France, they thought proper to raise forces, and to keep possession of the country. This usurpation alarming the French, the Venetians, and the duke of Savoy, they concluded a league, to compel the Spaniards to leave the inhabitants of that valley free; an association which induced the usurpers to resign their conquest into the hands of the pope, till their pretensions to that territory should be fully discussed. As the French and the Venetians, after some opposition, agreed to that proposal, Gregory sent his nephew, the duke of Fano, with a small body of troops, who took possession of the forts in the valley [u]. The pope survived this transaction only a few weeks, and died on the 8th of July, in the seventieth year of his age. He is commended for his charity to the sick and to the poor, and, according to the Spanish writers, was eminent for his piety and learning.

[t] Amelot de Houssaye Mem. Hist. & Polit. tom. i. Spanheim, ut supra. [u] Hist. des Traitez des Paix, tom. ii.

During

During his short pontificate he created eleven cardinals, among whom was Richelieu, bishop of Luçon in France.

On the 19th of July fifty-four cardinals entered the conclave for the election of the new pope. As there was a great many cardinals, considerable for their age, virtues, and abilities, it was generally supposed that the election would be tedious, and that the contests among the competitors would be very warm. The chiefs of the most powerful factions were Borgheſe, and Ludoviſio, nephew of the late pope, and they both, after some canvassing and intrigues, agreed to join their interest in favour of cardinal Barberini. His great merit was universally allowed; but as he had always acted with a free independent spirit, and spoke his sentiments without reserve, he had, unwarily, offended some of the old cardinals, who besides objected to him on account of his youth, as he was then only in the fifty-fifth year of his age. However, no other cardinal could raise an interest of any consequence; and though he himself discovered no marks of precipitancy and eagerness, but on the contrary acted with great modesty and reserve, he was elected on the 6th of August, by the suffrages of fifty cardinals, when he assumed the name of Urban VIII [w] (X). As he was attacked with a violent

Urban VIII. elected.

[w] Hist. des Conclaves, tom. ii.

(X) Maffeo Barberini, was born of an ancient noble family at Florence, which had flourished in that city and its neighbourhood for several centuries. He was educated in his youth with great care, and early discovered a strong inclination to learning and virtue. When he was only twenty-one years of age he was admired and esteemed by Sixtus V. who made him referendary. He went afterwards through many degrees of preferment with great reputation and applause. He was twice nuncio in France. Paul V. created him a cardinal, conferred upon him the archbishoprick of Spoleto, and appointed him his legate at Bologna, where he resided three years. Before his promotion to the pontificate, he had acquired a great reputation for learning and taste, and was reckoned one of the best Latin and Italian poets of his time. His most considerable pieces are paraphrases upon some psalms, and other places of the Old and New Testament, hymns and odes upon the feasts of our Saviour, the Virgin Mary, and other saints, and epigrams on several illustrious men. During his whole pontificate he was a great protector of men of learning and genius, though he treated false pretenders with contempt and ridicule. To one Ruscus, archbishop of Rouen, who dedicated a huge insigni-

violent fever a few days after his election, his coronation was deferred till the 29th of September, the feast of St. Michael, whom the popes generally take for their guardian, and to whom Urban particularly erected an image in bronze, upon the altar of Sancta Petronella, in St. Peter's church, with his own image kneeling before it, and the inscription, "Te mane, te vespere." He began his pontificate with ordering the prayers of forty hours to be put up to God, for imploring his blessing upon his government, and endeavoured to restore and settle the peace of the city, which had been disturbed by a violent sedition during the conclave [x]. He likewise published the bull for the canonization of the saints nominated by his predecessor and increased their number with eight new ones of his own nomination [y].

He confers honours and wealth on his relations.

He did not neglect to dignify and enrich his relations. He conferred his own cardinal's hat upon one of his brothers, Anthony, a Capuchin, who, after his promotion, still observed the strict rules of his order, and spent the greatest part of his time with his brother monks in a convent, which he built in the city. Urban also conferred the dignity of cardinal upon two of the sons of his other surviving brother Charles, whom he loaded with benefices and pensions; for a third nephew he revived the office of prefect of Rome; and near the Quirinal he built a vast and magnificent palace, with fine gardens, for the family of Barberini, purchasing also for them large estates [z], among which is that of Palestrina, which they enjoy at this day, under the title of a principality.

A.D. 1624.

He exhorts the king of England and his son to embrace the Popish religion.

As the prince of Wales was still in Spain, Urban, before he would grant the dispensation for his marriage, wrote to him, and to his father king James, exhorting them to embrace the faith of their ancestors. As they had both advanced so far inconsiderately, he was in hopes of their compliance; but he was disappointed by the sudden departure of the prince from Spain, who having conceived a dislike to the match, broke off the negociation. King James immediately after published an order, com-

[x] Heydegger, Hist. Papat. [y] Amat. de Graveson, ut supra, tom. viii. [z] Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. i.

ficant volume to him, he replied by a line from Dispanter's grammar,—"Suprimit Urbanus que rusticus edit inepte (3).

(3) Boyle Let. xliii. edit. 1731. Contin. de Mezerai, Baillet, Jugemens des Sçavans, tom. iv.

manding

manding all the popish clergy to quit Britain and Ireland, and all the Papists in his dominions to deliver up their arms However, with great inconstancy, he again thought of a popish alliance for his son; and for that purpose sent an embassy to France, to negociate a treaty of marriage betwixt the prince of Wales and the princess Henrietta Maria. Urban, afraid of the consequences of an union betwixt Great Britain and France, opposed this match with great earnestness, and declared that he would never grant the dispensation. The articles of marriage were, nevertheless, agreed upon; and Lewis XIII. assuring the pope that he would not, on that account, grant any protection to the heretics, Urban at length consented to send the dispensation [a].

In the mean time he endeavoured to put an end to the dispute betwixt the French and Spaniards, with regard to the possession of the Valteline; and for that purpose proposed some articles of accommodation to both parties, which were rejected by Lewis XIII. as being too favourable to the Spaniards. During this troublesome negociation, Urban renewed the bull of Pius V. against the alienation of church-lands, and appointed a select number of grave and religious men to visit the monasteries, colleges, hospitals, and other public places, to inspect their abuses and irregularities, and to give a weekly account to him of their proceedings [b]. He likewise published a bull for the celebration of a universal jubilee the following year at Rome; but before the commencement of this festival, he was alarmed with the news that the marquis de Cœuvres, the French ambassador in Switzerland, had invaded the Valteline. Without any regard to the pope's colours, the marquis entered the valley in the end of November, and in less than two months reduced all the forts. Urban made loud complaints against this proceeding by his nuncio at the court of France, and sent another nuncio to Paris to demand satisfaction. A suspension of arms, with regard to the Valteline, was granted for two months; but as the duke of Savoy had begun a war against the Genoese, in which he was assisted by the French, the pope was still very uneasy. Being desirous to put a stop to the disturbances in Italy, he recalled the nuncio who had lately gone to France, and in his room sent his nephew, cardinal Francis Barberini, in the character of legate à latere, to accommodate the differences which had

A D. 1625.

The French invade the Valteline.

a Hist. du Minist. de Richelieu. Contin. de Mezerai. b Rycaut Hist. Urb. VIII.

A.D. 1626. occasioned a war in Italy. The legate was received at Paris with great honour; but after several conferences, finding that he could expect no success from his negociation, he returned in the month of September to Rome [c].

Cardinal Barberini sent legate to France.

He proceeds to Spain.

A few months after this transaction, Urban, sent his nephew legate à latere to Spain, to endeavour to negociate a peace in that kingdom, and to stand as godfather to the king's daughter. In the mean time he raised six thousand troops, which he sent towards the Valteline, to assist the Spaniards and Germans against the French. However, these proceedings were unnecessary; for cardinal Richelieu being afraid of the conspiracy, which soon after broke out, willingly agreed to a peace with Spain, lest that court should support the malecontents in France. The peace was accordingly concluded betwixt the two nations at Monçon, a town in Arragon, without consulting the legate, whom they deceived by dating the conclusion of the treaty two months before his arrival [d]. Urban expressed no resentment for the neglect of his legate and nephew, but, on the contrary, declared to the French ambassador at Rome, that he rejoiced greatly at the peace between the two crowns of France and Spain, especially as the profession of no other religion but that of the church of Rome was to be allowed in the Valteline.

The pope acquires the possession of the duchy of Urbino.

Mean while Urban made a promotion of twelve cardinals, and sent cardinal Gipsius to take possession of the duchy of Urbino, at the desire of the duke Francis Maria Rovere, who having no male heirs, and being near eighty years of age, agreed to deliver up his fief to the apostolic see before his death, in consideration of one hundred thousand crowns for military stores and artillery [e].

A.D. 1628. At this period, Urban published a universal jubilee, for imploring success to his arms, and prosperity to the church. He likewise offered his mediation to terminate the differences betwixt the duke of Nevers, who had succeeded to Mantua and Montferrat, and the dukes of Savoy and Guastalla, who formed pretensions to that succession. As he could not prevail with the duke of Savoy and the Spaniards to lay down their arms, and refer the dispute to his arbitration, he solicited Lewis XIII. to march into Italy, promising to act in concert with him in defence of the duke of Mantua. Lewis willingly hearkened to the pope's proposal; and his ambassador at Rome offered the plan of a league to be concluded betwixt him-

A war raised in Italy, on account of the succession to the duchy of Mantua.

[c] Contin. de Mez. Hist. de Minist. de Richelieu. Hist. des Traitez de Paix. [d] Idem ibid. [e] Spond. ut supra.

self,

ſelf, the pope, and the Venetiarns. Though Urban was very deſirous to ſee the duke of Mantua in peaceable poſſeſſion of his territories, yet his apprehenſions of the reſentment of the Spaniards made him decline entering into the league; and he continued in the ſame ſentiments the following year, notwithſtanding the ſucceſs of the king of France, who, in the month of February, forced the paſſes of the Alps with a powerful army, and took poſſeſſion of Suſa. The preſence of the French king quickly obliged A.D. 1629. the duke of Savoy to come to an accommodation with the duke of Mantua, and forced the Spaniards to retire from before Caſal; the pope, nevertheleſs, could not be prevailed upon to ſign a defenſive alliance againſt the houſe of Auſtria, which Lewis again propoſed; and though the war continued for ſome time in Italy, Urban ſtill perſiſted in his reſolution of obſerving a neutrality. Lewis XIII. being obliged to march back into France againſt the Hugonots, the Spaniards renewed the ſiege of Caſal; and an imperial army entering Italy, invaded the duchy of Mantua, and laid ſiege to the city of that name. Urban endeavoured by his legates and nuncios to effect an accommodation; but, at the ſame time, he imprudently contributed to the continuation of the war, by allowing the Imperialiſts before Mantua, who were reduced to great diſtreſs, to purchaſe proviſions in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate. By this ſupply they were enabled to lie all winter before the city, which they at laſt took by treachery and ſurprize [f].

Richer ſubmits his writings to the judgment of the Roman ſee.

During this ſiege, the pope received the agreeable news of the ſubmiſſion of doctor Richer, in France, who, by his book de Eccleſiaſtica & Politica Poteſtate, had raiſed a party, by the name of the Richeriſts, who were ſo powerful and daring, that a general ſchiſm of the Gallican church was apprehended at Rome. As the pope, on condition of his recantation, promiſed a red hat to the archbiſhop of Lyons, the elder brother of Richelieu, the powerful cardinal, by threatening Richer with the Baſtile [g], compelled him to ſign and ſeal a declaration, by which he acknowleged the Roman ſee the infallible judge of truth, and ſubmitted his book to the judgment of his holineſs [h]. The pope, a few days after, receiving this declaration, ſent a hat to the archbiſhop Richelieu, who was diſtinguiſhed from his brother by the title of cardinal of Lyons.

[f] Siri Memor. Recondit. tom vi. Canonicum Lingonenſem, epiſt. ix. ut ſupra.

[g] Moriſot ad Curetum

[h] Patimana. Spond.

On

On the 15th of January, he published a bull, for suppressing a new order which began to appear in Italy, composed of some female disciples of the Jesuits, who assumed the name of Jesuitesses.

A.D.1630. At the same time he continued his endeavours to conclude a peace in Italy, and for that purpose sent his nephew Anthony Barberini and cardinal Mazarine, the one as legate, and the other as nuncio, to Pignerol, to negociate with cardinal Richelieu. The conferences were then ineffectual, and in the end of April the legate returned to Bologna; but the loss of Mantua, and the death of the duke of Savoy, and Spinola, the Spanish general, which happened a few months after, made a great alteration in affairs. The Spaniards beginning to be apprehensive of the power of the Imperialists in Italy, and the duke seeing his territories entirely in possession of the French, began willingly to hearken to proposals of peace, which was at length concluded on the 26th of October, by the unwearied endeavours of the nuncio Mazarine [1]; and by which, among other articles, it was agreed, that the dukes of Savoy and Mantua should be put in possession of their respective territories. Mean while the pope, by a consistorial decree, conferred the title of most Eminent and most Reverend upon the cardinals, because that of most Illustrious was then become too common. He prohibited all other ecclesiastics from assuming this new title, excepting the three ecclesiastical electors of Germany, and the master of the Knights Hospitallers of Jerusalem.

A peace concluded in Italy.

A.D.1631. As Gustavus Adolphus, king of Sweden, had about this time entered Germany with a powerful army, to defend the Protestants, who were oppressed by the emperor, Lewis XIII. engaged in an alliance with him, in hopes of humbling the overgrown power of the Austrian family. This alliance with the heretical prince gave great offence to the pope; and the following year he made many remonstrances against it to the French king, who wrote to the pope with his own hand, offering to renounce his alliance with the Swedes, if the king of Spain would withdraw his protection from his brother the duke of Orleans, who in discontent had retired to Brussels, and would join his forces to those of France, in order to extirpate the French Hugonots, and the German Protestants. Urban communicated this letter to the Spanish

The pope endeavours to divert the French king from an alliance with the king of Sweden.

[1] Contin. de Mezer. Hist. du Minist. de Richelieu, tom. iii. Hist. du Card. Mazarin, lib. i.

ambassador,

ambaſſador, who immediately wrote concerning it to Madrid, from whence, however, he received no anſwer[k]. In the mean time the king of Sweden defeated the imperial army at Leipſic; and by that time the elector of Saxony had entered Bohemia and taken Prague, he had over-run all Germany from the Elbe to the Rhine. This rapid progreſs confounded the emperor, and greatly alarmed the pope, who did his utmoſt by his legates, exhortations, and letters, in ſupport of the catholic cauſe. A.D.1632.

According to Spondanus, he likewiſe gave ſupplies in money[l]; though other authors affirm, that he intereſted himſelf but very little in the German war, which ſeems to have been the opinion of the court of Spain; for in the month of March, cardinal Borgia preſented a formal proteſt to the pope, in the name of the catholic king, declaring, that whatever damage the catholic religion had ſuffered, or ſhould ſuffer, could not be aſcribed to Philip, but to his holineſs.

The houſe of Auſtria complain againſt the pope;

Urban is likewiſe ſaid to have given but a cold reception to a cardinal and ambaſſador extraordinary ſent to him by the emperor, to demand aſſiſtance in troops and money. He declared, that the treaſures of the church had been exhauſted by the late war in Italy; and that if the imperial troops, which had unjuſtly ravaged the Mantuan territories, had been employed againſt the Swedes, the emperor would not have needed any foreign aſſiſtance. He abſolutely refuſed to publiſh a cruſade againſt Guſtavus; but he granted the emperor a hundred thouſand crowns, promiſed to endeavour to detach the French king from his alliance with the Swedes, and publiſhed an univerſal jubilee for the proſperity of the catholic religion in Germany[m]. As he declared in a full conſiſtory, that the Spaniards, by their unbounded ambition, obliged even good Catholics to rejoice at the victories of a heretic, the imperial and Spaniſh miniſters at Rome endeavoured to perſuade the cardinals to call a general council to depoſe him[n]. Their endeavours, however, were ineffectual; the temporal power and grandeur of the pope rendering ſuch an attempt ridiculous, eſpecially as Urban, by his diſintereſtedneſs, had greatly raiſed his character among the Romans. Though, by the death of the duke of Urbino, he had then entered into the peaceable poſſeſſion

who refuſes to publiſh a cruſade againſt Guſtavus Adolphus.

[k] Journal des Sçavans, Jan. 1688.
[l] Spond. ut ſupra.
[m] Hiſt. de Richelieu, tom. iv. Ætat. vii. Traitez de Paix.
[n] Heydegger, Hiſt. Papat.

of

He unites the duchy of Urbino to the territories of the church.

of that duchy, he nevertheless refused to give the investiture of it to any of his nephews, and, contrary to the persuasions of the Italian princes, united the whole territories of the late duke to the dominion of the church; in memory of which union he ordered an inscription to be engraven, and hung up in the Vatican [o]. The resentment of the pope's conduct was indeed very high in Spain, where even some of the Jesuits declared against him. The king's council also deliberated about depriving his holiness of all collation to benefices in that kingdom, and proposed to erect a datary in Spain, to prevent any money from being carried to Rome: however, their resentment cooled upon the death of Gustavus, who was slain at the battle of Lutzen on the 16th of November.

A.D. 1633. At this period, a rupture happened betwixt the pope and the Venetian republic, occasioned first by a public affront given by one of his nephews to the Venetian ambassador at Rome; on which account the republic ordered their ambassador to return without taking leave. They, in their turn, had offended the pope, by refusing to give the title of Eminence to the cardinals; but what chiefly irritated both parties, was a contest about the navigation of the Po, which had been obstructed by the legate at Ferrara. Some skirmishes had happened in the neighbourhood of this city betwixt the Romans and Venetians; but the pope being apprehensive of a war, willingly accepted the mediation of the duke of Crequi, the French ambassador, who, about the middle of June, arrived at Rome with a splendid retinue, to yield obedience to the pope in the king's name. Crequi made great professions of the attachment of Lewis XIII. to his holiness; but not being able to prevail with Urban to engage in a defensive alliance with France, he left Rome, and proceeded to Venice, where, in conjunction with the sieur de la Thuilerie, the French ambassador to the republic, he entered into a negociation with the Venetian deputies [p].

A rupture betwixt him and the Venetians.

The French offer their mediations

A.D. 1634. In the course of the following year Urban sent Mazarine, his vice legate at Avignon, as nuncio extraordinary to France, in order to be fully satisfied with regard to the origin of the war in Germany, and the complaints of the house of Austria against the French, for granting protection to the elector of Triers. During his residence in

[o] Rycaut Hist. Urban. [p] Hist. de Richelieu. Rycaut, ut supra.

the

that kingdom, Urban published a bull, renewing the decrees of the council of Trent, and of the following popes, for the residence of bishops, ordering all bishops, archbishops, patriarchs, and cardinals, to reside in their own dioceses, and not to depart from thence without an apostolic licence. By this new constitution Urban intended civilly to remove from Rome and Italy some cardinals and prelates, who endeavoured to oblige him to declare himself a party in the present war[q]. Far from engaging warmly in the disputes in Germany, he seemed not even greatly to resent the imprisonment of the elector of Triers, who, in the month of March, was surprised in his capital by the Spaniards, and carried prisoner to Brussels. The elector had incurred the resentment of the house of Austria, by embracing a neutrality upon the invasion of the Swedes, and putting his territories under the protection of the French, who had a garrison in Triers, when it was surprised by the Spaniards. The French insisted upon the liberty of the archbishop, who had never been declared an enemy, or put to the ban of the empire; and upon the refusal of the Spaniards, immediately declared war against them.

A.D. 1635.

The elector of Triers is imprisoned by the Spaniards.

Mazarine, who was still in France, wrote to the pope, that, by his mediation, the differences betwixt the two crowns might be easily accommodated. In consequence of this letter, Urban immediately sent an order to Mazarine, and to his nuncio Bolognetti, to act as mediators; but he quickly found, that the two kingdoms were too much exasperated against each other, to hearken at that time to any terms of accommodation: he therefore continued in his former resolution, of strictly adhering to a neutrality. He ordered his two nuncios at Paris to complain to the king against the proceeding of Richelieu, who had procured several bishops to annul the marriage of the duke of Orleans with the sister of the duke of Lorrain, as contracted without the knowlege of his brother the king. The pope interested himself in that affair, at the desire of the queen-mother and the duchess of Orleans, who were then refugees at Antwerp; but all that he could obtain from the court of France was a long memorial, presented by the bishop of Montpelier, urging the absolute necessity of annulling the marriage, which had been contracted contrary to the fundamental laws of the kingdom[r].

The pope offers his mediation betwixt the kings of France and Spain.

[q] Spond. ut supra. [r] Contin. de Mezerai.

The

A.D. 1636. The great power and arbitrary behaviour of Richelieu began to give some uneasiness and jealousy to the pope, who was apprehensive that he would assume the title and dignity of patriach, as he had taken possession of all the regular abbies, which in France are chiefs of orders. He therefore refused him the bulls which he demanded for the abbies of Cisteaux and Premontre; and recalled Mazarine, who, he was informed, was devoted to the service of the cardinal duke. Though Richelieu desired that he might be sent to Madrid, on pretence of negociating a peace, but in reality to be his spy at that court, Urban would not consent, but ordered him to return to his legation at Avignon. In resentment for these mortifications, Richelieu recalled the count de Noailles from Rome, and sent the marshal d'Etrees in his place, who he knew was not agreeable to the pope, and much less to the Spanish faction at Rome.

He is jealous of the power of Richelieu.

D'Etrees was ordered to complain to the pope of his great severity to his vassal the duke of Parma, whom he had threatened with excommunication, for espousing the French party in Italy. Urban at first refused to acknowlege the marshal as an ambassador; but even after he had granted him an audience, he would give him no satisfaction with regard to his difference with the duke of Parma (A). The pope's nephews, particularly cardinal Francis, at that time had a secret pique against the duke of Parma, who it seems had not paid his court to them so assiduously as they expected. They had also desired that the duke should contract an alliance in their family, on which account they had prevailed with him to visit the pope at Rome, and promised him an abatement of the interest of a large sum of money, which his father had borrowed from a public bank in the city. As the pope attributed to himself the power of lowering the interest borrowed from the public banks, the duke easily obtained

(A) D'Etrees, during this embassy, received two great affronts at the pope's court, the one in the person of his daughter-in-law, who was debauched upon a promise of marriage by the pope's nephew, cardinal Anthony, and poisoned by him upon her proving with child; the other in the person of his groom, whom the cardinal patron ordered to be killed at Frescati, upon account of his insolence (1).

(1) Amelot de la Houssaye, Mem. Hist. Polit. tom. ii.

that

the abatement which he desired; nevertheless some difference happening betwixt him and the cardinal nephews, about ceremony, he rejected the proposed alliance, and left Rome, without taking leave. He soon after married a princess of the house of Medicis; on which account he incurred the resentment of the pope and his nephews, who resolved to make him sensible of their power. As he had mortgaged the duchy of Castro, a fief of the apostolic see, for the money which he had borrowed, and paid the annual interest in corn from that duchy, which the ministers of the apostolic chamber, who had the care of supplying the public granaries of the city, received instead of money, the nephews prohibited any corn of Castro from entering the ecclesiastical state: they likewise allowed the interest to run in arrear for two or three years; at the end of which time they made a demand of the whole, which the duke was not able to satisfy; on which account the whole duchy of Castro was confiscated, and Taddeo, prefect of Rome, seized upon it with an armed force. The viceroy of Naples and the grand duke of Tuscany interceded for the duke, who found himself unable to oppose the army, and was apprehensive of being attacked in his dominions of Parma and Placentia. The senate of Venice likewise offered their mediation; but Urban scorned to admit of any intercessions betwixt him and his vassal; declared the duke to be deprived of his dominions and fiefs, in consequence of having incurred the sentence of greater excommunication; and condemned him also to pay all the expences of the war. In pursuance of this sentence, the duke's palaces and goods in Rome were exposed to sale, and the duchy of Castro was taken into the possession of the camera, A D. 1641.
though not annexed to the popedom. Towards the end of the year likewise, Urban demanded a passage for his army, consisting of twenty thousand men, through the dominions of the duke of Modena, with the intention of carrying the war into the duchy of Parma.

He had sent cardinal Ginetti to the congress, which was established at Cologne, for negociating a peace betwixt the emperor, French, Spaniards, and Swedes. He had also received the filial obedience from the emperor Ferdinand III. though the legality of his election was not a little contested in Germany, and had some disputes with the cardinal Richelieu, who being disobliged with him for refusing the cardinal's hat to Mazarine, and denying to grant the bulls for the abbies of Cisteaux and Premontre,

Premontre, would not receive his nuncio in France. At length the difference betwixt the pope and the French court was accommodated; and, about the time that he demanded a passage for his army through the Modenese, he made a promotion of cardinals, when he conferred a hat upon Mazarine[r]. About the same time he published a bull, condemning all the books of Jansenius (B), upon the assistance and efficacy of grace, as renewing the doctrine of Michael Baius, condemned by former popes; and prohibited, under severe censures and civil penalties, any one from treating of the assistance of grace, without the express permission of the holy see[s].

Urban condemns the books of Jansenius.

[r] Hist. du Card. Mazarine, lib. i. adversus August. Jansenii.

[s] Bulla Urban. VIII.

(B) In the end of the former century and the beginning of this, the controversy about the agreement of grace with the freedom of the will, had made a great noise, occasioned by the book of Molina, the Spanish Jesuit, on that subject. The two parties, after the trial they had at Rome, were silent for several years, till one Garasse, a Jesuit, revived the dispute, by publishing a book in the year 1626, intitled, A Summary of the fundamental Truths of the Christian Religion. This treatise was answered by the abbé de St. Cyran, in a masterly manner; so that the Jesuit's book was generally condemned, and publicly censured, as containing a great many erroneous, scandalous, and heretical propositions, and false quotations of Scripture, and of the fathers of the church. The revival of this dispute induced Jansenius, who was then at Louvain, to examine thoroughly the sentiments of St. Augustine upon grace, predestination, and free-will. And after having read the works of that father on these subjects thirty times over, he at length composed a huge volume in folio, intitled Augustinus, which was published in the year 1640, two years after his death. The Jesuits denounced his book to the inquisitor at Rome, and published theses against it; so that the popish clergy were immediately divided into two parties, distinguished by the names of Jansenists and Molinists. These last were opposed by the Sorbonne and the most eminent divines of Europe; however, they found means of securing their interest at the court of Rome; but though the pope published a bull in their favour, the contest betwixt both parties hath still subsisted, and hath lately been the occasion of great animosities and disturbances in France (1).

(1) Hist. de Jansenisme, tom. i. edit. Utrecht, 1695. Leydecker. Hist. Jansenisme

But

But the chief concern of the pope at this time was the war with the duke of Parma, which began to engage him in difficulties, that, in the beginning of the rupture, he had not expected. Though he had obtained leave of a free passage for his army from the duke of Modena, yet the Venetians and duke of Tuscany having assisted the duke with money and troops, he found it impossible to advance, as his raw men deserted in great numbers. In these circumstances the pope inconsiderately made an offer of a suspension of arms for fifteen days, during which time the Venetians, the grand duke, and the duke of Mantua, entered into a formal alliance to assist the duke of Parma, who immediately, with great boldness, invaded the Bolognese territory with three thousand horse, without either foot or cannon. This unexpected irruption struck a panic into the pope's army, which fled with great precipitation; while the duke, without opposition, made himself master of Imola, Faenza, and Forti. Upon these successes, Rome was thrown into great consternation; new levies were ordered; the coach-horses were seized, and sent from the city to mount the soldiers; the prefect, who had behaved with great cowardice, was recalled, and the command of the army given to cardinal Antonio, who, proceeding to Viterbo with nine thousand men, endeavoured to oppose the march of the duke into the duchy of Castro. Winter approaching, and the pope's arms having been so unsuccessful, the cardinal nephews made proposals for an accommodation, which were rejected by the allies, as being disadvantageous to the duke of Parma, who they insisted should be put in possession of all his former territories. Early in the following spring the war was again renewed, with various success, though carried on with little vigour, each party declining the approach of their enemy, and making conquests where they were sure to meet with no resistance. After the summer had been spent in such military operations, without much bloodshed, proposals for peace were again offered by the pope, who, being affected with the distresses of his subjects, which his nephews had long disguised, began to be very desirous of seeing an end of the war. Accordingly Urban consenting to restore the duchy of Castro to the duke, and the court of France interposing as a mediator, peace was concluded in the beginning of the following year, to the great joy of the subjects of the ecclesiastical state, who cursed the ambition of the Barberini for having engaged their uncle in a disgraceful and ruinous war,

A.D. 1642.

The war of Parma involves him in great difficulties.

A.D. 1643.

A.D. 1644.

A peace concluded with the duke of Parma.

which had cost the apostolic see upwards of twenty million of crowns [t]. During the continuance of this war an ambassador arrived at Rome, to yield obedience to the pope in the name of John, duke of Braganza, as king of Portugal; but as the Spaniards were very powerful in Italy, and looked upon the Portuguese as rebels, the pope, from an apprehension of the Spanish resentment, refused to acknowlege the new king, and would not admit his ambassador to an audience [u].

Urban dies at Rome.

He survived the peace with the duke of Parma but a few months, and died on the 29th of July, in the seventy-seventh year of his age, and the twenty-first of his pontificate. He is accused of having been in some measure concerned in the massacre of the Protestants in Ireland, which kingdom, it is said, he endeavoured to reduce under his own dominion, by means of his nuncio Rinuncini [x]. Nevertheless, he was esteemed by the Protestants, who frequently drank his health, and styled him their good friend. He was reckoned one of the most learned men of his time, and was greatly commended for prudence and generosity. His chief fault was nepotism, or too great a desire of aggrandizing his nephews, who, in the end of his life, gained a great ascendency over him, and engaged him in the war of Parma, which made the Romans long remember his pontificate with detestation. He was likewise greatly blamed for stripping the brass from the roof of the Pantheon, or Rotondo, to adorn an altar in St. Peter's church, which gave occasion to the pasquinade, "Quod non fecere Barbari, fecere Barberini [y]."

Though at the death of Urban his nephews were in possession of great power, yet, as they had governed in a very arbitrary manner during his pontificate, they were so much hated that, according to the author of the history of Mazarine, Thaddeo was obliged to deliver up his commission of prefect of Rome to the general congregation of cardinals. But, according to Rycaut, two cardinals were only joined in commission with him, and a lieutenant-general was created with absolute power over the forces [z]. The cardinals then, to the number of fifty-five, entered the conclave, where, at first, the Barberini used

[t] Rycaut. ut supra. Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. i. Larreg. Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. i. Wicquefort l'Ambassadeur & ses Fonctions, lib. i. [u] Vertot Hist. of the Revolut. in Portugal Hist. de Traitez de Paix, tom. ii. [x] Rapin. Ludlow's Mem. [y] Etat du Siege de Rome. Rycaut. [z] Aubery Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine, lib. ii.

all

all their interest to procure the election of cardinal Sachetti; but he being excluded by the Spanish faction, several other candidates were afterwards named and rejected. At length, after a contest of six weeks, cardinal Pamphilio was elected pope, on the 15th of September, by the general concurrence of all the cardinals, excepting five, and assumed the name of Innocent X. According to Heydegger, his election met with great opposition, on account of the aversion he was known to have for the study of divinity and belles lettres, being acquainted only with the bar and the Rota; and because he was universally said to be entirely under the direction of his sister-in-law Donna Olympia [a] (C).

Innocent X. is elected

Immediately after his promotion he discovered his great vanity, by accepting an impious and blasphemous panegyric that was presented to him by a certain Latinised Greek, named John Baptist Calumsirito, who insisted, that as he was named Pamphilio, his honour and authority was greater than that of our Saviour, who was only filius Dei [b]. He soon took an opportunity likewise of breaking the peace lately concluded with the duke of Parma. Notwithstanding the remonstrances of the duke he conferred the bishoprick of Castro on a certain monk, whom he forced, even against his inclination, to accept of the benefice. The new bishop, upon going to take possession of his church, was assassinated, which murder provoked the pope to remove the bishoprick of Castro to Aquapendente. He also excommunicated and declared war against the duke; and marching against Castro, took and demolished the city. The duke's allies, however, quickly obliged the pope to agree to a peace, by which the duchy of Castro was again restored, on condition that

The war renewed against the duke of Parma.

[a] Heydegger. Hist. Papat. [b] Idem ibid.

(C) Innocent X. or John Baptist Pamphilio, was born at Rome, of an ancient and noble family. He studied in the Roman college, and at the age of twenty years took the degree of batchelor of laws. He was afterwards consistorial advocate, auditor of the rota, nuncio at Naples, and datary in the legation of cardinal Barberini in France and Spain; in which last kingdom, after the departure of the legate, he was left as resident-nuncio, and, a few years after, was promoted to the dignity of a cardinal (1).

(1) Graveson. Hist. Eccles. tom. viii.

the duke should pay a considerable sum of money; which article the duke, being either unable or unwilling to comply with, the duchy was at last re-united to the apostolic chamber [c].

Innocent persecutes the Barberini.

Although Innocent had been greatly obliged to the Barberini for his elevation to the papal dignity, yet he ungratefully resolved to ruin that house, which had then likewise unfortunately incurred the displeasure of the court of France, for having espoused his cause in the conclave. The French ambassador at Rome, by order of Mazarine, desired cardinal Antonio Barberino to deliver up the brevet of protector of the French affairs, granted him by the king, and ordered him to take down the French arms, which were placed above the gate of his palace [d]. Though the Barberini endeavoured to persuade the pope that they were persecuted by the French for having favoured his election, he behaved to them nevertheless with great indifference and coldness; and, before his coronation, he ordered the prefect Thaddeo to yield the preference in all ceremonies to foreign ambassadors. They endeavoured to secure his protection by proposing a marriage betwixt Donna Olympia's son, Camillo, and the daughter of the prefect, with whom they offered in dowry a yearly revenue of thirty thousand crowns, to be raised out of the benefices which they held from the church, together with the estate of Montelibreto, which they had bought from the Ursini for a million of livres. He however rejected these great offers, created his nephew, Don Camillo, a cardinal, and appointed him legate of Avignon, in the room of Anthony Barberino, who, in the month of December, left Rome, and went to France, to endeavour, if possible, to recover the favour of that court.

A.D. 1645.

They are supported by the court of France.

His journey was very successful; for Mazarine, considering that the court of Rome was then chiefly composed of a faction entirely devoted to the house of Austria and the grand duke, thought the Barberini, when supported by France, would serve as a counterpoise to that party; he therefore received Anthony into his protection, allowed the French arms to be replaced upon his palace, and wrote a letter to the pope in favour of the Barberini, who, in the mean time, received daily affronts and mortifications at the papal court. The pope paid no regard to the letter of Mazarine; but, a few days after, erected a

[c] Etat du Siege de Rome. [d] Hist. du Cardinal Mazarine.

congre-

congregation of five cardinals, all enemies to the Barberini, with a commiſſion to examine their paſt conduct. He ordered cardinal Anthony to return to Rome within two months, under pain of excommunication, and forfeiture of all his revenues and benefices which he held from the church, in the mean time ſequeſtering his revenue, and prohibiting cardinal Francis and the prefect from removing any of their effects. The new congregation cited cardinal Francis to give an account of all the ſums which he had taken from the caſtle of St. Angelo, during the five laſt years of the pontificate of his uncle; and as he endeavoured to defend himſelf, by alleging that his office of vice-chancellor exempted him from giving an account of his adminiſtration, they produced a decree, annulling the diſpenſation granted by his uncle for his indemnification. This ſevere perſecution of the Barberini raiſed the public compaſſion, and drew a general odium upon the pope, who was univerſally accuſed of ingratitude and imprudence, eſpecially as he diſcovered as great a paſſion of nepotiſme as his predeceſſor, and was wholly guided by the counſels of Donna Olympia Maldachini, who had impudently aſſumed the adminiſtration of affairs; domineered over the whole court, and amaſſed money with ſuch greedineſs and rapacity, that the extortion of the former pontificate appeared moderate and merciful [e].

The pope's nephew is baniſhed from Rome.

The behaviour of the pope to his nephew Camillo, or cardinal Pamphilio, likewiſe expoſed him to the public cenſure. The cardinal having fallen in love with the princeſs Roſſana, a young widow, laid aſide his hat without the knowlege of the pope, and privately married her; which ſtep ſo exaſperated his uncle and his mother, that, after a private conference of two hours, they reſolved to baniſh him and his lady from Rome. This ſevere determination was accordingly executed, to the aſtoniſhment of the Romans, who thought the crime very pardonable, as the princeſs Roſſana was not only diſtinguiſhed by her birth and fortune, but by her beauty and perſonal accompliſhments. Their baniſhment was chiefly attributed to Donna Olympia, who being jealous that the princeſs would leſſen her ſovereign authority, thought proper to keep her at a diſtance from the court [f].

[e] Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. i. Hiſt. du Card. Mazarine, De Larrey Hiſt. de Louis XIV. Contin. de Mezerai. Rycaut. Hiſt. Innocent X.

[f] Rycaut, ut ſupra.

A.D. 1646. In the mean time the Barberini prepared their accounts, which they delivered to the congregation in the beginning of January, referring themselves to the books in the apostolic chamber for their discharge, and desiring that these books might be examined. Their demand, however, was refused, and the court, without any form of law, sequestered their money in the public bank, all their revenues within the ecclesiastical dominions. This severe and unexpected sentence made them think of their personal security. They accordingly left Rome privately, and retired to France, where they were received with great respect. Mazarine, in the mean time, earnestly solicited the pope in their behalf, and even threatened to send an army into Italy, if Innocent would not consent to a reconciliation. The Venetians being desirous of preventing any disturbances on their side the Alps, used their utmost endeavours to reconcile the pope and Mazarine, but without effect. Both parties were too much actuated by private resentment to hearken to terms of accommodation. The pope having refused a red hat to the archbishop of Aix, the brother of Mazarine, that cardinal, in resentment, protected the Barberini, and fitted out a powerful fleet, with a design of making a descent on the coast of Italy, and humbling his holiness.

The Barberini escape into France.

The French invade Tuscany;

The news of the French preparations alarmed the pope; but what confounded him much more was a report that the chapel at Loretto had again taken flight and quitted Italy. Soon after the French fleet appeared on the coast, and took possession of Piombino, Portolongone, St. Stephano, and Telamone, places belonging to the Spaniards in Tuscany. These successes obliged Innocent to think in earnest of a reconciliation with the Barberini; he therefore suspended the execution of his bull, which he had published against them for three months, during which time he re-established them in their former employments, took off the sequestration from their effects, and declared, that he would accept of their submission if they would repair to the county of Avignon, and write to him from thence[s]. The duke of Guise soon after arriving at Rome, insinuated himself into the favour of Donna Olympia and of the pope. Having had several conferences with his holiness, he persuaded him the following year to a reconciliation with Mazarine, and pre-

which influences the pope to pardon the Barberini.

A.D. 1647.

[s] Larrey, ut supra. Hist. du Card. Mazarine, lib. ii. Silhon eclaircissement touchant l'Administration du Card. Mazarine. Nani Hist. Venice. Rycaut, ut supra.

vailed

vailed with him to confer a hat on the archbishop of Aix, with a view to secure the interest of the prime minister of France, who governed that kingdom in a most absolute manner. Mazarine, however, being offended that the promotion of his brother had been so long delayed, thanked the pope in a very cold manner, and, contrary to his expectation, still kept possession of Piombino [h].

He refuses to acknowledge the king of Portugal.

Mean while several bishoprics becoming vacant in Portugal, the king nominated successors to them; and the clergy of that kingdom, with his consent, dispatched Nicholas de Monteyro to Rome, to procure the bulls. The Spanish ambassador made several attempts to assassinate this envoy in Rome, on which account he was ordered by the pope to quit the city. He refused, however, to confer the bishoprics at the nomination of the king of Portugal, but offered to bestow them, *proprio motu*, on the same persons whom the king mentioned. This expedient was rejected by the king, who nevertheless refused to order his clergy to elect a patriarch, or to allow the chapters to chuse the bishops, and the other prelates to consecrate them, as he was advised to do, by several doctors in his dominions [i].

About the same time the authority of the pope received a check from the clergy of France, who, knowing the disposition of the present prime minister, in a numerous assembly, drew up a formal protest against the encroachments upon their liberties during the late pontificate. The parliament of Paris likewise endeavoured to oppose the innovations introduced by the nuncio of Innocent, who, from his own authority, had ordered a decree of the Roman inquisition against a book of Mr. Arnaud, doctor of the Sorbonne, to be published and dispersed in France. The parliament, in defence of the privileges of the nation, drew up an arret, prohibiting all persons from printing, publishing, and selling, any briefs, decrees, or bulls, from Rome, without letters patent from the king, registered in their court. They received a letter from the king, who was then at Compeigne, desiring them not to proceed on that subject. They, nevertheless, continued their deliberations, and, by a decree, prohibited the archbishops and bishops, their vicars and officials, the rector and members of the university, from receiving, publishing, or executing, the decrees of the inquisition, or other

[h] Memoires du Duc de Guise, lib. i. Larrey, ut supra.
[i] Hist. des Traitez de Paix.

bulls and briefs, excepting thoſe allowed of by the laws of the kingdom [k].

Confirms the bull of Urban againſt the Janſeniſts.

Mean while the celebrated diſpute about grace, betwixt the Janſeniſts and Jeſuits, revived with great warmth. Innocent obſerving that the bull of his predeceſſor on that ſubject was eluded, ſent briefs to the governor of Flanders, to the archbiſhops of Mechlin and Cambray, to ſeven other biſhops, to the Sorbonne, to Mr. William des Anges, doctor of Louvain, to William Leopold, archduke of Auſtria, and to the biſhop of Straſburg: by which he confirmed the bull of Urban, and ſtrictly ordered it to be publiſhed and put in execution. It was accordingly publiſhed in ſome places, and a perſecution began to be raiſed againſt the Janſeniſts, all eccleſiaſtics being rigorouſly prohibited from being admitted to the direction of ſouls, unleſs, after having ſolemnly made profeſſion of the faith of the council of Trent, they ſhould ſign the formula of the condemnation of Janſenius. The Janſeniſts, provoked by this rigorous treatment, drew up an appeal to the pope, under the title of "The complaint of the Auguſtinian truth ſuffering in the Low Countries," ſupplicating him to order the doctrine to be examined before it ſhould be condemned. In three other writings, which they then publiſhed, they maintained, that an opinion, which was not contrary to the Scripture nor the councils, could not be condemned as heretical, and that the cenſure had been publiſhed not againſt Janſenius, but againſt St. Auguſtine, whoſe doctrines he had only put in a proper light. The primate of Flanders, the biſhop of Ghent, and the grand vicars of the epiſcopal ſee of Ypres, likewiſe declared their reaſons why they could not publiſh the pope's bulls; on which account the Jeſuits, who were favoured at Rome, formally condemned five propoſitions taken from the works of Janſenius, which the Janſeniſts maintained were not to be found in his writings [l].

During theſe proceedings a rebellion happened in Naples and Sicily, occaſioned by the grievous taxes laid upon the people to ſupport the war againſt France. The duke of Guiſe, then at Rome, was encouraged by the pope to head the rebels, in hopes of ſecuring the poſſeſſion of thoſe kingdoms, to which he had ſome diſtant preten-

[k] Hiſt. du Cardinal Mazarine, lib. v. Contin. de Mezerai.
[l] Hiſt. General de Janſeniſme. Contin. de Mezerai. Heydegger Hiſt. Papat Æt. vii.

ſions.

sions. The duke accordingly proceeded to Naples, and by his courage and conduct, without being assisted by France, quickly made a surprising progress. The French however, next year, making a shew of sending a powerful army to that kingdom, the pope was very apprehensive lest they intended to seize it for themselves: he therefore urged the duke to assume the title of king of both Sicilies, offered to give him the investiture of the kingdom, promised to lend him three hundred thousand crowns, and assured him that all Italy would form a league in his behalf. The duke replied, that it was not then a proper time to declare his pretensions, but begged that Innocent would send him the money, of which he was in great need. The pope, however, did not think proper to send him the subsidy, but only advised him to be diffident of the French and Spaniards, who were equally his enemies.

A D. 1648.

Offers the investiture of Naples to the duke of Guise; and

Innocent, having received copies of the treaties of Osnaburgh and Munster, by which a general peace was established in Germany, France, and Sweden, published a bull, by which he protested against them with great formality. His nuncio Fabio Chigi, who had presided at the negociations for three years as mediator, had done his utmost, by declamations and protests, to prevent the conclusion of the peace; but his remonstrances being ineffectual, the pope, in his bull which he published in the end of November, exclaimed against the injustice and iniquity of the treaties, as the heretics were allowed thereby to secularize ecclesiastical possessions, and were admitted equally with catholics to public offices and employments. As the number of electors was augmented without the consent of the apostolic see, and many other things agreed to, prejudicial to the orthodox religion, he therefore condemned, annulled, and declared invalid, all those articles in the treaties prejudicial to the catholic religion, divine worship, and the apostolical Roman see, the inferior churches, and the ecclesiastical order, as also to their jurisdictions, authorities, immunities, franchises, liberties, exemptions, revenues, privileges, and rights[m]. This protestation, however, had no effect upon the different parties concerned in the treaties; and Conringius, Blondel, Hoornbeeck, and other Protestants, wrote an answer to it, shewing the necessity and reasonableness of the treaty.

condemns the treaties of Osnaburgh and Munster.

[m] Heiss Hist. de l'Empire, tom. iii. Dumont, tom. ii. part ii.

SECT.

SECT. XX.

In which the Hiſtory is brought down to the Beginning of the Eighteenth Century.

A.D 1650. HIS holineſs, in the mean time, finding himſelf loaded with the multiplicity of affairs, reſolved to adopt a nephew, with the deſign of creating him cardinal patron, to give audience to ambaſſadors and miniſters, and in his abſence to preſide at the council. Accordingly, by the advice of his favourite cardinal Panzirollo, he fixed upon Aſtalli, brother of the marquis Aſtalli, that had married a niece of Donna Olympia, which laſt being conſulted ſlightly on the affair, ſeemed not averſe to his promotion. However, to her great ſurprize, a few days after, Aſtalli, who was then about twenty-ſeven years of age and clerk of the chamber, was promoted in a full conſiſtory, and declared cardinal of the houſe of Pamphilio. The ſame day the pope ſent him to lodge at one of his palaces; aſſigned him a revenue of ten thouſand crowns; and by way of public rejoicing, ordered the cannon of St. Angelo to be fired. The pope immediately began to repent of the ſtep he had taken, and when the new cardinal took his leave of him to go and viſit the members of the ſacred college, ſaid to him, "Go, we do not know what we have been doing." Donna Olympia likewiſe, coming to the palace with her daughters, and complaining with great bitterneſs againſt him, he was immediately diſgraced, and not allowed a ſingle ſervant; ſo that Panzirollo, who found the neceſſity, for his own ſake, of ſupporting him, was obliged to furniſh him with attendants, and to maintain him at his own expence for fifteen days.

He adopts a nephew, whom he creates cardinal patron.

Olympia diſgraced and baniſhed.

Panzirollo, ſoon after, prevailed upon the pope to countenance and honour Aſtalli; and, what was more, had influence ſufficient to perſuade him to diſgrace Olympia, and to baniſh her the court. She had abuſed her authority in a moſt ſcandalous manner, and had gained ſuch an abſolute aſcendant over the pope, that in every thing his will had been ſubſervient to her dictates. Her avarice and ambition were unbounded: ſhe diſpoſed of all benefices, which were kept vacant till ſhe fully informed herſelf of their value: ſhe rated an office of one thouſand crowns for three years, at one year's revenue, and if for life at twelve years purchaſe, one-half of which ſum ſhe required

required to be paid in advance: she gave audience upon public affairs, enacted new laws, abrogated those of former popes, and sat in council with Innocent with bundles of memorials in her hands. It was generally said, that they lived together in a criminal correspondence, and that she had charmed him by some secret incantation. In the protestant countries the loves and intrigues of Innocent and Donna Olympia were represented upon the stage, and severe sarcasms were daily put into the hands of Pasquin at Rome. As she had usurped such an absolute authority, the new cardinal nephew saw the necessity of ruining her credit; he therefore seconded the endeavours of Panzirollo. He insinuated to the pope, that his reputation had suffered greatly among the Catholics by her scandalous proceedings, and that his nuncios were treated with disrespect and contempt at the courts of the emperor, France, and Spain. Upon these representations, Innocent at length, but with great reluctance, banished Olympia, and was reconciled to prince Camillo and the princess Rossana; though some authors affirm, that her banishment was no more than a political retreat, and that she still in private directed the affairs of the pope[n]. After the banishment of Olympia, the cardinal patron and Panzirollo were for some time in great credit and esteem; but Panzirollo having weakened his health by his continual application to business, and dying in the course of the following year, cardinal Astalli, or Pamphilio, quickly found his influence lessened.

During these transactions the Barberini suffered continual mortifications at the pope's court, notwithstanding several remonstrances of the French ambassador in their behalf. At length the aversion of Innocent for Mazarine and the French increasing, he began to think of a reconciliation with the Barberini, in order to lessen the French interest in the conclave. For this purpose he consulted with the heads of the Spanish faction, who, in order to bring over Francis Barberino to their party, offered an advantageous match for his niece the princess of Palestrina, who was then in France, and promised to restore to him ten thousand crowns a year, which he held in abbies within the dominions of his catholic majesty. The French A.D. 1651.

[n] Galeazo Gualdo. Priorato Hist. de Jules Mazarine. tom. ii. —L'Abbe Gualdo Hist. de Donna Olympia Maldachina Etat du Siege de Rome. Rycaut, ut supra. Heydegger Hist. Papat. Mem. du Card. de Retz, tom. iv. Desmaretz Tableau des Papes. Hist. du Card. Mazarine.

ambassador

ambassador at Rome, being informed of this secret negociation, wrote to France, urging the absolute necessity of giving the princess of Palestrina in marriage to one of the peers of the kingdom, and of writing without delay to cardinal Francis, to prevent him from closing with the Spaniards. Mazarine having considered the ambassador's letter, created cardinal Antonio bishop of Poictiers, and cardinal Francis grand almoner of France. However, they could not resist the offers made to them by Donna Olympia, who had now recovered great credit with the pope, and promised to restore them to his intimate favour, on condition that they would assent to the marriage of Don Thaddeo's son with her grand-draughter, without any dowry. They embraced these offers with great ardour; and cardinal Antonio having privately conducted his niece, the princess of Palestrina, to Padua, returned to Rome, where the eldest son of Thaddeo was created a cardinal, and the marriage celebrated betwixt his second son and the grand-daughter of Olympia. Soon after the princess of Palestrina was married to the duke of Modena, and cardinal Francis was admitted into the cabinet council, which was composed of the pope, Donna Olympia, the cardinal patron, and monsignor Azzolini [o].

The Barberini are restored to favour and confidence.

A.D. 1652.

A.D 1653. Innocent in the mean time interested himself, in some measure, in the civil commotions in France; and being informed that Mazarine had imprisoned cardinal de Retz, sent an extraordinary nuncio to obtain his liberty. The nuncio, however, was prohibited from passing beyond Lyons, an affront which so provoked the pope, that he declared to the abbé Chartre, whom the cardinal had sent to Rome, "That if the malecontents would furnish an army, he would supply them with a legate [p]." About the same time he was sollicited by the Jansenists and Molinists to publish a bull in their favour. The Jansenist clergy of France complimented the pope on this occasion, and referred to his decision in the first instance, which, by the privileges they enjoyed, they were not obliged to do. They hoped by this complaisance to flatter the pope to declare in their favour: however, they were greatly deceived; for the intrigues of the Jesuits prevailing, the pope published a bull, condemning the five propositions of Jansenius, though he had acknowleged to Mr. St. Amour, that, as he had never studied divinity, he would

The pope sollicits the liberty of cardinal de Retz.

He publishes a bull against the doctrines of Jansenius.

[o] Rycaut, ut supra. [p] Mem. du Card. de Retz.

not

not consider them. Notwithstanding this bull, as the pope declared that he did not intend to condemn the two doctors of grace, St. Augustine and St. Thomas, and desired the Augustines and Dominicans at Rome to preach grace as formerly, according to the opinion of those two doctors, both parties claimed the victory, and the dispute still continued[q].

Olympia again assumes the administration.

Donna Olympia and the Barberini had at this time the management of the pope. Olympia again assumed the supreme direction of affairs, as before her disgrace; and the Barberini, having had long experience in the administration of the government during the pontificate of their uncle, so successfully insinuated themselves into the pope's esteem, that he refused them no favour they asked; so that, before his death, they repaired all the losses that their estates had suffered during their disgrace. As the Barberini increased in favour, the reputation of the cardinal patron declined; and he being likewise undermined by Donna Olympia, the pope was provoked, in the beginning of the following year, to order him to lay aside the arms and name of Pamphilio, and to retire from Rome. He likewise deprived him of all his offices and benefices, obliged him to refund sixty thousand crowns of ready money, and left him only a yearly revenue of six thousand crowns[r]. After the disgrace of Astalli, Innocent, with a view to procure new friends to protect his family, made a promotion of nine cardinals; among whom was Azzolini, who a few months before, by the interest of Donna Olympia, had obtained the office of secretary of the briefs. As the commotions in Naples were again renewed, Azzolini, together with the Barberini, endeavoured to persuade the pope to attempt the conquest of that kingdom, the Barberini offering to maintain an army of ten thousand men at their own charge, on condition that, after the conquest should be made, the principality of Salerno should be granted to them in full sovereignty. A.D. 1654.

Innocent declined this enterprize on account of his great age, and in the mean time resigned himself wholly into the hands of Donna Olympia; who, observing his infirmities daily increasing, redoubled her rapacity, disposing of

[q] Larrey Hist. de Louis XIII tom. ii. p. 441. Wicquefort Let. de Juliet, 1653. Etat. du Siege de Rome, tom i. Journal de St. Amour, par. iii. cap. xiii. Heydegger Hist. Papat. [r] Priorat. ut supra.

benefices

benefices to the highest bidders, in all parts of Italy. She was again in hazard of being displaced by a new favourite, namely, the cardinal De Retz; who, having escaped from his imprisonment in France, arrived at Rome in the end of autumn, and was received by the pope with uncommon marks of distinction. At his first arrival, the pope sent the treasurer of the chamber to him with a purse of four thousand crowns of gold. He conferred upon him the red hat in a full consistory, and began to talk of adopting him for his nephew; but three days after he was seized with a distemper, under which he languished for several weeks, and died on the 7th of January, in the eighty-first year of his age, and the eleventh year of his pontificate [s]. During his last illness, he received nothing but from the hands of Donna Olympia, who was at great pains to prolong his life, watched continually at his bed-side, and prevented the ambassadors or others from disturbing him with discourses upon business. She is said, during the last ten days of his life, when he continued without the use of reason, to have amassed about half a million of crowns [t]. According to Priorato, Innocent's aspect was noble and majestic, and his spirit resolute and active [u]; but other authors affirm, that he was excessively ugly and deformed; and that he was ignorant, irresolute, cunning, and revengeful [w]. He is commended for his temperance and strict regard to justice, which he executed with great impartiality; and, during his pontificate, he adorned the city with several magnificent buildings and public works [x].

A.D. 1655.

Innocent dies at Rome.

Upon the death of Innocent X. the cardinals immediately began to cabal, and to form parties for the future conclave. The most powerful factions were those of Spain and France; but ten cardinals, who had been promoted by Innocent, formed a party independent of any crown, and privately resolved to elect Fabio Chigi, though they agreed apparently to advance the interest of cardinal Sachetti, as the means of distracting the other factions. On the 18th of January, the cardinals entered into the conclave, where the independent party, which was distinguished by the name of the flying squadron, quickly discovered its power, being sufficiently strong to prevent the election of any whom it did not approve of. There were no less than

[s] Priorat ut sup. Rycaut. Etat du Siege de Rome. Mem. de Card. de Retz, tom. v. [t] Rycaut. [u] Prior ubi sup. [w] Tabl. des Papes. De Larr. Hist. Louis XIV. Nani Hist. de Venise. [x] Rycaut.

twenty-

twenty-two pretenders, moſt of whom had conſiderable intereſt, and all of them high expectations. Many of the candidates quickly ſuffered the mortification of an excluſion; but Sachetti continued for ſeveral days to have thirty-two and thirty-three voices upon every ſcrutiny. The various intrigues at this election are minutely related in the hiſtory of the conclaves, and by Priorato and the cardinal De Retz; but we ſhall only obſerve, that the cardinals, after they had been ſhut up eighty days, unanimouſly choſe cardinal Chigi, who owed his election chiefly to the intereſt of cardinal De Retz and the Barberini, and during the conclave behaved like Sixtus V. with great reſerve and affected modeſty [y]. He was elected on the 8th of April, and aſſumed the name of Alexander VII. (D). His elevation to the pontificate gave univerſal ſatisfaction, and the greateſt expectations were raiſed of his future government. The people expreſſed the moſt extravagant joy, and as nothing was talked of at Rome but the ſanc-

Alexander VII. is elected. Great expectations from his pontificate.

y Guald. Priorat. Hiſt. de Mazar. lib. v. Hiſt des Conclave. tom. ii. Mem. de Card. de Retz.

(D) Fabio Chigi, or Ghigi, was deſcended of an ancient and noble family at Siena, and was born in that city in the year 1599. His anceſtors had made a conſiderable figure at Rome during the pontificate of Julius II. but meeting afterwards with misfortunes, they were obliged to return to Siena. Fabio was educated carefully, and went early to Rome; where, being recommended by the marquis Pallavicini to Urban VIII. he, by his taſte for poetry and profeſſed admiration of Horace, ſecured the eſteem of that pope, who ſent him as inquiſitor to Malta; from whence he returned with the greateſt commendations from the grand maſter and the knights, who declared that Malta had never before been bleſſed with ſuch a legate. Urban then appointed him vice-legate at Ferrara; where he reſided three years, and acquired the eſteem of all ranks of people by his moderate and juſt adminiſtration. He was afterwards ſent as nuncio to Cologne to be preſent at the negociations for a general peace, where, it is ſaid, he diſcovered ſome inclination to embrace the Proteſtant religion (1). At Munſter he preſided at the negociations, as pope's legate, and uſed his utmoſt endeavours to prevent the concluſion of the treaty, which was prejudicial to the intereſts of the Roman ſee. Upon his return to Rome, Innocent created him a cardinal; and, at the death of Panzirollo, appointed him firſt ſecretary of ſtate (2).

(1) Bayle Nouv. de la Rep. des Let. Octob. 1686. Idem Dict. Hiſt. Art. Chigi. (2) Angel. Corrar. Relat. della Corte Romana. Il Syndicato di Aleſſandro VII.

tity

tity and piety of the pope, it was generally believed, that the virtue of miracles would be again restored to the church. Great rejoicings were also made in all the catholic countries, in hopes that they would be no longer subject to the blind passions which had prevailed for so many centuries at the Roman court. Several Protestants are even said to have come expressly to Rome, to examine if matters were really so as represented. In reality, Alexander began his pontificate in such a manner as increased the hopes that had generally been conceived of him. He continued to fast twice a week, as he had practised when he was a cardinal. He prohibited his relations to come to Rome without his permission: rejected the congratulations of Donna Olympia, and forbid her to enter the palace; and, instead of indulging himself in the luxury of a court, he lived in the strictest abstinence and mortification of body. To remind him of his mortality, he ordered his coffin to be brought into his chamber; he eat common food seasoned with ashes, and slept on a straw mattress, or on boards, with a stone pillow under his head [z]. Whether by these external mortifications he deceived himself, or wanted to deceive the world, is uncertain; but cardinal De Retz mentions, that he urged upon him the necessity of some outward shew, to secure the regard of the public; and remarks likewise, that the pope appeared to him to have a narrow genius, which appeared in his attention to matters of very little importance. He relates, that, when a fine statue was shewn to the pope, he took notice only of a fringe that went round the bottom of the robe, and in a conversation with himself in the conclave, when talking of his youthful studies, he observed that he had wrote two years with the same pen [a].

In his first consistory, he granted the pallium to the cardinal De Retz, by which he confirmed him in his archbishoprick of Paris, contrary to the inclination of the king. Having, by this step, greatly exasperated the French court, he, for the future, acted with greater reserve towards the cardinal, and refused to interest himself in protecting him from the resentment of Mazarine [b]. Mean while, having received a great number of memorials against Donna Olympia, he ordered her to retire to Orvieto within eight days, and not to remove from that city without his permission. The same day that she quitted Rome, he began to take the

He orders Donna Olympia to be prosecuted.

[z] Synd. of Alex. Mem. du Card. de Retz. Cont. de Mezer.
[a] Mem. du Card. de Retz, tom. v. [b] Idem ibid.

exami-

examination of witnesses for drawing up the process against her; but, the articles of accusation being numerous, he ordered ten of the most material points to be selected, to which she should be obliged to give answers.

While he was thus prosecuting Olympia, with all the severity that the law would allow, he began to abate of his rigour to his relations. At the persuasion of some of the cardinals he sent for his brother Don Mario, with his son Flavio, and two other nephews, Augustine and Sigismond, whom, in a short time, he loaded with wealth and dignities (E). Don Mario was made governor of the ecclesiastical state; his son was created cardinal patron; Sigismond being too young for any dignity, was gratified with rich pensions; Augustino, designed to be the pillar of the house, was married to a rich niece of cardinal Borgheſe; another nephew, by his sister, was created a cardinal; and the brother of this nephew, who was a knight of Malta, was made general of the gallies [c]. Alexander likewise, by degrees, began to lay aside his austere manner of living, and, at length, by the persuasion of his relations, he ran into the other extreme, and exceeded all his predecessors in the pomp and magnificence of his robes, furniture, and equipages [d]. Cardinal De Retz mentions, that, upon his return from the medicinal wells in Tuscany, he found the pope quite changed; that he was continually employed in trifles; that he was envious and jealous of all the world; that he was ridiculously vain; and that he never spoke a word of truth [e]. Mean while a grievous plague afflicted the city of Rome and its neighbourhood, which raged to such a degree, that not only trade and commerce were interrupted, but the common courts of justice were shut up. Donna Olympia was cut off by this pestilence; and Alexander, instead of confiscating her estate to the apostolic chamber, as was generally expected, allowed the prince

A.D. 1656.

He heaps honours and wealth upon his relations.

A severe plague at Rome.

[c] Syndic d'Alexand. Heydeg. ut sup. Nani Hist. de Venise.
[d] Contin. de Mezer. Syndic d'Alex.
[e] Mem. du Card. De Retz, ut supra.

(E) It is said, that, at the beginning of his pontificate, he swore never to receive his relations at Rome; and that afterwards, being greatly embarrassed with his oath, the Jesuit Pallavicini freed him from his scruples, by advising him to go and meet them out of the city; which ingenious expedient was embraced by the pope, who accordingly went to meet them at the distance of a mile from Rome (1).

(1) Heydeg. Hist. Papat. ut sup.

Pamphilio to succeed as her heir, after drawing from him about a million of crowns, which he bestowed on his own kindred [f]. At the same time, being informed, that Christina queen of Sweden had abdicated her crown, embraced the popish religion, and was arrived in Germany in her way to Rome, he sent an extraordinary nuncio to congratulate her upon her conversion. As the plague soon after abated, she proceeded to Rome, where she was received with the greatest magnificence, and on Christmas-day was confirmed in St. Peter's church by his holiness; who, to her former name Christina, superadded that of Alexandra, and assigned her a pension of twelve thousand crowns.

The Venetians ask assistance from the pope against the Turks.

As the Venetians at this time were engaged in a war with the Turks, who had invaded the island of Candia, they earnestly solicited the assistance of the Christian powers against the infidels. The pope excused himself from granting them any subsidy, as his treasury had been exhausted by the rapaciousness of the nephews of his predecessors, and by the large sums which had been lately issued to support the poor, who had been distressed by a famine, which had attended the pestilence. However, at the solicitation of Pallavicini, the Jesuit, who presented him with a large sum of money, he hearkened to some expedients proposed to him by the Venetians for supporting the holy war, on condition that they would repeal the law against the Jesuits, and allow them to return to their dominions, he granted a bull, authorizing the senate to sell some lands and rents belonging to the two orders of the Crociferi and Santo Spirito. The repeal of the law against the Jesuits at first met with great opposition in the senate; but the necessity of their affairs obliging them to court the favour of the pope, they at last consented to allow the Jesuits to return, and, having obtained the bull, raised above a million of ducats by the sale of the church lands [g].

A.D. 1657.

They repeal the act against the Jesuits.

Alexander condemns the book of Jansenius.

The Jesuits being thus re-established at Venice, the pope employed his authority to confirm their doctrine in France. As the Jansenists, by subtle distinctions, had eluded the bull of his predecessor, he renewed the censure of Innocent X. against the five propositions said to be contained in the books of Jansenius, and condemned them by a new

[f] Rycaut. Life of Alex. [g] Idem ibid. De Reincourt, les Fastes de Louis le Grand. Nani, cited by De Larr. Etat du Siege de Rome.

bull,

bull, both in their obvious sense, and in the sense intended by the author. This bull, however, had not the effect he desired; for, instead of putting an end to disputes, the controversy was continued with greater animosity; and the French court, and some bishops, espousing the cause of the Jesuits, a confession of faith was drawn up, which the king, by a particular edict, ordered all the clergy to swear to, then the seculars, and even the nuns. By this formulary, all persons, though they had never seen or read the book of Jansenius, were obliged to swear that the five condemned propositions were contained in his book [h]. A.D. 1658. The Jansenists, on this occasion, suffered a great persecution. The fathers of Port Royal, in hopes of satisfying the court, offered an entire silence and submission to the fact, and promised to condemn the five propositions wherever they should find them; but this proposal being rejected by Mazarine, the divines and nuns of that place absolutely refused to consent to any other expedient. The bishops of Alet, Angers, Beauvais, and Pamiers, refused purely and simply to submit to the pope's bull, which condemned the doctrine of Jansenius; on which account Alexander next year appointed commissaries to try them for their disobedience and heresy. But nineteen of their brethren writing to him, and affirming, that the French prelates, when accused of heresy, could only be tried by the council of their province, the affair at that time proceeded no farther. Tellier and Colbert persuading Lewis XIV. to stop the dispute, which had already proceeded too far, and which, in the end, might occasion a rupture betwixt him and the court of Rome [i].

His bull occasions great disturbances in France.

Alexander in the mean time earnestly pressed the courts of Spain and France to agree to a peace, offering himself as mediator, and desiring that the conferences might be held at Rome. As he had been present at Munster, and thoroughly canvassed the differences betwixt the two nations, he expected that they would have both willingly desired his arbitration; however, to his great disappointment and surprize, the treaty was concluded the following year, without his knowledge, at the Pyrenees, by Mazarine and Don Lewis de Haro [k]. Alexander blamed the French more than the Spaniards for his being excluded from the treaty, as he observed that Mazarine industri-

A.D. 1659.

The peace of the Pyrenees concluded without his participation.

[h] Etat du Siege de Rom. tom iv. [i] Contin de Mezer.
[k] Priorat. Hist. de la Paix des Pyrenees, p. 119. 125. De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV.

ously seized all opportunities of throwing contempt upon his person and authority. He dissembled, however, his resentment; and, as the Turks had begun hostilities in Upper Hungary, he wrote to the kings of France and Spain to turn their arms against the infidels, at the same time laying a tithe upon all the ecclesiastical revenues in Italy, to raise a subsidy for the emperor [l]. This appears to have been a pretended zeal; for Mazarine, soon after sending some troops to the assistance of the Venetians against the Turks, and desiring his holiness to propose a general league against the infidels, to declare himself the head of the alliance, and to animate the other Christian princes by his example, Alexander paid no regard to these exhortations; but even by his backwardness cooled the zeal of others, who seemed desirous of a general league [m]. The pope at that time was chiefly engaged in filling the city with inscriptions, and adorning it with magnificent buildings. He, however, did not neglect to testify his hatred for Mazarine, by assembling a consistory, and re-uniting the duchy of Castro to the apostolic chamber, because that minister had presumed to intercede in behalf of the duke of Parma [n].

A.D. 1660.

He rejects the proposal of a league against the Turks.

The animosity between the pope and the cardinal destroyed the good understanding betwixt his holiness and the duke of Crequi, the French ambassador at Rome. This nobleman, at his first arrival, was received with the utmost ceremony and respect; and, being distinguished by his nobility and personal accomplishments, was greatly caressed by the pope. As he was naturally of a haughty disposition, and had secret orders from the king to mortify the pope and his relations, he soon began to pay more respect to other cardinals than to the pope's nephews. Alexander immediately resented this affront, and behaved to Crequi with great coldness and indifference at his audiences. This bad correspondence soon broke out to an open enmity, occasioned at first by two Frenchmen, who, to shew their bravery, disarmed the night patrol, consisting of three Corsi. These Corsi were punished for having made no resistance, and their officer was broke. Soon after some bailiffs and officers, to shew themselves diligent in their duty, entered the ambassador's house in search of some criminals, while he was at mass in his chapel. That same evening a Frenchman, who, in passing through the

A.D. 1662.

The French ambassador insulted at Rome.

[l] Rycaut, ubi sup. [m] Angelo Carraro, ut sup. [n] De Larrey, ut sup.

quarters

quarters of the Corsi, had thrown out against them some ignominious reproach, was pursued by them to the ambassador's house, where they assembled, to the number of four hundred, with drums beating and colours flying, and fired upon the ambassador, who came to the window to endeavour to appease them. They likewise fired upon his lady, who was returning home in her coach, and killed one of her lacquies. As Don Mario and cardinal Imperiali covered the escape of the Corsi who were reckoned most guilty, and but slightly punished the others, the duke of Crequi looked upon the pope's relations as the authors of the insult; and though the whole family of the Chigi paid their visits of condolance to him and his lady, excusing the riot and tumult, which, they said, was owing solely to the insolence of the guards, he insisted upon more full satisfaction for the outrage, and sent an account of the whole transaction to his court.

The pope and the queen of Sweden likewise wrote to Lewis XIV. excusing the tumult; but he paid more regard to the letters of his ambassador, and immediately ordered the nuncio to leave Paris, and soon after conducted him with a guard to the confines of Savoy. About the same time the duke of Crequi left Rome, and retired to Tuscany, where he continued for some time, receiving proposals of accommodation from the pope, who likewise wrote several other letters to Lewis XIV. full of sorrow and resentment for the late outrage. The duke, not receiving the satisfaction he expected, at length left Italy, having, before his departure from Leghorn, notified to the pope the demands of the king; who required, that Don Mario should be banished to Sienna for five years; that cardinal Imperiali should be deprived of his hat; that the Corsican nation should be banished for ever from Rome; that a pyramid should be erected, with an inscription in the place where the outrage was committed; that Castro should be restored to the duke of Parma, and the vale of Commachio to the duke of Modena. These high terms quite confounded the pope, especially as he observed, that the dukes of Savoy, Modena, and Parma, declared for the French, and the Spaniards had granted leave for a French army to march through the Milanese into the ecclesiastical state. However, having private assurances of assistance from the emperor, and being encouraged by some cardinals, he protested he would hazard every thing in defence of the dignity of the apostolic see.

He quits Italy, and returns to France.

A.D. 1663.

As he soon found that the emperor had no great intention of fulfilling his promises, and was informed that the

parliament of Aix had taken the opportunity of an insurrection at Avignon, to reunite that city and its dependencies to the crown of France, he willing embraced the offer of the Venetians to act as mediators. Accordingly Lewis Grimani, the Venetian ambassador at Paris, prevailed upon the king to agree to a congress at Lyons for an accommodation; but as the pope sent the title of extraordinary nuncio to his deputy Rasponi, the conferences were quickly broke off, without any effect. Soon after the negociations were renewed at Buonvicino, on the frontiers of Savoy, Rasponi residing in the duchy, and the agents from Modena and Parma, with Crequi, Grimani, and the twelve consuls of Avignon, remaining in France: but the pope absolutely refusing to consent to the restitution of Castro and Commachio, the treaty was again broke off. During this congress at Buonvicino, a French fleet appeared on the coast of the ecclesiastical state, and great warlike preparations were made at Rome; the fleet, however, retired, without any act of hostility, to Sardinia; and, to the surprize of Italy, when the treaty broke off, the pope ordered his new levied troops to be disbanded. Both parties thus discovering a desire of an accommodation, a few months afterwards Pisa was appointed for a third congress; where a treaty was at length concluded, on the 22d of February, between Rasponi and Bourlemont, the plenipotentiaries of the pope and the French king.

A.D. 1664.

A treaty concluded betwixt the pope and the French.

Conditions of the treaty.

The conditions of this treaty were very dishonourable for the pope; for it was agreed, that Castro should be again dismembered from the patrimony of the church, and restored to the duke of Parma, on condition of his paying to the apostolic chamber, within eight years, one million six hundred and twenty-nine thousand seven hundred and fifty crowns, at two payments; so that, upon making the first payment, he should receive the investiture of one half of the duchy. In lieu of Commachio the pope was also obliged to give the duke of Modena forty thousand crowns, or a palace at Rome; to deliver to him Mont d'Este, valued at thirty thousand crowns; to remit to him a debt of fifty thousand crowns, which he owed to the Montists; and besides, to grant him the right of perpetual patronage to the abbies of Pompasa and Bondeno. It was also stipulated, that the cardinal-nephew should be sent as legate to France; where, at his first public audience, he should declare to the king, according to a form of words inserted in the treaty, that his holiness was sorry

for

for the outrage committed againſt the duke of Crequi, of which neither he nor any of his family was culpable; That cardinal Imperiali ſhould go to France to make his ſubmiſſion in perſon to the king; that cardinal Maldachini ſhould be allowed to return to Rome, there to live in freedom and ſecurity; that Don Mario ſhould declare in writing, upon the faith of a gentleman, that he had no part in the outrage committed againſt the king's ambaſſador; and till ſuch certification, confirmed by the pope's brief, ſhould be delivered into the king's hands, he ſhould not have liberty to enter Rome; that Don Auguſtino ſhould, upon the approach of the duke of Crequi to Rome, go out to meet him as far as St. Quirico, or Civita Vecchia, or Narni, according as the duke ſhould chuſe his route; that Donna Berenice, or the princeſs Farneſe, ſhould go out to meet the ambaſſadreſs as far as Ponte Molle; that the pope ſhould annul all proceedings againſt the duke Cæſarini, and all others, on account of the above mentioned outrage; that the Corſican nation ſhould be declared for ever incapable of ſerving either in Rome or in the eccleſiaſtical ſtate; and that the captain of the guard at Rome ſhould be broke; that, oppoſite to the place where the Corſi held their chief guard, a pyramid ſhould be erected, with an inſcription, declaring the crime for which they were baniſhed; that, upon the arrival of the cardinal legate at Paris, and the execution of the foregoing articles, the king ſhould reſtore Avignon, with its dependencies, to the pope; who ſhould grant a free pardon to all the inhabitants that had been concerned in the revolt, and ſhould proſecute none of them for any thing that had happened ſince that time; and laſtly, ſhould grant aſſeſſors to the judges of Avignon, and the county of Venaſſin. However mortifying and diſgraceful theſe conditions were to Alexander, he was obliged punctually to fulfil them, though he laboured much to excuſe the baniſhment of Don Mario, and the ſending cardinal Chigi as his legate to France °.

After the execution of the articles of the treaty, Don Mario returned from Sora to Rome, and the pope had leiſure to attend to the diſputes in Spain betwixt the Dominicans and Jeſuits, concerning the immaculate conception of the bleſſed Virgin. This controverſy was carried A.D.1665.

° Wicquef. l'Ambaſſad. &c. tom. iv. Des Faſtes de Louis le Grand. Nani. De Riencourt. De Larrey. Contin. de Mezer. Etat du Siege de Rome tom. i. Rycaut, ubi ſupra. Traitez de Paix, tom. i. p. 635.

on with such animosity, that, instead of being determined in the schools by a moderator, it had like to have been decided in the field by the sword. To prevent any commotion, the king sent the bishop of Placenza to Rome, desiring his holiness to determine the controversy by a bull; but Alexander, instead of deciding which of the opinions was orthodox, followed the example of his predecessors, and left the article of faith still unsettled. The Jesuits, however, having prevailed upon him to embrace the opinion of the immaculate conception, he published a bull, prohibiting all persons, under severe penalties, from asserting the contrary doctrine, either in public or private. This determination did not satisfy the king of Spain, who was besides greatly offended with the pope for seeming to favour the king of Portugal, and ordered his ambassador to threaten him with the loss of a hundred and thirty bishopricks and sixty abbies in Spain, if he should concern himself with the bishopricks in Portugal [z].

Alexander offends the king of Spain.

About the same time the divines of the Sorbonne having censured two books, published by the Jesuits, under the false names of James de Vernant and Amadeus Guimenius, which defended the pope's supremacy and infallibility, Alexander wrote to the king complaining of their presumption. Lewis, in compliance with his holiness's request, assembled a congregation of bishops at Pontoise, who passed a slight censure on the Sorbonnists, blaming their presumption, without condemning their opinion. The parliament of Paris, however, published a declaration against the pope's brief, and, in defence of the proceeding of the divines of the Sorbonne, whose sentiments they affirmed were the same with those of the fathers, councils, holy see, and all the parliaments and universities of the kingdom. The pope, greatly irritated at the freedom of the parliament, in the month of June published a terrible bull against the censures of the Sorbonnists, annulling them, as presumptuous, rash, and scandalous, and prohibiting all ecclesiastics from receiving or approving them, under pain of excommunication latæ sententiæ. His bull, however, in France, was treated with great contempt, and looked upon with detestation, as plainly countenancing the most immoral doctrines, since it condemned those who had censured them. The parliament of Paris, in the end of July, published an arret,

[z] Rycaut, ut supra. Wicq. Bayle Dict. Hist. & Crit. Art. Chigi (Fabio).

prohibiting

prohibiting all the king's subjects from reading, selling, or possessing the said bull, and ordered the censures of the Sorbonnists against the books of Vernant and Guimenius to be registered in the rolls of the court. They prohibited all persons from maintaining or teaching the censured propositions; declared their intention of supporting the faculty of divinity in their right of censuring all books, which should contain propositions contrary to the authority and discipline of the church, to the purity of Christian morality, to the rights of the crown, and the liberties of the Gallican church; and ordered two of their members to read their arret in the presence of the members of the faculty, and to exhort them to continue their censures, as occasion should answer, with the same zeal [a]. Though no author mentions how the pope received this terrible stroke, it may be presumed that it greatly affected him: however, that he might not seem expressly to approve of the detestable maxims which had been censured, he soon after published a bull, condemning several propositions taken from the writings of the Jesuits [b]. At the request of the court and clergy of France, he likewise canonized Francis de Sales, titular prince and bishop of Geneva, having also, a few years before made another saint in favour of the Spaniards, namely, Thomas de Villa Nova, a hermit, of the order of Augustines, and archbishop of Valencia, who had been dead upwards of a hundred years [c].

The pope fits out a fleet against the Turks.

In the course of the following year the pope fitted out his gallies against the Turks, and sent them, under the command of Bichi, into the Archipelago; where, in conjunction with the gallies of Malta, they attacked several maritime places belonging to the infidels; but, having passed the summer without any memorable action, they returned in the beginning of winter to Italy [d]. About the same time he sent three chests of relics to France, together with a bull, which affirmed that they might, with all confidence, be exposed to the veneration of the people. Notwithstanding this bull, when the relics were examined by a physician, one of the skulls, intitled caput Sancti Fortunati, or the head of St. Fortunatus, was found to be artificially made of pasteboard, and fell to pieces upon be-

[a] Recueil de diverses Pieces concernant les Censures de la Faculté de Theolog. de Par. &c. a Munster. ann. 1669. Bayle Crit. Gener. du Calvin. Lett. xxv. Rycaut, ut sup. [b] Catech. Hist. & Dogmat. tom. ii. p. 41, & 43 [c] Heydeg. Hist. Papat. Ætat. vii. De Larr. Hist. de Louis XIV. [d] Rycaut.

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ing put into warm water. The physician, however, received a letter de cachet, prohibiting him from publishing the discovery, upon pain of being sent to the Bastile [e].

He dies at Rome.

These were some of the last acts of Alexander; for very soon after he died at Rome, on the 22d of May, in the sixty-ninth year of his age, and the thirteenth of his pontificate, very little regretted by the people; who, being disappointed in their expectations of great things from him, looked with prejudice and dissatisfaction upon all his conduct, which, during his whole reign, was very inconsistent. He was of a middle stature, and good habit of body, had an agreeable air in his countenance, and was pleasant and facetious in his conversation. He is accused of being ungrateful, irresolute, hypocritical, vain, proud, envious, of having made a game of religion for worldly purposes, and of having chiefly attended to the enriching of his own family, without any regard to justice. He was, however, tolerably learned, loved the sciences, and delighted in the conversation of learned men. He had a great taste for magnificent buildings, and enlarged and adorned many streets in Rome, much to the ornament of the city and the convenience of the inhabitants, though he thereby exhausted the apostolic chamber, and ruined several private persons, by ordering their houses, which interrupted the regularity of the streets, to be demolished, without granting them any satisfaction [f].

In the conclave which ensued upon the death of Alexander, the faction of Chigi consisted of thirty-seven voices; that of the Barberini of about sixteen; the Spanish of nine; the French of about seven; besides some others who adhered to no party. A few candidates made some ineffectual endeavours in their own behalf; but the weather being extremely hot, the air unhealthy, and one of the cardinals dying, Barberini and Chigi joined their interest in favour of cardinal Rospiglioſi; who, without having made any interest for the pontificate, was elected on the 20th of June, and assumed the name of Clement IX [g] (G). After his

Clement IX. is elected.

[e] Politique du Clerge de France, p. 69. edit. 1682. [f] Nani, ut sup. Angelo Corraro, ut sup. [g] Hist. des Conclaves. Rycaut. Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. i. p. 124.

(G) Julio Rospiglioſi was born at Pistoia, in 1600, being descended from an ancient and noble family. Having received

his coronation, which was performed on the 26th of the ſame month, he thanked the cardinals, in a full conſiſtory, for their ſuffrages. To reconcile his ſubjects to his government, he aboliſhed ſome taxes with which they were burthened, and took care that proviſions might be cheap and plentiful at Rome. He was likewiſe very deſirous to aſſiſt the Venetians againſt the Turks; but his predeceſſor having left an empty treaſury, he was obliged to ſuppreſs ſome of thoſe orders of regulars, which appeared of little ſervice to the Romiſh church, and had degenerated from the rules of their inſtitution. He accordingly iſſued out a bull, authoriſing the Venetians to ſecularize the lands of theſe orders within their dominions, and to apply the money to the ſacred war. The ſale of theſe lands, however, in the Milaneſe and the kingdom of Naples, met with great oppoſition from the Spaniards; who affirmed, that they could not be ſold without the conſent of the catholic king, and that the pope had no right to diſpoſe of the money ariſing from their ſale. The execution of the pope's decree was oppoſed at Naples by force; on which account he thundered out an anathema, but without ſucceſs; for the king's miniſters defended their proceedings with great firmneſs. ſo that the controverſy continued for ſeveral years in ſuſpence, and was not terminated till the time of the ſucceeding pope [h].

Though Clement is ſaid to have blamed himſelf afterwards for this ſecularization, on account of a ſcruple of

[h] Rycaut. Nodot. Relat. de la Cour de Rome.

ed a good education, and being diſtinguiſhed by his active and lively genius, Urban VIII. appointed him auditor to his nephew Barberini, when he went as legate to France; and being ſatisfied with his conduct, he ſent him afterwards as nuncio to Spain, in which character he behaved to the ſatisfaction both of the court of Rome and of the Catholic king, and his commiſſion was therefore continued for eleven years, though uſually it did not exceed three. Upon his return to Rome he was appointed governor of the city, during the vacancy of the ſee, at the death of Innocent X. Alexander VII. created him a cardinal at his firſt promotion, and afterwards made him ſecretary of ſtate; in which office he ſo diſtinguiſhed himſelf, that he had the approbation of the pope, of the ſacred college, and of all Rome (1).

(1) Hiſt. de Familles de Rome. De Larr. Hiſt. de Louis XIV. tom. iii. p. 537.

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A.D. 1668. conscience, yet, at this time, he appeared fully satisfied of the necessity and justice of such a proceeding, and endeavoured besides to engage the Christian princes in a league against the infidels; for which purpose he ordered his nephew, whom he recalled from Brussels, where he had resided as inter-nuncio three years, to return by Paris, and to persuade Lewis XIV. to a peace with Spain, and to an alliance against the Turks. The cardinal Rospigliosi accordingly proceeded to Paris; but his conferences with the king produced but very little effect. A few French gentlemen went as voluntiers to Candia; and the French king agreed to treat of a peace at Aix la Chapelle, though in the mean time he sent an army, the following February, into Franche Compté, and, in a few weeks, made himself master of that whole province. About the same time the cardinal-nephew having returned to Rome, Clement sent an extraordinary legate to France, and another to Spain, to forward the peace; and having appointed Bargellini as his plenipotentiary at Aix la Chapelle, the treaty was at last concluded, by his mediation, in the month of May [k].

He offers his mediation for peace betwixt France and Spain.

His moderation with regard to his relations.

Mean while he acted with great moderation with regard to his relations, conferring upon them only small and inconsiderable favours. As he had never engaged much in the commerce of the world, his heart was so tempered by virtue, that the assaults and persuasions of flatterers were vain and fruitless. They endeavoured to persuade him of the expediency of following the usual maxims, and of aggrandizing his house; but he with constancy resisted their advices, his relations themselves not being very sollicitous for wealth or honours, but contenting themselves with the respect they received at court, not seeming to reflect upon the change which would happen to them upon the death of the pope, or acting as though such a change would be of no importance [l]. A certain author indeed alleges, that the pope had allowed cardinal Chigi to engross his confidence, and that resigning himself too much to his counsels, he was persuaded by him to overlook his own kindred [m].

As the differences betwixt the Molinists and the Jansenists in France began to threaten the public peace in that kingdom, the court found the necessity of abating the rigour exercised against these last; and the pope consenting

[k] De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. iii. Rycaut. [l] Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. i. [m] Nodot. ut supra.

to

to alter the form of proceeding against the four bishops who had refused to subscribe to the formula ordained by the king, they gave an account of their conduct in a letter to his holiness, who declaring that he was satisfied with their reasons, the king immediately published a decree, affirming, that he was likewise satisfied, and prohibited all his subjects from writing in that controversy, or provoking each other by party names[n]. About the same time Clement granted a bull, allowing Lewis XIV. to nominate successors to all bishopricks, abbeys, and benefices, in his kingdom, and likewise permitted him to remove the cross which had been erected at Rome, opposite the church of St. Anthony, in the memory of the conversion of Henry IV. of France to the catholic religion. In return for these favours, Lewis XIV. allowed the pyramid, erected on account of the banishment of the Corsi, to be demolished, and omitted interesting himself in behalf of the duke of Parma, who offered the money stipulated at the treaty of Pisa for the restitution of Castro, but could not prevail with the pope to grant him the investiture of the duchy[o]. Clement solicited the Christian princes, with great earnestness, to send succours to Candia; and having prevailed upon Lewis XIV. to send a fleet thither, under the command of the duke of Beaufort, he fitted out his own gallies, and ordered his nephew Vincenzo Rospigliosi, who commanded them, to join the French fleet and the gallies of Malta. By his solicitation other succours were likewise sent from Germany, by the elector of Bavaria, the bishop of Strasburg, and other princes of the Rhine.

Quiets the differences betwixt the Jansenists and Molinists.

While he was thus endeavouring to prevent Crete from falling into the hands of the Turks, he was informed that the king of Portugal had been deposed by his brother Don Pedro. This prince had succeeded him in the throne, and married his queen, who had obtained a divorce from her first husband. The cardinal de Vendosme, uncle of the queen, whom the pope had sent as legate into France, ratified the dissolution of the first marriage, without waiting for any instructions from Rome, although his legation did not extend to Portugal. The legate excused this extraordinary step, by alleging, that his com-

Acknowleges the king of Portugal.

[n] Catechisme Hist. & Dogm. Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. i. Varet. Relat. de ce qui s'est passe dans l'Affair de la Paix de l'Eglise, edit. 1706 Quesnel P. de Clement IX. edit. 1700. Instruction Pastorale de l'Eveque de Montpellier, 1724. [o] Rycaut, ut supra.

mission

miſſion was conceived in the moſt ample terms, and that he had written to Rome without receiving any anſwer, though it is ſaid that his letter was purpoſely never ſent. To ſatisfy the pope the queen ſent her confeſſor to Rome; and Lewis XIV. likewiſe wrote to his holineſs, to perſuade him of the juſtice of the divorce, as the impotence of the queen's firſt huſband was atteſted by no leſs than thirty phyſicians. Clement, however, would not conſent to confirm the marriage, but gave a commiſſion to the dean of the inquiſitors in Portugal to examine the cauſe.

A.D. 1669. As the dean, after going through a new proceſs, declared the firſt marriage invalid, and the ſecond lawful, the pope at length, at the ſolicitations of the French king and the marquis de las Minas, who came to Rome as ambaſſador of obedience, granted the bull for a diſpenſation in the beginning of the following year: and as the kingdom of Portugal, by the peace of Spain, had been declared independent, he made no difficulty of receiving the obedience of Don Pedro, and of conferring the Portugueſe biſhopricks according to his nomination [p].

About the ſame time he applied himſelf earneſtly to reeſtabliſh his finances, which were under ſuch a bad regulation, that the apoſtolic chamber was in great hazard of becoming bankrupt. For this purpoſe he inſtituted a congregation Dello Aggravio, conſiſting of ſome cardinals and prelates, which was then much approved of, though it appeared afterwards that it was inſufficient to remedy the diſorders in the finances. Clement likewiſe complained greatly of the ignorance of the prelates about his court, and was revolving ſome means of reforming that evil, when being informed, by the Venetian ambaſſador, of the loſs of Candia, he was ſo effected, that he ſuddenly fell into a kind of apoplexy. Though he revived from this fit, yet melancholy ſo oppreſſed his ſpirits, that he died about a month after, on the 9th of December, generally lamented by all ranks of people. He was poſſeſſed of many eminent virtues, and, among others, of modeſty, mildneſs, and charity. Immediately after his promotion, he diſcovered great generoſity and public ſpirit; and it was evident to all that his heart was engaged in promoting a general reformation. He is accuſed of wanting firmneſs and reſolution, of being too indulgent to the great, and to thoſe from whom he had received any obligations; but theſe faults may have proceeded from the

Complains of the ignorance of the prelates.

Dies at Rome.

[p] Vertot Hiſt. des Revol. de Port. Etat du Siege de Rome.

weakneſs

weakneſs of old age, and the exceſſes of his gratitude. As he was not ambitious of worldly honour, he forbad his relations to raiſe any magnificent monument to his memory: his ſucceſſor, however, erected a ſtately monument for him, with his ſtatue, in the church of St. Peter, and the people of Rome voluntarily cauſed ſeveral eulogies to be engraved to his honour, particularly one in the area of the Capitol, on the triumphal arch of Septimius Severus[r].

The cardinals entered the conclave on the 20th of December, where, upon account of the obſtinacy of the factions, they continued more than four months, before they could agree in their choice of a ſucceſſor to the papal chair. Beſides the Spaniſh and French factions, and the flying ſquadrons, there were other three parties, headed by Roſpiglioſi, Barberini, the dean of the college, and by cardinal Chigi, which laſt, to intimidate his adverſaries, declared, that he propoſed to eat cherries in the conclave; to which Barberini replied, that he intended to eat figs. The great number of candidates likewiſe retarded the election; but, after ſeveral excluſions, and a remonſtrance from the Spaniſh ambaſſador, who was admitted to an audience in the conclave, the intrigues quickly ceaſed. The old cardinals declared, that they would agree to the choice of any one to obtain their liberty; and Roſpiglioſi, Barberini, and Chigi, finding that their obſtinacy had no other effect than to retard the election, at laſt united their intereſt in favour of cardinal Emilio Altieri, a decrepid old man, of eighty years of age, who, on the 29th of April, was elected pope by fifty-nine voices, and aſſumed the name of Clement X[s]. A.D. 1670. *Clement X. is elected.*

His election gave great joy to the Romans, as he was deſcended of a Patrician Roman family, which had been illuſtrious for more than ſix hundred years. His brother had been created a cardinal by Urban VIII. but did not long ſurvive his promotion. The ſame pope ſent Emilio into Poland, as auditor to the nuncio, and, upon his return, gave him the government of Ravenna, created him biſhop of Camerino, and ſent him as nuncio to Naples, where he reſided during the inſurrection of Maſſaniello. During the pontificate of Innocent X. he was recalled to Rome, and likewiſe deprived of his revenues; but upon

[r] Nodot. Relat. de la Cour de Rome, let. iii. Contin. de Mezerai, Rycaut. [s] Heydegger Hiſt. Papat. Etat du Siege de Rome. Hiſt. des Conclaves, tom. ii.

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the election of Alexander VII. he obtained the nunciature of Poland. Clement IX. declared him chief of his bed-chamber, and when he was lying on his death-bed, created him a cardinal [t].

He adopts cardinal Paluzzi as his nephew,

Immediately after his election, as he had no near relations of his own name, he adopted cardinal Paluzzi as his nephew, for no other apparent reason, but because his niece Donna Laura Altieri was married to the cardinal's nephew Don Gasparo Paluzzi. He ceded to the family of the Paluzzi all the revenues of the house of Altieri, erected their castle Russina into a principality, and appointed Don Angelo, the cardinal's brother, general of the gallies, and Don Gasparo, his nephew, general of the forces of the church [u]. This sudden promotion of the family of Paluzzi, which was known to be poor and loaded with debts, greatly surprised the Romans, who dreaded that the new cardinal-nephew and his relations would usurp the whole administration, and govern with great avarice and extortion. It quickly appeared that their fears were just; for cardinal Paluzzi, or Altieri, refused to affix the seal to several grants and favours which the pope, according to the usual custom, had bestowed at his coronation, under pretence that his holiness had been surprised, or that the benefices had been disposed of before. He likewise gave orders to the master of the pope's chamber, and to all the attendants near his person, not to permit any addresses, petitions, or memorials, to be presented to the pope, without his knowlege and permission.

who assumes a most absolute power.

Thus the cardinal-nephew assumed an absolute power, and disposed of all offices, benefices, and places of trust, according to his pleasure, which conduct occasioned universal murmuring among the Romans, many of whom, since the promotion of the pope, deduced their lineage from some branch or other of the family of Altieri, and pretended to be his relations, either by blood or alliance. The opposition to the exorbitant and despotic power of the nephew was not so great, however, as might have been expected; for as it was confined to ecclesiastical affairs and domestic concerns, it was overlooked at first by the courts of France and Spain; and the cardinals hoped, that, from the great age of the pope, it would be of very short duration. But this very reason prompted the cardinal-nephew to make the most of his prosperity; he therefore sought, by all means, to establish the grandeur of his family, and

[t] Iidem ibid. [u] Hist. des Families de Rome.

soon

soon after contracted an alliance with the house of Colonna.

Mean while the pope received a splendid embassy from the king of Spain, who sent the viceroy of Naples, with the title of ambassador extraordinary, to Rome, to make the present of the white gennet, and to perform the ceremony of obedience for the kingdom of Naples. After his departure father Nitardo, inquisitor-general of Spain, was left as resident-ambassador at Rome, and was dignified with the title of archbishop of Edessa by the pope, who, the following year, promoted him, and several others, to the dignity of cardinal[w]. Clement, about the same time, likewise canonized pope Pius V. at the solicitation of the Dominicans, though, by the persuasion of Altieri, he refused to concern himself with the affairs of Poland, which was almost wholly over-run with the arms of the Turks. That he might not seem, however, entirely to neglect the Christian cause, he raised the sum of three hundred thousand crowns, by a tax on ecclesiastical benefices in Italy, as a subsidy to the Poles, of which only fifty thousand crowns were sent into Poland, the rest being detained by Altieri for his own use. The king of Poland dying about the same time, Altieri, to gratify the Spaniards, presumed to recommend prince Charles of Lorrain as a proper successor; but the Polish nobility, who had never received kings at the nomination and recommendation of Rome, chose the great-general of the crown, John Sobieski.

A.D. 1671.

Pius V. is canonized.

A.D. 1673.

The cardinal-nephew engaged the pope in a dispute with the French king, who, intending to reform the order of St. Lazarus, for that purpose appointed a new chief or general, in consequence of the right of regalia, or jus patronatus, which he affirmed was inherent in his crown. Altieri, to vindicate the papal authority from the king's usurpations, persuaded a certain Gascon, who had come to Rome for preferment, to accept of the honour of abbot of the order of St. Lazarus, and conferred upon him the abbacy of St. Columbiere. This conduct of Altieri was resented with great warmth by the French ambassador, who imprisoned the scrivener that had drawn up the new abbot's memorial to the pope. The Gascon, however had the confidence to return to France; but he had no sooner entered the kingdom than he was seized

A dispute with the French king concerning the regalia.

[w] Rycaut.

A.D.1674. and committed to prison. Lewis XIV. next year, published an edict in defence of his right of regalia, which he affirmed extended over all his kingdom [x].

Altieri deprives the ambassadors of their immunities.

Altieri, in the mean time, still governed at Rome, in his usual arbitrary manner. As the farmers and collectors of the customs and impositions, which are laid on all sorts of provisions brought into Rome, complained greatly of the frauds and abuses committed by foreign ministers, who allowed great quantities of provisions to be brought into the city by private persons under their name, he published an edict, depriving the ambassadors and cardinals of their immunities, and ordering them to pay the usual taxes for all provisions which they used. The ambassadors complained loudly of his arbitrary and irregular government, and agreed to go in a body, and to demand an immediate audience of the pope, and resolved for the future not to acknowlege him as cardinal-nephew. He, however, prevented their access to the palace, by drawing chains across the streets, and placing guards at the avenues; and, being sure of the protection of the pope, he behaved with such resolution, that they were obliged in the end to comply with the edict, which, however, was not rigorously put in execution, they being still allowed, in some measure, to enjoy their immunities by way of indulgence [y]. All the ambassadors then, by orders from their courts, were reconciled to him, except the duke d'Etrees, the ambassador of France, who alleged, as the cause of his remaining discontent, that Altieri had made secret offers to assist the Spaniards in regaining Messina, from the French.

A.D.1675. In the following year the jubilee was celebrated according to the usual manner; and as Italy was at this time free from the disturbances of war, great numbers of pilgrims and strangers crowded to Rome to receive the benefits of indulgencies and pardons. On the 22d of July

Death of Clement.

Clement died of old age, which had enfeebled his understanding, and reduced him to dotage. A few hours before his death Altieri pressed him to fill up four vacant places of cardinals with creatures of his own, but he would not consent; and, to check his importunity, said with some emotion, "You ought to be content, as you have been pope for six years; suffer me now to follow my own inclinations, and to be pope for six hours only [z]."

[x] De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. iv. p. 199. [y] Etat du Siege de Rome. tom. i. p. 157 & 158. [z] Rycaut.

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He is commended for his goodness and moderation [c]; but he was treated by the Romans with great contempt, for suffering the Altieri to govern in a most scandalous manner, and to oppress his subjects in order to enrich themselves, and to build one of the finest palaces in Rome [d].

As cardinal Altieri, on account of his arbitrary proceedings, had incurred the public hatred, it was generally believed, that, upon the death of the pope, he would be removed from all his offices, and deprived of his suffrage in the ensuing conclave; but the immense wealth he had acquired during the short reign of his reputed uncle, procured him a great number of friends; so that, after the pope's death was published, and the sigillum piscatorium broken in pieces, he quitted Monte Cavallo, and repaired, with a numerous train, to his new palace, where he received visits of condolance from the cardinals, princes, ambassadors, prelates, and nobles. After the funeral obsequies of the late pope were performed, the cardinals entered the conclave in procession on the 2d of August, and next day the doors were shut, the guard being committed to prince Savelli. Several candidates were proposed and rejected at various scrutinies, the time being consumed in a trifling manner till the 1st of September, when four other cardinals from France entered the conclave. Though at several scrutinies many votes had appeared in favour of Odescalchi, yet the election was still deferred, till a courier should return from France with the approbation of Lewis XIV. His recommendation being obtained, the French ambassador entered the conclave, and presented his letters to the cardinals, who accordingly, on the 21st of September, after the ambassador had retired, chose Odescalchi, who assumed the name of Innocent XI [e]. *Innocent XI. is elected.*

He had been a candidate at the former election: but the austerity of his manners, and the innocence of his life, prevented him from succeeding [f]. He now shewed some reluctance to accept of the pontifical dignity; and, before he would consent, proposed certain articles for the reformation of the ecclesiastical government, which he required the cardinals to subscribe to the performance of [g]. His former name was Benedict, and he was born at Como, of a very ancient family, which is even said to have flou-

[c] Amat. de Graveson Hist. Eccles. tom. viii. [d] Rycaut.
[e] Hist. des Conclaves, tom. ii. Rycaut. [f] Amelot de la Houssaye. [g] Rycaut.

rished in the times of the Lombards and Charlemagne [h]. In his youth he was educated in his own country by the Jesuits, and afterwards he studied the civil and canon law, partly at Rome and partly at Naples. He proposed at first to follow the profession of arms in the Neapolitan service; but stopping at Rome in his way to Naples, he was prevailed upon to embrace an ecclesiastical life; and, having a considerable revenue of his own, he was immediately made a prelate [i]. Urban VIII. made him one of the prothonotaries of the apostolic chamber, and afterwards president of the same; then commissary of the province of La Marca, and governor of Macerata. Upon his return to Rome he made a present of a valuable service of plate to Donna Olympia, which he observed she had coveted, and by that expedient, obtained the office of clerk of the chamber. Soon after, by voluntarily losing considerable sums of money in her house at play, he was rewarded with a cardinal's hat, and was afterwards appointed legate at Ferrara, and bishop of Novara, which bishoprick, some years after, he resigned to his brother, as the air of that place did not agree with his health [k]. In the mean time he lived at Rome in a retired and modest manner, and was looked upon as a good and charitable man, disengaged from the world, without pride, vanity, and pomp, moderately zealous, without bigory, and chiefly severe upon himself [l].

He proposes a general reformation.

After his elevation, he no sooner took the government of affairs into his own hands than he began a reformation in several particulars. He determined to abolish nepotism, and prohibited his nephew, Don Livio, from receiving or returning visits as nephew of the pope. The senate of Venice honoured him with the title of nobility, and he was created duke of Ceri, which were all the honours he acquired; for the pope by no intreaties could be prevailed upon to make him general of the church, or cardinal-patron. Innocent even proposed by a bull for ever to abolish that name and office; but he could not obtain the consent of the cardinals, of those especially who aspired at the pontificate. In the mean time he was indefatigable in re-establishing his finances, which were in

[h] Campana Traité des Familles Illustres d'Italie. [i] Etat du Siege de Rome. [k] Hist. des Familles de Rome. Voyage Hist. d'Italie, tom. i. let. xxxii. [l] Nodot. Relat. de la Cour de Rome.

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the utmost disorder; in reforming the divine service, in correcting several abuses in the city, and in endeavouring to revive modesty and virtue among the ecclesiastics and religious orders. He immediately sent nuncios to France, Spain, Poland, and Portugal, exhorting them to peace; and abolished a great many indulgences, confraternities, and new offices, invented by superstition and monkery. He prohibited the Jews from dealing in usury, though he himself became afterwards the most insufferable usurer, by threatening to reduce the interest of the money in the public bank one-half per cent, unless the proprietors would accept of seventy crowns for a hundred [m].

To assist him in the administration of the government, Innocent made choice of cardinal Cibo, whom he appointed superintendant and secretary of the ecclesiastical state. At the same time he reduced his army and increased the number of archers at Rome, with the intention of proceeding severely against all kinds of criminals. He publicly reproved the cardinals for their pomp and luxury; sent the bishops who remained at Rome to their dioceses; appointed four divines to reform the abuses of the church; and four cardinals, with as many clergymen, to examine the lives and manners of those who aspired to the priesthood, and ordered that none should be admitted to that dignity who were in the least blemished in their characters, or had not applied themselves to study [n]. To prevent the Altieri, as he said, from plundering elsewhere, he allowed them to remain in Rome, and continued them in their military and other employments.

A.D. 1677.

He sends a nuncio to Nimeguen.

The conferences for a general peace being appointed at Nimeguen, he sent his nuncio thither to act as mediator, who, though he was not acknowleged in that character by the Protestant powers, yet received particular honours from the magistrates of the city, who offered him all security for the free exercise of his religion during the congress [o]. Mean while, great disturbances happening at Rome, on account of the franchises and immunities claimed by ambassadors, Innocent resolved entirely to abolish them, the bulls published against those privileges by his predecessors Julius III. Pius IV. Gregory XIII and Sixtus V. having been hitherto ineffectual. As the ambassadors extended their privileges to a considerable

[m] Heydegger Hist. du Papat. par. ii. p. 297. [n] Rycaut. ut supra. [o] Lettr. & Negot. des Ambas. François, tom. ii. p. 216.

extent round their houſes, ſo as to comprehend ſeveral ſtreets, through which the officers of juſtice were not even allowed to walk, a ſanctuary was thereby afforded to an infinite number of criminals, and the Spaniſh ambaſſador was at this time accuſed of abuſing this privilege, by confining in his quarter a great number of preſſed men, who were to be ſhipped off to recruit the army at Meſſina. This report occaſioned ſeveral tumults in Rome, which the pope endeavoured to ſuppreſs, by puniſhing the rioters ſeverely; but, to eradicate the original cauſe of the diſorder, he publiſhed an edict, entirely aboliſhing the privileges of quarters, againſt which the ambaſſadors proteſted, but without effect, the pope continuing firm and reſolute, and prevailing upon the queen of Sweden to renounce the privileges of her quarter, as an example to the reſt [p].

A difference betwixt him and the king of France

Before this conteſt about the franchiſes was entirely ſettled, the pope was engaged in another with the king of France, about the regalia, or the right of inveſtiture of biſhopricks. Since the publication of the king's edict, declaring that right inherent in the crown, there had been ſome diſpute in France betwixt the king and the biſhop of Pamiers, who refuſed to accept of one nominated by the king as his archdeacon, and appealed to the pope. A.D. 1678. Clement did not concern himſelf much in the controverſy, but Innocent eſpouſed the cauſe of the biſhop, and wrote two briefs to the king, exhorting him not to violate the liberties of the church, by ſubjecting thoſe dioceſes to the regalia who were exempted from it; concluding, that he had not forgot thoſe popes his predeceſſors, who, upon the like occaſions, had endured long and great afflictions [q]. Theſe two briefs producing no effect, he wrote a third, threatening the king with eccleſiaſtical cenſures, if he did not revoke the edict which he had A.D. 1679. publiſhed. As Lewis had ſequeſtered all the revenues of the biſhop of Pamiers, the pope likewiſe wrote to the cardinal d'Eſtrees, deſiring him to uſe all his influence in ſupport of the authority of the holy ſee; but, by the cardinal's anſwer, he found that he was more attached to the king than to the ſee of Rome. The cardinal, indeed, ſoon after, was ſent to Rome to treat with the pope; but

[p] Lettr. ſur les Matieres du Temps. Riencourt. Jo. Burchard de Elect. Roman. Pontif. p. 93, not. E. Etat du Siege de Rome. [q] Rycaut.

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his negociation was ineffectual, both parties inſiſting obſtinately upon their different pretenſions. Lewis XIV. in the mean time, aſſembled all the biſhops then at Paris, who aſſerted the authority of national churches in judging all matters, both of faith and manners; and prayed his majeſty to give leave for aſſembling a national council or general aſſembly.

The king conſented to call a general aſſembly, which was accordingly ſummoned to meet the 1ſt of October following. Its firſt deliberations were concerning the regalia, which queſtion was debated for ſome time. At length, on the 3d of February, an act was ſigned, whereby they declared, that the right to the regalia was inherent in the crown, and ought to prevail through the whole kingdom, without regarding the pretended exemption of ſome biſhopricks. The prelates likewiſe wrote concerning the diſpute to his holineſs; and, a few days after, the archbiſhop of Paris preſented the act to the king, together with the letter to the pope, which they begged his majeſty to order the duke d'Etrees to deliver to his holineſs. They in the mean time continued their aſſembly, and made ſeveral regulations concerning morals and church diſcipline To put a ſtop to the uſurpations of the ſee of Rome, they drew up four propoſitions; by the firſt of which they affirmed, that a general council was above the pope, according to the doctrine eſtabliſhed in the fourth and fifth ſeſſions of the council of Conſtance, rejecting the opinion of thoſe who allege that the doctrine above mentioned is only true during a ſchiſm. In the ſecond they aſſerted, that neither the pope nor the univerſal church, has any power over the temporal juriſdiction of kings, who cannot be depoſed, and whoſe ſubjects can never be abſolved from their oath of allegiance. By the third they declared, that the power of the pope ought to be limited by the canons, and that he had no authority to decree any thing contrary to the liberties of the Gallican church, and to the maxims eſtabliſhed by the councils. In the laſt they maintained, that the deciſions of the pope in matters of faith are not authentic, without the conſent of the univerſal church; therefore that he was not infallible, unleſs at the head of a council, and then only when he decreed according to the deciſions of the ſaid council. The king, by an edict, ordered the profeſſors in divinity and the canon law to teach theſe four propoſitions, and all his ſubjects to receive them, prohi-

A.D.1682.

The clergy of France declare againſt the pretenſions of the pope.

biting the publishing of any doctrines that should be contrary to these decisions [r].

Being informed of the proceedings of the French bishops, he immediately called a consistory, in which they were formally condemned, and their four propositions ordered to be burnt. In answer to their letter, he wrote to them in very severe terms, accusing them of betraying the cause of God, and assuring them, that he was resolved, at the hazard of his life, to defend the honour and authority of the holy see [s]. The cardinal d'Estrees still residing at Rome, and finding the pope inflexible, the controversy was allowed to remain in suspence, rather than occasion a breach of amity with the holy see; the pope, nevertheless, during the rest of his pontificate, retained a warm resentment against the French.

A.D.1683. *He assists the emperor against the Turks.*

Next year, Innocent being informed of the immense preparations made by the Turks, which were designed against the emperor, he urged the king of Poland to conclude an alliance with Leopold, which was accordingly negociated by his nuncio at Warsovia; and Sobieski engaged to march in person to the relief of Vienna if it should be besieged [t]. Though the infidels, in the end of September, were ignominiously defeated, and obliged to raise the siege of that city with great loss, yet as the year after they still continued their incursions in Hungary, the pope was very solicitous to form a general league against them, and offered to contribute to the utmost of his power by subsidies in money, which he continued from time to time to send to Vienna, prevailing at last with the Venetians to join in the alliance with the emperor and the king of Poland [u].

A.D.1686. *Publicly approves of the revocation of the edict of Nantz.*

During the progress of the war in Hungary against the infidels, the pope received the news of the revocation of the edict of Nantz, and of the prosecution of the Protestants in France, on which account great rejoicings were made at Rome. He wrote to the king, commending his zeal and singular piety, and ordered Te Deum to be sung, and the cannon of St. Angelo to be fired. He likewise testified his joy on that account in a Latin discourse which he made to the consistory; though several authors affirm,

[r] Rycaut Heydegger. Contin. de Mezerai. De Laroque Nouv. Traitè de la Regale. Riencourt. De Larrey ut supra. Du Pin Nouv. Bibliot. des Aut. Eccles. tom. xix. Burnet's Treatise on the Regalia. [s] Heydegger Hist. Papat. [t] Recueil des Traitez de Paix, &c. tom. iv. p. 500. [u] Rycaut.

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on the testimony of a letter which then appeared under the name of the queen of Sweden [w], that the pope disapproved of the cruelties exercised against the Protestants; while others say, that he was ignorant of their sufferings, his health not allowing him to read the treatises which were then published on that subject [x].

Innocent in the mean time endeavoured, with great zeal, to repress the immodesty and luxury of the dress of the women at Rome. In the first years of his pontificate he had ordered the Capuchins, both confessors and preachers, to labour for the reformation of manners; and as the panic which had seized Italy, upon the irruption of the Turks into Germany, produced no effect, about that time he published an edict, ordering the women, both married and unmarried, to cover their shoulders and bosom to the neck, and their arms to the wrist, threatening those who did not obey within six days with excommunication, ipso facto; and declaring that confessors, who should presume to absolve any one, should themselves incur the excommunication, and besides be liable to all the spiritual and temporal punishments his holiness should think proper; which temporal punishments fathers, husbands, masters, and heads of families, should likewise incur, if they connived at the breach of the edict in any of those under their authority. These terrible menaces, however, produced but little reformation; so that this year the pope published another prohibition, expressly forbidding the women to employ any master of music to teach them to sing, or to play on any instrument, even though the master should be an ecclesiastic, or their own near relation; at the same time ordering the nuns, who were used to sing at divine service, to learn only from other nuns their companions [y].

Sumptuary laws against luxury of dress.

About this time the sect of the Quietists began to appear at Rome, and in several other cities of Italy. The author of the sect was one Molinos, a Spanish priest, who some time before had published a book, intitled, Il Guida Spirituale; in which he advanced several uncommon doctrines. Making small account of corporal austerities, he reduced all the exercises of religion to a simplicity of mind, and abstract devotion by a silent contemplation of God, and withdrawing the soul from all gross images. Several

A.D. 1687.

The sect of the Quietists is suppressed.

[w] Bayle Nouv. de la Rep. des Lettres, Mai 1686. [x] Memoires du Marquis de la Fere. Juliet, 1686. Les Actes de l'Assemblée Generale du Clerge de France, 1685, concernant la Religion, avec des Reflexions sur les Actes, edit. 1686. [y] Bayle, ut supra, & Dict. Hist. & Crit. art. Innocent XI. rem. K.

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of his tenets, however, were alleged to have an immoral tendency; so that the pope, at the instigation of the Jesuits, ordered him, and several of his followers, to be imprisoned in the inquisition, where he was put to the torture. He nevertheless defended his doctrines with great subtilty, to the surprize of the cardinals and divines that examined him. The pope himself is said to have looked upon him as a good man, and to have had a great opinion of his sanctity; and several of the cardinals were thought to have secretly embraced his opinions: however, he was condemned to perpetual imprisonment, and obliged to abjure sixty-eight propositions taken from his works [z].

A rupture betwixt the pope and the king of France.

The pope was not only disturbed with the affair of Molinos, but likewise with the pretensions of the French king to the privilege of franchises at Rome. The duke d'Etrees dying the foregoing year, Innocent ordered his nuncio at Paris to inform the king of his reasons for abolishing franchises, and to desire him to drop all pretensions to that privilege: but Lewis XIV. replied in a haughty manner, that he intended to send another ambassador to Rome, and was resolved to maintain the ancient rights of his crown in that city. Innocent, irritated by this reply, on the 2d day of May published a bull, denouncing the penalty of the greater excommunication against all those, whether ecclesiastics or seculars, who should claim or defend the privileges commonly called franchises, or should, directly or indirectly, disturb the officers of justice in the execution of their orders. He likewise sent a master of the ceremonies to meet the new French ambassador at Bologna, to declare to him, that he would not be received in that character, unless he renounced his pretensions to the franchises. The marquis de Lavardin the ambassador, without satisfying the master of the ceremonies, proceeded to Rome, attended by two hundred officers, and five hundred marine guards; and having intimidated the pope's officers, who offered to search his baggage, he took possession of the whole quarter belonging to his predecessor, where he kept a continual guard. The pope, however, refused him an audience, treated him as a person excommunicated, and

A.D. 1688. interdicted the church and the clergy of the parish of St. Lewis, where he was informed the ambassador on Christmas-day had performed his devotions [a]. Lavardin protested against this sentence of interdiction; and according

[z] Burnet's Travels. [a] De Larrey, ut supra. Contin de Mezerai. Jagerus Hist. Eccles. & Polit. sect. xvii. Riencourt.

to

to orders from his court, appeared frequently in the ſtreets and the churches, and took all opportunities of aſſerting the privileges belonging to his character. Innocent at the ſame time renewed the diſpute concerning the regalia; and by refuſing bulls in favour of thoſe biſhops appointed by the king, kept thirty-eight cathedral churches without paſtors.

It is probable he followed the example of his predeceſſor Sixtus V. and ſaw the neceſſity of thwarting the ambition of Lewis XIV. who at this time diſturbed the repoſe of Europe, as much as his catholic majeſty Philip II. had ever done. Though the French king, in reſentment, ſeized the city and county of Avignon, in hopes that Innocent, like Alexander VII. would condeſcend to a ſubmiſſion, yet he found himſelf greatly miſtaken; for the pope ſtill continued to oppoſe his deſigns, and ſoon after refuſed to confirm the election of cardinal Furſtemberg to the ſee of Cologne, under pretence that he was a perſon of a bad character, but in reality becauſe he was a creature of France; and his intereſt had been eſpouſed by Lewis XIV. who expected by his promotion to have the electorate of Cologne at his devotion. Though the cardinal's competitor, prince Clement of Bavaria, lay under ſeveral incapacities, the pope removed theſe by a bull, and confirmed him in the archbiſhoprick, which ſerved Lewis XIV. with a pretence to renew the war [b]. On this occaſion the pope was accuſed by La Fontaine, Racine, and a great number of other French writers, of abandoning the catholic cauſe, which they alleged was promoted by the conqueſts of their monarch [c]. The Jeſuits, even in ſome monaſteries, ordered public prayers to be made for his converſion [d].

A.D. 1689.

The pope refuſes to confirm the election of cardinal Furſtemberg to the ſee of Cologne.

Certain it is, Innocent did not warmly countenance the deſigns of James II. of England, for reſtoring the catholic religion in that kingdom. He had indeed appointed a nuncio at London, but he received the Engliſh ambaſſador at Rome with great indifference; and one Mr. Porter coming at this time to Rome, to aſk his aſſiſtance in the expedition which king James was then undertaking for his reſtoration, he granted him only ſome chaplets and indulgences, while at the ſame time he ſent money to the emperor to be employed againſt the Turks, which was in re-

[b] La Comteſſe de La Fayette Mem. de la Cour de France, p. 10.
[c] La Fontaine Oeuvres Poſt. p. 182. Racine Prologue d'Eſther.
[d] Conſiderations ſur les Affaires de l'Égliſe.

ality

He dies at Rome.

ality made us use of to oppose the king's return [e]. Mean while the distempers, which he had for a considerable time laboured under, increasing, he died on the 12th of August, in the seventy-eighth year of his age, to the great joy of the French, who had waited for his death with much impatience. He was reckoned one of the best popes that for a long time had filled the papal chair: his subjects, nevertheless, still felt the miseries of a despotic government to a great degree, as he did not abolish any of the taxes of his predecessors, while at the same time he kept a very frugal court, did not employ any money in public buildings, and neglected to fill up the vacancies in the sacred college; so that the circulation of money being languid, and the taxes excessive high, great numbers of people were compelled to leave his territories. On this account it was believed that Rome lost one-fourth part of its inhabitants during his pontificate [f].

Alexander VIII. is elected.

The successor of Innocent XI. was Peter Ottoboni, who was chosen pope on the 6th of October, and took the name of Alexander VIII. He was descended of an ancient family at Venice, which is said to have come originally from the island Negropont in the Archipelago. Some of his ancestors had distinguished themselves in the wars of the republic against the Turks: his father had enjoyed the office of grand-chancellor of the republic, and had purchased a patent of nobility, which had cost him one hundred thousand ducats. After Peter had finished his studies at Venice and Padua, at which last place he took the degree of doctor of laws, he went to Rome, in the twentieth year of his age, where Urban VIII. made him referendary of both signatures, appointed him governor of Terni, Rieti, and Citta Castellana, and afterwards, at the nomination of the republic, appointed him one of the auditors of the rota or rolls. Innocent X. created him a cardinal-priest, and two years after conferred upon him the bishoprick of Brescia. Alexander VII. recalled him to Rome, and appointed him datary. He had a great share in the public affairs during the pontificates of Clement IX. Clement X. and Innocent XI. was a member of all the congregations at Rome, and, when promoted to the pontificate, was bishop of Frescati, and subdean of the sacred college. He was of an active, vigilant disposition, had a smiling aspect, and agreeable

[e] La Fayette Mem. de la Cour de France, p. 220 & 221.
[f] Burnet's Travels.

manners;

manners; so that being generally esteemed, his election gave great joy to the Romans [g].

Although he was older than the deceased pope when he arrived at the pontificate, yet he acted in the beginning of his reign with great vigour. He immediately wrote to James II. late king of England, exhorting him to suffer his adverse fortune patiently, and promising to spare neither his prayers, authority, nor purse, for his restoration [h]. As Lewis XIV. had renewed the war with the emperor, he desired to secure the favour of the pope, and therefore immediately restored Avignon, and dropped his pretensions to the franchises at Rome: Alexander in return, seemed not to give great attention to the dispute concerning the regalia, which had continued in suspence during the reign of his predecessor. The chief advantage, however, that the king of France reaped from his good correspondence with the new pope, was a delay of the peace which the emperor desired to conclude with the Turks, with the intention of turning the whole of his force against France. Alexander, by his exhortations, and by the subsidies which he granted to Leopold and the Venetians, prevailed with them to continue the war against the infidels.

He promises assistance to the abdicated king of England.

But the chief concern of the pope was the aggrandizing of his family: for he promoted all his nephews within three weeks after his elevation. He created his grand-nephew cardinal patron, legate of Avignon, and grand-chancellor of the Roman church, which last office Innocent XI. had abolished. He afterwards conferred upon him such a number of benefices, that his annual revenue amounted to eighty thousand crowns. He appointed his nephew, Don Antonio, general of the forces of the church, and another nephew, Don Marco, general of the gallies, and afterwards duke of Fiano, which duchy he purchased for him, and likewise procured for him an advantageous marriage with the house of Colonna [i].

He observes no measures in aggrandizing his family.

Notwithstanding the seeming attachment the pope at first discovered to the interests of France, he soon renewed the dispute concerning the regalia, and refused the bulls to those prelates who had assisted at the general assembly of the clergy at Paris, unless they would agree to a recantation. The prelates rejected this condition, while

A.D. 1690.

He renews the dispute with France about the regalia.

[g] Mem. des Intrigues du Conclave de l'Année 1689. Bayle Dict. Art. Ottoboni, Le Mercure Galliant du Mois d'Octobre 1689. Hist. de Familles de Rome. [h] Mem. de la Comtesse, ut supra.
[i] Etat du Siege de Rome, lib. ii. p. 83.

both

both courts seemed averse to a rupture, and consented to a negociation, to put an end to the dispute. The French found it inconsistent with their pretensions to grant the terms of satisfaction which the pope demanded; and in the month of September a deputy was dispatched to Rome, to support the cause of the bishops. The pope, however, though he agreed to a negociation, had resolved not to relinquish his claim; and a few weeks before the arrival of this deputy, had drawn up a bull, condemning the propositions composed by the general assembly. He kept this bull a secret, and still endeavoured to prevail with the king of France to comply with his desire; but finding his health declining, and Lewis threatening to re-establish the pragmatic sanction, if the bulls were not granted before
A.D.1691. Easter, he published his bull on the 30th of January, and died
His death. two days after, in the eighty-first year of his age, having enjoyed the pontificate only fifteen months and twenty-two days[k]. He greatly disappointed the expectations that were raised upon his promotion, and had rendered himself unacceptable to the empire, France, and Spain. The French writers at first made him the subject of panegyric, but they quickly changed their style, and published severe satires against him. The Romans likewise revenged themselves for the extortions of the Ottoboni by daily pasquinades; but the reproaches of the public did not influence his conduct. His predecessor, by oppressing his subjects with grievous taxes, had left about a million and a half of crowns in the treasury, which Alexander immediately disposed of. Besides, he gave his nephew one hundred thousand crowns, which Innocent had raised by sequestering the revenues of some vacant churches, as a fund for the subsidies against the Turks. He likewise made a promotion of cardinals, by which means several vacancies were made among the clerks of the chamber, each of which offices he sold for sixty thousand crowns. He was greatly addicted to pleasantry, and was familiar with every one without distinction. He is accused of a great many vices, but more particularly of drunkenness and atheism[l].

Innocent XII. is chosen pope. The intrigues of the following conclave delayed the election for several months; at length, on the 12th of July, Anthony Pignatelli was elected, and took the name of Innocent XII. He was born at Naples, of an ancient and noble family, which had originally come from Tropea, a city in Farther Calabria. Having made choice of an ecclesiastical life, he came early to Rome, where he

[k] Etat du Siege de Rome, lib. ii. p. 83. De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. [l] Tableau des Papes, Art. 51. p. 255—260.

finished

finished his studies, and afterwards by his merit recommended himself to several popes. Urban VIII. made him vice-legate of the duchy of Urbino. Innocent X. appointed him inquisitor of Malta, governor of Viterbo, and nuncio at Florence; and his successor Alexander VII. sent him as nuncio to Poland and Vienna. Clement X. made him master of the household, and Innocent XI. honoured him with the hat, created him bishop of Faenza, legate of Bologna, and at last archbishop of Naples; in memory of which favours he took the same name, and declared that he would do his utmost to follow his steps, and to abolish nepotism [m]. He had hitherto lived in an exemplary manner, was remarkable for his simplicity, and seemed entirely free from artifice and dissimulation [n].

He reforms many abuses in Rome.

The rejoicings at Rome on account of the election of the new pope were extraordinary. Immediately after his coronation he applied himself to redress the disorders occasioned by the long vacation of the see. He refused to grant any benefices, or any share in the government, to his relations, and even probibited them from coming to Rome. At the same time he declared, that he desired to be the universal father of the church, and of good men; and that he would give employments only to men of merit, without regarding acquaintance or kindred. He forbad the officers of justice to take bribes, or to have regard to persons in the administration of their office. He had frequent conferences with cardinal Casamata about the means of extirpating the abuses and disorders that had crept into the government, and into the city of Rome. He recommended good œconomy to the masters of the household, and to the commissaries of the chamber, ordering, that the expence of his dinner should not exceed a festoon, or eighteen pence; and that nothing should be provided for his supper. He suppressed all useless offices, and by these means made a saving of eighty thousand crowns a year to the apostolic chamber, which had contracted debts to the amount of five millions of crowns, by nepotism, during the short reign of his predecessor. He ordered the sbirri to go into all the quarters of the ambassadors, and commanded the garrison at Rome to assist them in case of need [o]. He soon after ordered a young man to be hanged for having offered to oppose them; which ex-

[m] Hist. des Conclaves, p. 328, 329. [n] Mem. des Intrig. du Conclav. 1689, p. 171. Etat du Siege de Rome. [o] Hist. du Pape a la Fin de l'Hist. des Concl.

ample

ample of severity, though very disagreeable to the people, was nevertheless at this time very necessary; for assassins were become so daring and numerous at Rome, that, during the late vacation of the see, no less than one hundred and eighty-two persons had been murdered. The same day he happened, by a fall, to hurt his thigh, which accident obliged him for some time to keep his bed, and interrupted a laudable custom, which he had introduced about a month after his election, of giving public audience every Monday to the poor, and to all those who had any thing to propose for his consideration.

Gives public audience to the poor.

Upon receiving a complaint against a Roman prince, he compelled him to pay his creditors, and to behave to his vassals with moderation. He imprisoned a duke in the castle of St. Angelo, for having threatened his uncle, who was a prelate; and banished a cavalier, who had been guilty of some irregularities, notwithstanding the intercession of a cardinal, his uncle. Some ladies were sent to the castle of St. Angelo for having played at basset and hazard, contrary to his edict; and some of the sbirri were scourged for having taken money from several great players at cards whom they had discovered. He prohibited the ecclesiastics from wearing perukes, and ordered all the curates at Rome to assemble every Wednesday, to confer about cases of conscience. He was chiefly intent upon comforting the poor, whom he called his nephews. He ordered five thousand of them to be lodged in the Lateran palace, and assigned a fund of three hundred thousand crowns for their support, at the same time, to prevent the increase of the number, imprisoning or banishing all idle persons who refused to work [p].

A.D. 1692. In the second year of his pontificate, by steadiness and resolution, he obliged the cardinals to comply with his design of abolishing nepotism. Several members of the sacred college were equally zealous with himself in that affair; and cardinal Albani, who was ordered to compose the bull, drew it up in the strictest terms, taking all possible precaution to prevent any evasions of future popes, and limiting the bounties that the most indulgent could grant to their nephews, in dignities and benefices, to the sum of twelve thousand crowns. Innocent published the bull, and caused it to be subscribed by all the cardinals who were at Rome. He likewise suppressed the theatre where the operas were represented, and applied himself

Publishes a bull for abolishing nepotism.

[p] Hist. du Pape a la Fin de l'Hist. des Concl.

to

to reform the licentious manners of the regular monks, whose scandalous lives were a disgrace to Christianity. As these monks were very rich, and very numerous in Italy, and besides related to several considerable families, it was a bold attempt to venture to disturb them. Upon the news of the intended reformation, Italy and Rome were filled with manuscripts and printed pamphlets, describing, in an exaggerated manner, the abuses of the court of Rome, and exhorting his holiness to begin at the root, and to reform the scandalous disorders of those who ought to give an example to the lower orders of the church. Innocent was not diverted from his intention by these writings; but at length, he dropt the design, by the advice of those who foresaw the impossibility of succeeding [r].

Mean while he carried on a negociation with the court of France, to regulate the difference about the regalia. Lewis XIV. endeavoured, in the beginning of his pontificate, to intimidate him with threats; but finding him fixed and resolute, he made several propositions for an accommodation, which were not accepted by the pope, who insisted peremptorily upon the submission of the bishops. Innocent, by his firmness, at length forced the king to a submission; and the following year the French bishops, who had assisted at the general assembly, were compelled to write a Latin letter to the pope, expressing their contrition in the humblest terms. They protested, that they held, and ought to hold, as null and invalid, all that had been decreed in that assembly with regard to the authority of the church and the pope. By this mean compliance, the court and bishops of France were reconciled to the holy see, the despotic government in that kingdom forcing the prelates, in this public manner, to sign what is more than probable they believed a falsehood [s].

A.D. 1693.

The French bishops make their submission to the pope.

Innocent, having gained this victory over the French monarch, resolved likewise to make the emperor submit to his pretensions. As there were many small fiefs in the ecclesiastical state that acknowleged the emperor as sovereign, the count of Martinitz, the imperial ambassador at Rome, published a placard, ordering the possessors of, and pretenders to, these fiefs, to make an acknowlegement to Leopold. Innocent was highly offended at this step of the ambassador, and ordered cardinal Altieri to affix an-

A.D. 1694.

He refuses to allow the emperor any jurisdiction within the ecclesiastical state.

[r] Hist. du Siege de Rome, tom. ii. p. 110. 113. 120. [s] Mem. Communes du Temps.

other placard, wherein, by his sovereign authority, he declared all the fiefs within his territories reunited to the chamber of the church. On this account a great number of satirical writings were published by both parties; but the emperor, to prevent a final rupture, recalled his ambassador, and in his stead sent the count of Lamberg, who seemed less resolute than his predecessor, and purposely dropt the dispute, lest the pope, in resentment, should have declared openly for the king of France, who at this time had a powerful army in Italy, under the command of Catinat [t]. Lewis XIV. by his submission to Innocent, had so far gained his favour, that he privately devoted himself to the interest of France, withdrew his subsidy from the emperor, and wrote to the king of Spain, to prevail with him to abandon the general alliance. His Catholic majesty, however, in his answer to the pope, justified the necessity of the war, which, he said, was undertaken to procure the general repose of Europe, and the advancement of the Catholic religion [u].

A.D 1696. The pope, not being able to prevail with the king of Spain to agree to a peace with France, applied to the duke of Savoy, with whom he was successful; for the offers made by France being very considerable, the duke next year concluded a treaty with Lewis XIV. by which a neutrality was stipulated for Italy. Innocent, being desirous to see the imperial troops out of Italy, sent a present of sixty thousand crowns to be distributed among the Germans [w]. At the same time he sent a subsidy to the Venetians against the Turks, and another to king James; while at Rome he was endeavouring, to the utmost of his power, to put a stop to the progress of Quietism; which sect was daily gaining ground, notwithstanding the severities of the inquisition. In the course of the following year he received the agreeable news of the conclusion of a general peace, and of the conversion of the elector of Saxony to the Roman catholic religion, and sent a nuncio to Poland, to congratulate him upon his election to that crown.

He persuades the duke of Savoy to desert the allies.

Archbishop of Cambray is accused of Quietism.

Fenelon, archbishop of Cambray, had published a book concerning the Maxims of the Saints; in which he affirmed, that the true foundation of piety was a pure and disinterested love of God. From thence M. Bossuet, bishop of Meaux, who is said to have had a private pique against him, took an occasion of accusing him of Quietism.

[t] Etat du Siege de Rome. [u] Ibid. [w] Europ. Histor. tom. ii. Lettres Histor. en Nov. & Decem. 1696.

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The archbishop defended the opinions he had published; but his enemies carrying the affair to Rome, his book was this year condemned by a bull, to which he immediately paid an entire submission [x]. Mean while Lewis XIV. who probably acted by the persuasion of his confessor, and had condescended to solicit the bull from Rome, ordered the parliament of Paris to register it, and by his letters patent required the bishops to receive it in the assemblies of the different provinces. Both the bishops and the parliament, however, upon receiving the bull, added a protestation of saving the authority of the ancient canons [y]. As the following year was supposed to begin a new century, the pope published a bull for the celebration of a jubilee at Rome; on which account great numbers, both of Protestants and Papists, crouded thither, and occasioned a considerable augmentation to the revenues of his holiness. Innocent did not live to see the conclusion of this festival; but after a long illness, died on the 7th of September, in the eighty-sixth year of his age, and the tenth of his pontificate, greatly reverenced and esteemed for his uprightness and integrity [z].

A.D. 1699. *His book is condemned.*

A.D. 1700. *A jubilee at Rome.* *The pope's death.*

The long indisposition of Innocent had given leisure to the cardinals to form parties for the following conclave, which was composed of no less than fifty-nine members. Accordingly the factions and intrigues were very violent; but the disorders in Rome obliged the cardinals to lay aside their private cabals, and to hasten the election. All the factions at length united in the choice of cardinal John Francis Albani, who, by a rare example of modesty, for three days refused, with the most ardent protestations, to consent to their choice. He prayed, wept, and conjured the cardinals to turn their thoughts upon a more worthy person; and, as a reason of his dissent, he mentioned his great love for his relations, which would influence him to break the law against nepotism, to the scandal of Christianity, the dishonour of the sacred college, and the damnation of his own soul. At last he yielded, on the 3d of November, and took the name of Clement XI. being then only in the fifty-first year of his age [a]. He was descended from a family of note in the duchy of Urbino, his grandfather having been created a Roman senator by Urban

Clement XI. is elected.

[x] De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. tom. vii. p. 136. Contin. de Mezer. p. 540. Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. ii. p. 149. [y] De Larrey, ubi supra. [z] Journales du Temps. [a] Etat du Siege de Rome.

VIII. After he had completed his studies, he was at first a canon in St. Laurence in Damaso, then vicar of St. Peters, and afterwards governor of Rieti and Orvieto. Innocent XI. recalled him from Orvieto, and made him secretary of the briefs. As he was gay and chearful, he insinuated himself into the favour of cardinal Ottoboni; who, after his promotion to the pontificate, under the name of Alexander VIII. conferred upon him the dignity of cardinal. Innocent XII. kept him near his person, and employed him in the administration of affairs, as an expert man, who possessed the rare talent of pleasing all parties [b].

He resolves to execute justice with exactness.

Immediately after his coronation, he declared to the governor of Rome, and to the principal officers, that he would cause justice to be executed with the utmost exactness, without respect of persons, ordering the sbirri to have no regard to the quarters of the ambassadors, but to pursue criminals in every place without distinction. He appointed one of his nephews secretary of briefs; but that he might not seem partial to his relations, he ordered that, according to the general rule, they should be examined with regard to their fitness and merit. He appeared to act with vigour, and every day was giving new orders to suppress different abuses, which had prevailed during the former reigns. He was always with the pen in his hand, to make remarks on different occurrences; and, not trusting entirely to his ministers, desired to see and examine every matter of consequence by his own faculties [c].

A.D. 1701.

Refuses to engage in the war about the Spanish succession.

Soon after his election, he wrote with his own hand to king James, and sent him his picture. He likewise, in a private consistory, granted the investiture of Naples to Philip V. of Spain, grandson of Lewis XIV. who contested the succession of that kingdom with the archduke Charles, second son of the emperor. The dispute occasioned great disquietude to the pope, who was solicited strongly by each party to declare himself in his favour. As he was afraid lest the party he should espouse might be worsted, he would not declare for either; but embraced a neutrality, and offered himself as mediator of the difference. Each party, however, being resolved to assert his right by arms, his mediation was rejected, and Lewis XIV. in behalf of his grandson, took possession of the Milanese; a circumstance which obliged the pope to raise ten thousand men, and to put his frontier places into a

[b] Etat du Siege de Rome. [c] Journales du Temps.

state

state of defence, to prevent himself from being insulted, and forced to abandon the neutrality. He leaned, however, to the side of France; and, hearing that the emperor intended to send an army into Italy, wrote to him, exhorting him to desist from that intention, and assuring him that God would reward him a hundred fold.

The Imperialists, nevertheless, entered Italy, where they quickly made a considerable progress, which obliged the pope to act with great reserve. He therefore refused the Hacqueney, which was offered him in the name of Philip V. and, that he might seem to act with impartiality, he sent extraordinary nuncios to the emperor, and to the kings of France and Spain, to exhort them to peace. Clement had before this time acknowleged Philip as king of Spain, but refused to declare himself with regard to his succession to Naples. Next year, the French being reinforced in Italy, and Philip V. arriving at the camp, Clement sent cardinal Barberini to wait upon him as legate à latere, with a present of a golden cross, of the value of ten thousand crowns; which step gave great offence to the Imperialists [d]. A.D. 1702.

Sends a legate à latere to Philip V.

That the delay of accepting the Hacqueney might not prejudice the rights of the king of Spain to the kingdom of Naples, Clement consented to declare, by an authentic act, that the delay should have no consequence to invalidate the right [e]. He likewise ordered Clementia Marchioni, an abbess of a monastery in Naples, to be apprehended, for endeavouring, by pretended prophecies, to cause the people to revolt in favour of the archduke Charles. The common people had a great opinion of her sanctity, and believed her a real prophetess; but she afterwards made a solemn abjuration, in the great hall of the inquisition, before an extraordinary assembly of cardinals and officers of the holy office; and confessing that, from vanity, she had designed to impose upon the world, she was condemned to an imprisonment for ten years.

A false prophetess imprisoned in the inquisition.

Towards the end of the year, he published an edict against luxury and extravagant entertainments, prohibiting the acting of plays, and the diversions of the carnival, and desiring that season might be employed in prayers for peace among the Catholic princes [f]. The Romans were deterred, by more powerful and affecting motives, from indulging in the licentious pleasures of that festival; for,

[d] De Larrey Hist. de Louis XIV. d'Espagn. tom. ix. p. 27, 28.

[e] Belleg. Hist Gener.

[f] Journal. du Temps.

A D. 1703. in the beginning of the following year, the city of Rome, and the whole ecclesiastical state, were filled with desolation, by a dreadful inundation of the Tiber, and several terrible shocks of earthquakes. On the 3d of February the shocks were extremely violent, and continued for fifteen minutes, so that the greatest number of the cardinals and courtiers ran out of the palace, and abandoned his holiness. As Clement was looked upon by the common people as a prophet, this belief was the occasion of a general consternation next morning, about three hours after midnight, when the city was universally alarmed by pretended orders from the pope, desiring all people immediately to quit their houses, as there would be instantly a more terrible shock than any that had been felt. All the inhabitants, except the sick and disabled, quitted their beds, and ran into the streets; and the alarm even reached his holiness, who, upon being informed of the cause of the general terror, immediately sent the Sbirri and guards to assure the people, that the pretended revelation was only a diabolical invention, and to exhort them to return to their houses. This public calamity occasioned a general penitence for some time. All courts of justice were suspended, and a jubilee was published. Clement caused boxes to be placed at the churches, to receive the alms which should be bestowed to support those families that had been ruined. He appointed officers to visit the shops of engravers, sculptors, and painters, and to seize all indecent pictures and statues. He prohibited men from teaching women to sing, or play on musical instruments, and ordered that none of those women, who received their dowry from hospitals, should wear any habits of silk. As an encouragement to rebuild the houses that had been destroyed, he declared them free from all charges and taxes for a considerable time: that the prelates and other ecclesiastics might, by their lives, serve as an example to others, he published several regulations relating to them, and, among other things, prohibited them from playing at cards, or any other games, in the sacred palace [h].

Desolation at Rome occasioned by earthquakes.

He continued to solicit the Catholic princes, who were at war, to agree to a congress for negociating a peace. His solicitations, however, were ineffectual; for, in the month of September, the archduke Charles was proclaimed at Vienna king of Spain. The imperial ministers at Rome, on this occasion, were preparing to make great

[h] Journal. du Temps.

rejoicings

rejoicings in the national church of the Germans, where they proposed to expose the picture of the pope, with that of the archduke, dressed with the royal ornaments, after the Spanish fashion. Upon complaints of the French and Spanish ambassadors against these preparations, Clement held several congregations, and at length declared to the Germans, that, if they presumed to expose the pictures in any church, he would lay it under a sentence of interdiction [i]. The pope, by endeavouring to give offence to no party, displeased both; and, though he continued to adhere to a neutrality, he could not secure his dominions from sharing in the calamities of the war; for in the following campaign, both armies entered the territories of Ferrara, where they committed great disorders. In order to remove such troublesome guests, Clement thundered out an anathema against those generals who should refuse to withdraw their troops. The French immediately obeyed, and the Germans soon after marched towards the Trentin [k].

The imperial and French armies enter the popes' territories.

The attention of the pope in the mean time was engaged by a spiritual contest, which for some years had divided the Roman church. Before the death of his predecessor, news had arrived in Europe, that the Jesuit missionaries in China, to facilitate the conversion of that people, had allowed their converts, after they had embraced Christianity, to continue their idolatrous rites paid to the great philosopher Confucius. The Jesuits on this account were accused of impiety, and many books immediately appeared, shewing the profaneness of such an indulgence [l]. The society, however, wrote in defence of the practice of their missionaries, and had interest at Rome, during the few months of the life of Innocent XII. to elude the prosecutions of their enemies. They were likewise so successful as to procure the friendship of Clement, who gave a general scandal by the protection which he afforded them, and delayed giving sentence in the affair as long as possible. But the clamour against the fathers of the society became so universal, that he was obliged to give a decision; and, having appointed a congregation to examine the affair, on the 20th of November, by a bull, he authorised their sentence, which condemned the worship and ceremonies of the Chinese converts. The pope likewise, to examine

A.D. 1704.

The idolatrous worship of the Chinese converts condemned.

[i] Journal. du Temps. [k] Belleg. ut supra. [l] Arnaud Morale Pratique des Jesuites, tom. vi. Du Pin Hist. Eccles. du 17 Siecle, tom. iv.

fully into the affair, sent the cardinal of Tournon to China; who, not favouring the society, was, by their intrigues, exposed to a great many hardships in that country [m].

The disputes about Jansenism are again renewed.

As the reputation of the Jesuits had, in some measure, suffered by this apostolic decision against them, Clement embraced the first opportunity of shewing himself favourable to the society. About two years before, the dispute about Jansenism had begun to revive in France, occasioned by a case of conscience, which had been presented to the doctors of the Sorbonne. It was demanded of them, what ought to be thought of a person who did not believe the fact concerning Jansenius; namely, that the five propositions were contained in his writings, and was firmly persuaded, that the church had no right to exact such a belief, and who, nevertheless, in such a disposition of mind, had signed the formularly purely and simply. The doctors replied, that any person might act so with a safe conscience; and forty of them subscribed to this decision. As many writings immediately appeared, censuring the determination of the doctors, some of them replied in their own defence, addressing the explication of their opinion to cardinal Noailles, archbishop of Paris, as judge supreme in his own diocese. The cardinal, however, published an ordonnance, condemning the decision of the doctors, as contrary to the constitutions and briefs of Innocent X. Alexander VII. and Innocent XII. at the same time condemning the invidious and scandalous libels that had been published against the doctors, and exhorting the clergy to peace. The same day a severe edict of the king appeared against renewing the dispute; while at Rome the pope, by a brief, condemned the decision of the case of conscience, and by another brief acquainted the king of his sentence of condemnation. Clement this year wrote a third brief, addressed to the cardinal Noailles, to excite him to act zealously against the determination of the doctors, the greatest part of whom, however, some time before, had, by a formal act, promised to conform to the archbishop's ordonnance. By the influence of the pope's nuncio, Lewis du Pica, and some others of the chief subscribers, were banished.

Mean while the French prelates, particularly Godet des Marets, bishop of Chartres, who had declared against

[m] Contin. de Mezar. p. 542. Etat du Siege de Rome, tom. ii. p. 213.

the

the deciſion of the caſe of conſcience, perſuaded Lewis XIV. to demand a bull from Rome, which ſhould declare, that it was not ſufficient to keep a reſpectful ſilence with regard to the truth of the fact, but that it was neceſſary to believe it abſolutely and in the heart. As this was the chief point of the whole diſpute, the pope purpoſely ſhunned determining it; for if, according to truth, he had declared that an implicit faith ought not to be required to facts which might be known by ſenſible evidence, the Janſeniſts would have been victorious; and if he ſhould give a contrary deciſion, he would eſtabliſh a principle oppoſed by all divines. He, therefore, in the following year, publiſhed a bull, diſtinguiſhed by its three firſt words, "Vineam Domini Sabaoth;" by which he declared, that due ſubmiſſion was not given to apoſtolic bulls by a reſpectful ſilence only; which, with regard to points of faith, was acknowleged by both parties. He gave no farther deciſion of the point in diſpute; but taking it for granted that the propoſitions were in the works of Janſenius, he launched out into invectives againſt thoſe whom he accuſed of concealing error under the veil of a reſpectful ſilence. The king, having received the bull with a brief from the nuncio, wrote to the clergy, who were then aſſembled at Paris, deſiring them to deliberate immediately upon the acceptation of the bull. Accordingly the archbiſhop of Rouen, with ſeven biſhops and ſeven abbots, were appointed as commiſſaries, who firſt eſtabliſhed three preliminary maxims; 1ſt, That biſhops have a divine right to judge of matters of doctrine: 2dly, That the pope's bulls after they had been received by the body of paſtors, have an obligation on the whole church. 3ly, That the receiving or acceptation of the biſhops is always by way of judgment. After theſe precautions they determined that the bull ought to be accepted with reſpect and ſubmiſſion; and that, by circular letters, all the biſhops in the kingdom ſhould be exhorted to publiſh it in their dioceſes. It was likewiſe accepted by the Sorbonne, and by the parliament: however the diſpute was not thereby terminated; for a new diſtinction was found out betwixt human faith and divine faith; and the general obſcurity of the bull ſerved ſtill to ſeduce the ſimple, and, to give a handle to continue the perſecution of the Janſeniſts, among whom were reckoned the members of the Port Royal, whoſe monaſtery was ſoon after deſtroyed [p]. A.D. 1705.

[p] Hiſt. du Caſ. de Conſcience, in 2 vol. the firſt of which appeared in 1705, and the ſecond in 1711.

During

A rupture between the pope and the emperor.

During this spiritual contest the pope had a difference with the emperor, occasioned by the opposition made to the sbirri by one Cavaletti, a Roman gentleman, and his son, who were thereupon imprisoned. The count de Lamberg, the imperial ambassador at Rome, insisted upon the liberty of Cavaletti, who, he affirmed, was one of his domestics; but his remonstrances not being regarded by the pope, he wrote to Vienna. Cavaletti was soon after set at liberty; but the ambassador receiving orders from his court, quitted Rome and the ecclesiastical state, without taking an audience of leave of the pope, while the nuncio at Vienna was ordered to retire from the court. The emperor, at the same time, as a satisfaction for the insult, demanded that Pallavicini, governor of Rome, should be banished; that cardinal Paluzzi, secretary of state, should be forbid the palace; that another cardinal should be sent to Vienna to make excuses; and that, in the mean time, the imperial troops should be put in possession of Ferrara. The pope would not consent to these conditions, but wrote to Vienna, complaining of the irregular conduct of Lamberg, and desiring that his nuncio might be allowed to return to court; but not obtaining this last request, he recalled him to Rome.

A.D. 1706. This misunderstanding with the imperial court continued for some time. The pope, mean while, finding that his exhortations to peace were not effectual, in the following year published an universal jubilee for that purpose, the calamities of the war occasioning a general murmuring through Italy, especially after the celebrated victory obtained by the Imperialists before Turin, when, not having any longer an enemy to keep them in awe, they lived at discretion, and committed a great many disorders. But what chiefly irritated the Italians was the public worship of the Protestants in the imperial army, which likewise greatly scandalized the pope; who therefore, a few months after, in conjunction with the catholic Swiss cantons, renewed his instances for a general peace, but without any effect [q]. He was the more earnest for peace, as the cause which he was known to wish well to, seemed to decline; for, since the victory obtained on the 7th of September, by prince Eugene before Turin, the French had been obliged entirely to evacuate Italy, and the Imperialists had taken possession of the Milanese; the investiture of which duchy, in March following, the archduke

[q] Belleg. Hist. Gener. d'Espagne, tom. ix. p. 117.

Charles

Charles received from his brother the emperor. Besides, the Imperialists had seized the duchy of Mantua, and sent upwards of eight thousand men through the ecclesiastical state to Naples, which kingdom, by the intrigues of cardinal Pignatelli, the archbishop of the capital, and his brother the duke of Monteleon, had been prevailed upon to declare for the archduke Charles. The count de Thaun, who commanded the Imperialists in Naples, quickly reduced the whole kingdom with little or no opposition, and took the Spanish viceroy prisoner. A.D.1707.

As the Austrian troops, in their passage through the ecclesiastical state, had levied contributions upon several bishops, the pope complained of the outrage to the emperor; but, receiving little satisfaction, he excommunicated those troops which had committed the disorders. Notwithstanding this censure, prince Eugene took possession of several places in the duchy of Ferrara, particularly the city of Comacchio, where his troops lived at discretion. The emperor Joseph likewise published a manifesto, declaring the censures of the pope invalid, and alleging, that as the cities of Italy were fiefs of the empire, his army had a right to require lodging and subsistence; adding also, that he intended to maintain all the rights of the imperial crown in Italy, and to except no cities which could not prove their immunities by authentic titles. About the same time the cardinal Grimani, who, for his services to the imperial party, had been appointed viceroy of Naples, published an edict in that kingdom, suppressing the tribunal of the nunciature, and prohibiting the clergy from paying annates to the Roman chancellary. He likewise affirmed in his edict, that the king of the Two Sicilies ought not to take the investiture from the pope, because these provinces were not ecclesiastical fiefs, and that the states of Avignon and Benevento ought to be re-united to the kingdom of Naples. A.D.1708.

The Imperialists take possession of the duchy of Ferrara.

Clement, in the mean time, to secure his territories as much as possible, with the consent of the cardinals, drew five hundred thousand crowns from the treasure lodged in St. Angelo; ordered considerable levies of troops to be made through the whole ecclesiastical state; gave the command of his army to the count de Marsigli, who had lately been disgraced by the emperor; and reinforced the garrison of Ferrara with three thousand men. However, he was not powerful enough to restrain the disorders committed by the Imperialists, who obliged many of his subjects

The pope raises an army to protect his dominions.

jects to lay down their arms, under pain of military execution. The emperor pretended to seize the territory of Ferrara for his ally the duke of Modena: as the duke of Mantua and Montferrat had espoused the cause of Philip V. he put him to the ban of the empire, confiscated his estates, and, having stripped the Mantuan territory of all the artillery and military stores, which were carried to Milan, he gave the investiture of Montferrat to his ally the duke of Savoy, on condition that he should not desert the grand alliance till the conclusion of a general peace[r]. These, and other violent proceedings of the emperor, obliged the pope and cardinals to act with greater spirit in their own defence. The levies were accordingly continued, and several cardinals, and the greatest part of the Roman barons, voluntarily assessed themselves in considerable sums, according to their ability. The count de Marsigli marched into the territory of Ferrara, where the papal troops had ventured to act offensively against the Germans. Upon the news of these hostilities the count de Thaun, who had returned to Lombardy, marched thither with some new regiments; and having taken possession of several posts in the territory of Bologna, invested Ferrara, prohibiting any provisions to be carried into the city under pain of death. At the same time an imperial army advanced from Naples towards the frontiers of the ecclesiastical state, threatened an invasion, on purpose to divide the pope's forces. The emperor, however, proposed an accommodation to his holiness, and, in the mean time, ordered a cessation of all hostilities.

A.D. 1709. As the states and princes of Italy were over-awed by the Germans, and the coasts of the ecclesiastical state were threatened by the English and Dutch fleets, while the French were in no condition to give him any assistance either by sea or land, Clement found himself obliged to submit to the terms prescribed by the emperor. Accordingly, on the 15th of January, a treaty was concluded betwixt him and Joseph, by which he agreed to disband all his troops, excepting five thousand men; to give winter-quarters to six thousand Germans; to dismiss all the French and Spaniards in his service; and to pay a contribution of a hundred thousand crowns. Among other arti-

He is obliged to consent to a peace with the emperor.

[r] Struvius Hist. Germ. sect. xii. tom. ii. p. 4060. 4081. Lettr. Hist. Mar. 1707. La Clef du Cabinet des Princes, Decem. 1708. Lunigius Literis Proc. p. 111. Barr. Hist. d'Allemagne.

cles

cles it was also agreed, that commissaries should be appointed to examine the emperor's pretensions to Comacchio, Parma, Placentia, and Modena; and a congregation of cardinals was ordered to inquire into the claim of the archduke Charles to the crown of Spain. This last article was merely a form; for, before the ratification of the treaty was delivered, Clement was obliged to acknowlege Charles as king of Spain, to write to him as such, and to send a nuncio to his court at Barcelona, while the ambassadors of France and Philip V. entered their protest against every thing done to the prejudice of the rights of the two crowns.

Clement, however, notwithstanding this declaration, soon after sent an extraordinary nuncio to Philip V. at Madrid, with the blessed linen for his infant son the prince of Asturias[s]. In the midst of the disturbances occasioned by the war in Italy, he had been very attentive to the religious disputes in France, having granted a bull, at the request of Lewis XIV. for suppressing the monastery at Port Royal, in the suburbs of Paris, which he styled a Nest of Heresy[t]. He likewise published a brief, condemning the New Testament which had been printed a few years before by father Quesnel, with moral reflections upon each verse. He did not censure any particular proposition, but condemned the book in general in the most severe terms: his brief, however, was not received and published in France, the clergy then insisting upon the privileges and rights of the Gallican church; and this year a refutation of the brief was published, as was supposed, by Quesnel, under the title of A Dialogue upon the Decree of Rome against the New Testament of Chalons, with moral reflections. The pope endeavoured to interest the French king in the affair, by means of the Jesuit Tellier, confessor to his majesty; but, whatever inclination Lewis XIV. had to second the pope's desires, the time and circumcumstances would not then allow him to declare himself, as he had already too many enemies to contend with, who had rejected with disdain the proposals made by him for peace. Clement likewise omitted nothing to draw the French bishops to his party; nevertheless, the following year he gave offence to the Gallican clergy, by two briefs which he published against their privileges. These de-

He condemns the New Testament published by Quesnel.

[s] Barr. ut sup. Hist. des Papes, a la Haye, edit. 1734. [t] Catechisme Hist. & Dogmat. tom. ii. p. 141.

crees

crees condemned a treatise of the Origin of the Regalia, and a Mandate of the bishop of St. Pons; but they were not written in the usual form. The parliament of Paris, nevertheless, ordered them to be suppressed, and prohibited the printing and selling any bulls or briefs of the court of Rome, under the penalty of three thousand livres, unless they were allowed to be published by the king's letters patent, registered in parliament [u].

The archduke Charles elected emperor.

As the emperor Joseph died the year after, and his brother, the archduke Charles, succeeded him, this revolution occasioned a great alteration in the system of affairs, and gave hopes that a general peace would soon be concluded; especially as the queen of England had withdrawn her troops from Spain, and had agreed to a congress at Utrecht; and the Dutch began to be apprehensive of the great power of the new emperor, if he should unite the Spanish dominions to the imperial dignity and the Austrian hereditary countries.

[u] De Larrey, ut sup.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

History and present State of the Republic of Venice.

SECT. I.

Of the present State and Form of Government at Venice, including all the different Councils and Departments of the Republic.

Origin of Venice.

LITTLE can be affirmed, with any degree of certainty, concerning the origin of Venice, few records having escaped the ravages of time, and of those barbarous nations who over-ran the Roman empire. Nothing but what is conjectural, perplexed, and obscure, can be gleaned from ancient authors. They differ from each other, sometimes from themselves, and too often give us the suggestions of their own imagination instead of facts. Polybius is of opinion, that the Venetians are descended from the ancient Veneti, a people of Vannes in Bretagne, conquered by Julius Cæsar, and sold for slaves; by which means a great number of them were sent into Italy. But it was not the practice of the Romans to establish colonies of slaves within the bowels of Italy, and in the heart of the empire. Cornelius Nepos derives their origin from the Henetians, a nation bordering on Paphlagonia. In this particular, he agrees with Livy and Cato, who scruple not to affirm, that the Venetians are the lineal progeny of those Henetians, who, after the death of their leader Pilemon, put themselves under the conduct of Antenor, and accompanied him into Italy. Dispossessing the Euganeans, the former inhabitants of the Adriatic coast, they are supposed to have settled about Padua and Aquileia, extending themselves over Brescia, Friuli, and all that tract of land bounded by the Po and Adda, the lake la Garda, anciently Benac, the Alps, and the Adriatic: Pliny comprehends under the province of Venetia the East side of Aquileia [a].

[a] Sabellicus, lib. i. decad. i. Blond. Flav. Rer. Venet. lib. i. Sansovino, p. ii.

Historians

Building of the city.

Historians are no less divided concerning the time and manner of building the city of Venice. What the earliest Italian writers relate has much the appearance of panegyric, and historical flattery. Jornandes affirms, that Attila advancing to Aquileia, the capital of the province of Venetia, invested it, and, after a siege of three months, during which the garrison performed prodigies of valour, took it by assault, pillaged and laid the city in ashes, putting all those to the sword who fell into his hands; intending, by this barbarous usage, and savage ferocity, to strike terror into the other cities, and frighten them into submission. Some later writers are of opinion, that on this occasion the inhabitants of the province of Venetia, and the miserable remains of Aquileia, Verona, Mantua, Trevigio, and other cities destroyed by this barbarian, retired to the islands on their coast, and there laid the first foundation of the city of Venice, calling it after the name of the province. Idatius and Jornandes fix this memorable event about the end of the year 451, or the beginning of 452 of the Christian æra.

Various opinions concerning it.

Most writers date the foundation of the city thirty-one years earlier [b]. They say, that after the removal of the seat of empire by Constantine into the East, Italy was afflicted with a series of calamities, and perpetually harrassed by the incursions of barbarous nations: that the Hunns, led by Attila, after having defeated Macrinus, governor of Pannonia and Macedonia, was advancing towards Italy, destroying every thing with fire and sword, leaving every where the vestiges of a disposition truly barbarous and brutal: that upon the news of his approach, the richest and most powerful families on the coast of the Adriatic Sea, struck with the terror of his arms, retired with their most valuable effects into the little islands of the Rialto, as into a place of security, where they might lay the foundations of a city which should protect them against those barbarians, and secure their religion, their liberty, their families, and wealth. Thus they suppose, that Attila penetrated twice into Italy; a fact that is disputed by other writers.

Situation.

The situation of Venice is equally strong, agreeable, and romantic. It is built upon a variety of small islands on the Rialto, in the Adriatic Sea, or gulf of Venice, standing in forty-five degrees forty minutes north latitude. It is surrounded by lagunes or lakes communicat-

[b] Sabellic. Blond. Flav. Forlivienſis. lib. 1.

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ing by six different passages with the ocean. Nor is the city more accessible on the side of the continent; since from all that tract of land bordering on the lagunes, only two passes can be entered even by small boats. The waters are never frozen hard enough to support the weight of cannon, carriages, and the other necessary appendages of an army.

The natural advantages which Venice has in point of security, are however counterbalanced by some inconveniences attending her situation. If in progress of time the lagunes should be filled up by the quantities of sand carried down by the rivers, and of mud and slime thrown in by the tides, the city would become defenceless, if not insupportable, on account of noxious exhalations. To this risque may be added the incredible charge of building and repairing houses, the very foundations of which are laid at a greater expence than in other countries whole edifices are reared. Nothing can be more noble and beautiful than to see one of the finest cities in the world rising out of the waters, and appearing to float on the ocean. Its magnificent palaces, lofty towers, and houses washed by the flood, form a most delightful and striking spectacle: in a word, which ever way we approach this noble city, it shews itself equally peculiar and majestic. Travellers differ in their estimate of the number of the inhabitants. Some exaggerate them to three hundred thousand; and others, with as little reason, reduce them to one-third of that number, perhaps we shall be nearer the truth if we calculate at a medium. *Inhabitants.*

The Venetian dominions in Italy consist of the Dogado, or Venice proper, the Polesino de Rovigo, the Pandonano, the Veronese, the Cremasco, the Bergomasco, the Brescian, the Trevisiana, the Belluneſe, the Vicentia, the Feltrino, part of Friuli, and the Cadorino, a large and fruitful tract of country. The duchy of Venice and province of Padua, in particular, are rich and populous: the latter, on account of its fertility, has been called the terrestrial paradise. Besides these thirteen Italian provinces, they likewise possess Istria, a peninsula bounded by Carniola on the west, and surrounded by the Adriatic Sea on the south, north, and east. In Morlachia they hold the dominion of a few towns; and the whole sea-coast of Dalmatia[c], except the territories of Ragusa; to *Territories.*

[c] Atlas Geograph. Desdier, part ii. Salmon's Modern State of Italy, vol. x.

which we may add some valuable islands on the coasts of Epirus and Dalmatia.

Commerce. The trade of the republic has been much reduced for near two centuries, the greater part of it having fallen into the hands of the English, French, and Dutch. Formerly the Venetians engrossed the whole commerce of Asia, Turkey in Europe, and the islands of the Archipelago: but the discovery of America, and the commerce carried on in the East Indies by the Cape of Good Hope, has done them irreparable damage, and been more prejudicial to their state than all the expensive and bloody wars carried on against the infidels.

Constitution. With respect to the constitution of Venice, it is justly applauded by all the best modern politicians. It has been affirmed by Thuanus and others [d], that, contrary to the nature of all other political and natural bodies, this republic will ever be exempted from decay and corruption, as long as she adheres to her first and fundamental principles. The following reasons have been assigned for the stability of the Venetian government, and the duration of liberty amidst the many attempts of her potent neighbours and ambitious subjects.

Her firm attachment to her general principles; it being a maxim of the Venetian government, that innovation and change produce greater abuses than those inconveniences they were intended to remedy. Hence her decrees are irrevocable.

The prudent and wise manner in which she has ballanced between the contending powers of Europe, throwing herself always into the lighter scale, in order to preserve a just political equilibrium.

The knowlege, judgment, and experience of her senators, who are obliged to perform a kind of probation in the several inferior employments of the state, before they are admitted to the highest council of the republic.

The judicious and equitable distribution of rewards and punishments, as they are appointed by the laws. Here alone it is, that the smallest offence against the state, or suspicion of an attack upon the liberty of the people, is punished with immediate death; while the industrious, useful, and ingenious citizen and mechanic, is sure of being rewarded [e]. Here alone it is, that corruption and venality are crimes of as heinous a nature as treason; that

[d] Histor. sui temporis. Oceana, p. 56. Sabell. dec. iii.

[e] Paruti, lib. vi.

even

even an attempt to purchaſe a place under the government, or a voice in the ſenate, is made capital; that the nobility, officers, and gentlemen are forbid, under the ſevereſt penalties, to accept of preſents from foreign ſtates; and even the ambaſſadors obliged to account, to the full value, for any gifts and favours conferred upon them by the courts where they reſide.

We may add, the extraordinary ſecrecy enjoined in all ſtate affairs [f]; and the ſevere and rigid laws againſt the betrayers of public truſt, and revealers of the myſteries of the cabinet.

The reſtraints with which the laws have clogged the prerogatives of the ſovereign, who is in fact little more than preſident of the ſupreme council of the nation, with the badges rather of rank than of power; and the bounds preſcribed to the wealth and ambition of the ſubject [g].

The excluſion from all places of profit or civil power [h] of the clergy, and every member of the church, and confining their authority wholly to eccleſiaſtical affairs. Among the cauſes of ſtability of this republic, we may likewiſe reckon the patriotic diſpoſition and ſincere love of their country and conſtitution, obſervable even in the Venetians of meaner rank; the addreſs and policy of her ambaſſadors; the great riches of her bank; and in ſhort, the very model and form of the conſtitution and government; of which it may be neceſſary to give a deſcription, as far as we are aſſiſted by the imperfect accounts of writers.

The Venetian republic is a mixed government, compounded of monarchy, ariſtocracy, and a kind of democracy. The Venetians boaſt that their conſtitution has continued above a thouſand three hundred years; though from their hiſtory it appears to have undergone various changes and revolutions. Moſt hiſtorians are of opinion, that the city was originally under the government of the conſuls and magiſtrates of Padua; but as they increaſed in wealth and numbers, that a deputy from each diſtrict or iſland, in whom was lodged the legiſlative power, was elected. It does not appear at this diſtance of time, whether this change was effected by force, or by the conſent of the Paduans; all we know is, that it happened

[f] Parut. ibid. Sabell. ibid. Flav. Forliv. paſſim.

[g] Parut. Sabell. paſſim.

[h] Bodin, lib. ii. Deſdier, part ii.

about the thirty-third year of the city. It might probably be effected when Attila entered Italy, and deſtroyed Aquileia, Verona, Mantua, and other cities, by which means Venice received a great increaſe of inhabitants. Thus the conſular power was aboliſhed, and the tribunitian eſtabliſhed; a form that remained for near three hundred years, till the city fell under deſpotic ſway [i], and the power of a ſovereign, who for many years ruled with almoſt unlimited authority.

Doges. It is obſervable, that from the time the republic was firſt governed by a ſovereign, every alteration and change of the conſtitution ſerved to limit and retrench his authority [k]. The Venetians are perfectly ſatisfied, that the liberty of the people is incompatible with the intereſts of the prince, who aſſumes a power ſuperior to the laws; he is therefore not only ſubjected without reſerve, but clogged by particular reſtrictions, which would ſeem to render his condition inferior to that of a private ſenator. Diſpatches are made in his name, and the letters of foreign courts addreſſed to him; but he delivers them unopened to the ſenate, and reports their anſwer to the ambaſſadors. To keep him in continual remembrance that his power is ſubordinate to the ſenate and council, they forbear the examination of all propoſitions made by the miniſters of other ſtates, till the doge and his counſellors have withdrawn. His anſwers to foreign miniſters muſt be general; if they ſhould prove diſpleaſing to the ſenate, he is ſure to meet with rough checks and ſenſible mortifications [l]. Nor is it in theſe audiences only the doge muſt ſquare his conduct to the narrow bounds of his authority. He is likewiſe reſtricted in particulars where his paſſions, his humanity, and happineſs are concerned. He can neither marry, viſit, or ſtir out of the city without leave. If he ſets foot on the continent, his authority ceaſes: and indeed, ſolitude and dependence would appear to be the diſtinguiſhing and eſſential qualities of his function. It is true, the doge is addreſſed with the reſpect paid to a ſovereign prince; he is attended with the enſigns and badges of royalty; and in ſhort, enjoys the whole pomp and pageantry of power, without the authority.

[i] Sabell. lib. i. dec. i. Sabell. ibid. Flav. Blond. Forliv. lib. i. dec. i. [k] Deſdier, p. ii. Burnet, p. 26. [l] Howel, page 56.

The

The great council is compoſed of all the Venetian nobility, who have attained the age of twenty-five years. It frames laws, chooſes ſenators, confirms the elections of the ſenate, nominates to all public employments, the podeſtates, procurators, governors, &c. It reforms all public abuſes and errors, holds the ſupreme legiſlative power, and is the firſt tribunal, the baſis and ſupport of the government. The doge is preſident of this council; but its decrees and reſolves are valid without his preſence; his name, however, is uſed out of form and compliment [m]. *The great council.*

The ſenate, or pregadi, is that part of the conſtitution where the executive power reſides. All reſolutions upon peace and war, treaties and alliances, are taken here. All laws made in the great council receive the ſanction of the ſenate before they paſs into act; and it has the power of ſending ambaſſadors, and the diſpoſal of many inferior offices, civil and military. Originally it conſiſted of ſixty ſenators, called ordinary; ſince, an addition of ſixty more has been made [n]: theſe laſt are called extraordinary, and compoſe a junto. The opinions are taken by ballot; and to prevent confuſion, only the members who immediately compoſe it, are ſuffered to vote, although the great council, the ſeignory, the forty judges of criminal courts have admittance, and the liberty of ſpeaking for or againſt the opinions propoſed. As the ſixty extraordinary ſenators are annually choſen in the great council, and are either changed or continued as their conduct deſerves, it attaches them inviolably to their duty, and prevents their abuſing the authority lodged in their hands. The profound ſecrecy of an aſſembly, compoſed of ſo great a multitude, is very extraordinary: this the republic has brought about, by the inquiſition of ſtate, the excluſion of all ſtrangers, eccleſiaſtics, and even of their own relations, and neareſt connexions [o]. *The ſenate.*

The ſeignory, or council of ten, conſiſts of the doge, ſix members of the great council, and the three chief judges of the higheſt court of judicature. Next to the inquiſition of ſtate, this is the moſt formidable tribunal of the republic [p]. The council of ten receives all accuſations and informations againſt perſons ſuſpected of de- *The ſeignory.*

[m] Deſd. ut ſupra, Fougaſſ. p. 56. 7. lib. i. dec. ii. [o] Deſd. p. ii. Jov. lib. i. Caſſiodorus Raven. p. 22. [n] Sabell. Flav. [p] Bodin, lib. ii. Paul.

State inquisition.

signs against the government. Three of their number compose the inquisition of state. They imprison, condemn, and execute arbitrarily, without hearing the prisoner's defence, either in person or by his advocates. They are the guardians of the public tranquility; watch over the welfare of the city; compose quarrels, and suppress tumults; keep a strict eye over factious, turbulent, and ambitious spirits; regulate the coin, weights, measures, and markets; and are equally the terror of the nobility and commons, the prince and the subject. The executions and judgments of the tribunal of three, or state inquisition, are equally expeditious and secret. To avoid public clamours against their severity, the offender is in the night thrown into the sea, upon the bare evidence of their spies, or any two witnesses suborned for the purpose. But this injustice and cruelty has been somewhat remedied within this last century. An unguarded word, the most trifling insinuation, or indirect reflection upon the government; the being seen with fire arms, and other frivolous indiscretions, were formerly deemed crimes against the state, and of so heinous a nature as to merit immediate death or banishment. Yet has this formidable tribunal been one cause of the long duration of Venetian liberty, if a people groaning under the tyranny of so merciless and arbitrary a triumvirate, can be said to enjoy liberty.

Savi.

The council called the savi, or sages, consists of sixteen persons; six called the savi grandé take cognizance of all the affairs relative to the fleets and armies of the republic; five others confine themselves more particularly to land affairs; and the remaining five are employed in the care of the marine, trade, and commerce. The former of these are called savi de terra firma, and the latter savi de gli ordini, chosen out of the most experienced persons of the city [q].

College of the seignory and savi.

From these arises another order or board, consisting of the doge, the seignory, and the savi, in conjunction; and this college is reputed the most useful council of the state. They hear all letters sent to or received by the senate, read by the secretary [r]; they give audience to foreign ministers and agents, and take cognizance of all foreign and domestic complaints. Thus all matters of state, unless they require extraordinary secrecy and dispatch, are deliberated by the savi and seignory, in their several de-

[q] Desdier. [r] Desdier.

part-

partments; by the college composed of the union of both; by the senate; and lastly, by the great council. Hence it is that the resolves of the republic are deliberate, prudent and perpetual; and that her caution and wisdom have been the admiration of ages. It must, however, be acknowleged, that what they style the basis of government, and prop of the constitution, the state inquisition, with its horrid train of spies, emissaries and informers, wears an ugly aspect, and contradicts the practice of the most civilized nations and best regulated states. Informers have ever been esteemed the pests of society, and instruments of tyranny; and they were the detestation of Greece and Rome, as long as liberty remained. But Venice gives them the protection of her laws, and pensions from the government, upon the most infamous and pernicious footing; their informations are received in a secret manner, thrown into a stone in the form of a lyon's mouth appropriated for that purpose, and anonymous. Thus the excellencies of the Venetian constitution are weighed down by faults of so gross and enormous a nature, as one would think less tolerable than the most despotic and absolute monarchy.

Church. Of all the ecclesiastics in Europe, those of Venice alone are excluded the councils and public employments of the state. The republic has laid it down as a principle, that she should have an absolute sway over her subjects of every condition and degree. The pope is deemed a mere temporal prince, and the patriarch a cypher at Venice. The republic is supreme in all causes, and over all persons, ecclesiastical and civil, within her dominions. The government of the church is divided between the patriarchs of Venice and Aquileia: the province of the former is confined to the city; of the latter to the continent, who is more independent and better supported by the spiritual authority of the pope, than his brother prelate. He is appointed by the senate, who oblige him to chuse a noble Venetian for his coadjutor. As the patriarchs are not permitted to nominate the cures or benefices of the city, or duchy of Venice, so their credit is no greater than their authority; the priests and religious decline their jurisdiction even in ecclesiastical affairs, in favour of other tribunals under the influence of the senate. In short, the severity of the republic not two centuries ago to the Jesuits, has ever since humbled the ambition of the clergy, and kept them in awe of, and dependence on the civil power.

SECT. II.

Of the first Establishment of Government at Venice; the Abolition of the Consular, and first Institution of the Tribunitian Power; the first Wars carried on by the City; its Progress to Consequence and Grandeur; and the Alteration made in the Constitution by electing a Doge in the Room of the Tribunes.

A. D. 421. THE historians of the earlier periods of the republic seem to have supplied by fiction what was wanting upon authority. They are profuse of their encomiums upon the regularity, order, strict piety, and morals of this infant city, but extremely sparing of facts. If we credit them[s], the great delicacy and scrupulous exactness in the choice of members composing this little community, is beyond example; the purest religion, the most unblemished morals, rigid virtue and integrity, together with a certain degree of wealth and quality, were the indisputable qualifications of those admitted to the privileges of the city.

The first establishment of government.

Cassiodorus[t] relates, that one would have taken this multitude of people for a numerous seminary of philosophers living at their ease, cultivating the duties of religion and virtue, and enjoying a perfect tranquillity. They contended not in luxury, ostentation, and expence; but in moderation, chastity, and virtue. Riches, honours, ambition, had no charms for the Venetians: rich and poor lived upon a familiar equality. Property was common to all, and entirely devoted to the occasions of the public. Merit was the only distinction; that alone was esteemed true nobility which was acquired by virtue. Industry and frugality were commended, as they were useful to the community; virtue and piety, as they ennobled the man by the practice of what became a rational creature. Power and authority were conferred on modest merit; the voluptuous, the presuming, and worldly-minded, were excluded from public trust and credit.

Under such happy auspices did this republic receive her first laws, ordinances, and regulations; in such practices

[s] Blond. Flav. de Gestis Venet. Sabellic. lib. i. dec. i. [t] Apud Sabellic. Sansovino, ibid.

and

and ſtudies did ſhe paſs her amiable infancy. A total chaſm appears in hiſtory from the ſixth year of the city till the abolition of the conſular, and eſtabliſhment of the tribunitian power, which happened twenty-five years after that period. Aquileia, Verona, and many of the cities and provinces upon or near the ſea-coaſt, having been deſtroyed about this time, Venice received a great increaſe of inhabitants. The miſerable remains who had eſcaped the rage of the conquerors, fled to it in crowds, and ſo augmented the number of citizens, that Venice was conſiderably enlarged, a great number of iſlands were taken into its compaſs, and the diſtricts and ſeveral wards multiplied [u]. A new diviſion of the city was made, each ward enjoying its own peculiar rights and immunities, at the ſame time that it compoſed one whole. Hence the conſular government was thought inconvenient. To obviate every difficulty, a ſcheme was propoſed for new-modelling the government. A general aſſembly of the nation was convened; and, after ſome warm debates, and keen altercations, the following ſyſtem was eſtabliſhed: that [w] a tribune ſhould be yearly appointed by each diſtrict or iſland compoſing the ſtate: that they ſhould have power to take cognizance in all cauſes, over all perſons, and to decide all controverſies ariſing within their ſeveral juriſdictions: that each ſhould impriſon, condemn, and acquit within the limits of his own ward; but that an appeal, in dubious caſes, or where the parties complained of injuſtice, might be made to the ſuperior aſſembly of the nation: that this great aſſembly or council ſhould conſiſt of all the perſons poſſeſſing a certain property, and of a certain degree of quality within the city: that it ſhould be ſupreme in all judicial caſes: that it ſhould poſſeſs the legiſlative and executive authority, with a power of entruſting what part of the latter it thought fit, to the tribunes, or other magiſtrates by them appointed: and that it ſhould have the power of nominating to all places, offices, and public truſts, that of chuſing the tribunes alone excepted. Such was the plan of government which ſucceeded the conſular, and continued, with little variation, the ſpace of near three hundred years, till the power of the tribunes was ſunk in the authority of a duke or doge.

Change of government.

Tribunes elected.

[u] Bonitep. Comment. lib. i. Deſdier, p. ii. Bonitep. Comment. lib. i.

[w] Sabellic. lib. i. dec. i.

After

After the destruction of Padua by the Lombards, the Venetians were not only become a free and commercial people, but a state of considerable importance on the continent; the masters of a fleet, and body of land-forces. Their first disputes were with the Lombards, who having seized upon Friuli, the province of Venetia, and almost all the territories of the infant republic, confined the dominion of Venice within a small compass. We know nothing of the issue of this quarrel.

The first wars carried on by Venice.

Historians make the first mention of the Venetian fleet about this period [x]. The Istrians and Dalmatians had made some descents upon the skirts of the city of Venice, plundering several houses, and using violence on the inhabitants. They had likewise disturbed their commerce, and committed depredations upon the merchants trading to the islands of the Archipelago, and maritime cities of Italy. The Venetians [y] fitted out a small squadron, and immediately sailed in pursuit of the enemy, without any formal declaration of war. Having come up with the pirates, they attacked and defeated them, destroying a great number of ships, obliging them to sue for peace, to give hostages for their conduct, and make reparation for the damages the republic had suffered.

Not long after this transaction, an insult was offered to the republic by the inhabitants of Trieste, who landing suddenly, carried off a number of the citizens [z]. Pietro Candiano, a leading man at that time, was appointed to revenge this unprovoked affront. His diligence was so great, that the same day two ships of war were equipped, and under sail to seek the enemy, with whom he came up in the evening. He gave immediate orders for the attack, defeated the enemy, retook his countrymen, and carried the Tergestines prisoners into Venice.—These are the first instances we have of the prowess, spirit, and resolution of this republic.

Venice acquires esteem and consequence.

A degree of consideration and esteem among the neighbouring powers was acquired by these first exploits. Their reputation preserved the Venetians for some time unmolested, and suffered them to pursue the arts of peace, to beautify their city, frame laws, establish good order and discipline among the several degrees of inhabit-

[x] Sabellic. lib. i. dec. i. Boniten. Comment. Paul. Diacon.
[y] Sabell. lib. i. dec. i. Fougasf. lib. i. dec. i. Blond. Flav. de Gest. Venet. [z] Sabell. lib. i. dec. i. Boniten, lib. i. Blond. Hist. p. 298.

tants;

tants; to proſecute their trade, commerce, manufactures, and every ſpecies of induſtry; by means of which they, in a ſhort time, attained to a high pitch of affluence and power.

About this time the republic entered into treaty with the brave Narſes, lieutenant of Juſtinian, who had been ſent to reſcue Italy from the uſurpation of the Goths. The Venetians made no ſecret of this alliance: they publicly aſſiſted him with arms, money, and ſhipping, and every thing elſe ſtipulated or required. Totila, who commanded the Goths, was encamped upon the banks of the river Adice [a]. In order to come up with him, without fatiguing his troops by a laborious, long, and difficult march, Narſes reſolved to tranſport his army by ſea to Ravenna; this deſign he executed by means of the Venetian fleet, coaſting along the Italian ſide of the gulph, and landing the troops ſafe without the loſs of a ſingle ſhip. We are not informed what ſhare they bore in the action, or whether any of their forces were preſent; all we know is, that Narſes having gained a complete victory, expreſſed his ſenſe of the obligations he lay under to the Venetians, by ſeveral rich preſents, high marks of diſtinction, and particularly by building two ſtately churches, dedicated to the ſaints Theodore and Germinian; the oldeſt public buildings beſides St. Mark's and St. Peter's, in Venice. Theſe are all the particulars with which hiſtorians have favoured us, of the public tranſactions of the Venetians for the ſpace of two hundred and ſeventy-two years. Nor have they been more particular concerning her domeſtic conduct. It is true, indeed, that a new founded ſtate, ſtudious of raiſing herſelf by her induſtry, commerce, frugality and prudence, little connected with other nations, ſolitary by ſituation as well as from inclination, and chiefly bent upon cultivating peace, and reaping the fruits of tranquility, is capable of furniſhing but few of thoſe events which are thought worthy of being tranſmitted to poſterity. Their hiſtorians, however, exhibit a particular detail of that great revolution which brought the republic into the hands of one man, after having aboliſhed the power of the tribunes. We are told, that the magiſtrates uſing their power wantonly, had become odious to the people; that their private diſſenſions had ſpread the ſeeds of diſcord, and excited a ferment over the whole city, ſo as wholly

[a] Sabell. ibid. Blond. Flav. de Geſt. Venet. Idem in Hiſt.

to

to alienate the minds of the public from the eſtabliſhed government; that the attempts of the Forlians, a little ſtate in their neighbourhood upon the continent, who had endeavoured to draw ſome advantage from the civil broils of Venice, had increaſed the general diſlike to the power of the tribunes. To theſe cauſes may be added, the depredations committed by the Lombards, with many other grievances, which, on account of their domeſtic quarrels, they were unable to repel. In this ſituation a general council was demanded by the unanimous voice of the public, that the ſtate of affairs might be canvaſſed, and the conſtitution new modelled.

Change of government.

The aſſembly of the nation having met, the biſhop of Grada was choſen to preſide, attended by a numerous body of the ſuperior clergy; from which circumſtance we may obſerve, that eccleſiaſtics had not as yet been excluded from the government. Nothing but complaints, murmurs and revilings againſt the tribunes could be heard. They were accuſed of extortion, cruelty, murder, and tyranny. It was aſſerted, that the republic muſt fall; their liberties be annihilated; their wives and children expoſed to the unbridled luſt, and their property to the rapacious avarice of thoſe mercileſs tyrants, unleſs an end was put to their authority, by introducing another form of government. After various ſpeeches, debates, and propoſals, the aſſembly proceeded to buſineſs. Numberleſs defects in their preſent conſtitution were remarked. They obſerved, that a power of convoking the great council was lodged in no part of the ſtate; that the various opinions and claſhing intereſts of ſo numerous an aſſembly, without a head, was attended with diſcord and animoſity; that having no one to direct their proceedings, they were ſlow, irreſolute, and without vigour in their meaſures; that the public affairs were conducted rather according to the paſſions and intereſt of factions, than the occaſions of the ſtate; and, that the executive power was neceſſarily transferred to the tribunes, who were often ignorant, of mean extraction, and low fortune [b]. They remarked, that unanimity and concord could never exiſt in a ſtate, where the chief members were unconnected; that the tribunes, being excluded from a ſeat in the aſſembly, muſt of courſe be ignorant of the ſenſe and ſpirit of many of the laws committed to their care; that as they formed no regular council among themſelves, the

A. D. 697.

[b] Sabell. Blond. ut ſupra.

diſtribution

distribution of justice must vary in the several districts of the city; the laws be local; one part of the nation groaning under bondage, while the other enjoyed the sweets of liberty; and the happiness of the people depending upon the humour, disposition, or caprice of a few petty magistrates [c]. The result of their deliberations was, to abolish the tribunitian power, and in its stead to elect a duke or doge, in whom should be vested the supreme authority. He was to represent the honour and majesty of the state; to have respect and distinction paid him superior to what the tribunes, or even the consuls enjoyed; he was to assemble and preside at the great council; to have a casting vote in all disputed points; to nominate to all offices, places, and preferments; and lastly, to enjoy the same supremacy in the church as in the state [d].

Paulatio, of Heraclea, is supposed to have procured the election to fall upon himself, by his dexterity, address, and intrigues. He was a man of fine talents, eloquent, comely, and intrepid. His generosity had made him popular, and his experience in public business necessary in the assembly. He never countenanced those factions which disturbed the tranquillity of the republic, though it is imagined that when discord ran high, he applied to his own purposes the divisions which he could not heal. In short, his cool prudence, his insinuating manner, and artful conduct, had so greatly influenced the assembly, that he was elected sovereign by the unanimous concurrence of the council, to the great joy of the people, who were extravagant in the demonstrations of their satisfaction. *Paulatio, the first doge.*

PAULATIO, Doge I.

THE new doge began his administration with reforming abuses, inspecting the conduct of the late magistrates, framing laws with the sanction of the general council, putting the fleets into a respectable condition, adorning the city, and extending commerce, encouraging industry, and rewarding merit; in short, by every action which could render his person beloved, or his people happy. He formed an alliance with Luitprand duke of Forli. He extended the limits of his native city Heraclea, now under the dominion of the Venetian republic, A. D. 697.

[c] Boniten. Com. xiii. Sabell. lib. i. dec. i

[d] Sanso. delle Vit. de Principi, lib.

from

from the river Pavia to the rivulet called Pavicola. By his mere authority and interest he induced the Equilines to acknowlege the sovereignty of the republic [e]. To sum up all, he made the nation happy, powerful, and wealthy. After a reign of twenty years and six months, he died universally regretted and beloved. He was the first, and one of the best princes Venice ever saw. His ambition terminated in the good of the public, insomuch that he neglected the interests of his own family, to give his whole attention to the aggrandizement of the country over which he was sovereign.

MARCELLO, Doge II.

A. D. 717. *Marcello.* MARCELLO of Heraclea, or, as Sansovino calls him, M. Tegaliano, succeeded Paulatio in the dogeship. All that history relates of him is, that he was wise, prudent, and warlike. Writers have not informed us of his exploits, nor of the transactions of the republic during his administration. Some indeed affirm, that no such person ever existed, or at least acted in quality of doge; but Sansovino [f] and Sabellicus [g] relate, that he reigned nine years, and died with the reputation of an able politician and brave soldier. Indeed the writers of the first four hundred years of the republic, are rather biographers than historians; they entirely pass over the affairs of the public, excepting where the doges are immediately concerned. Every account we have hitherto seen of this early period, is lame, barren, and defective.

HYPATO, Doge III.

Hypato. AT the death of Marcello, the great council met for the election of a new doge, when Horleo Hypato, commonly styled Orso, was preferred to the other candidates. As he was a great warrior and politician, the council looked upon him as the person best qualified to conduct
A. D. 726. the state at a critical juncture, when all their prudence and fortitude were required. The Lombards, having seized upon Ravenna, and deposed the exarch, were become formidable to all the provinces upon the coast of the Adriatic [h]. The doge was hardly settled in his new

[e] Sabellic. lib. i. dec. i. [f] Chron, Venet. [g] Lib. i. dec. i.
[h] Sansov. del. Vit. Prin. Sabell. lib. i. dec. i. Blond. Flav. Hist. p. 362.

government,

government, when the fugitive exarch came to implore his aſſiſtance to reinſtate him in his authority, and reſcue the city out of the hands of the Lombards. Horleo Hypato, ſenſible that no time ought to be loſt in giving a check to this enterpriſing people; and willing at the ſame time to do honour to the requeſt of pope Gregory the Third, who warmly eſpouſed the exarch, prepared a fleet and army, with all poſſible expedition, to oppoſe the barbarians. All things being in readineſs, he landed his army, and laid ſiege to Ravenna; took and reſtored it to the former inhabitants, who immediately replaced their baniſhed exarch. What the Venetians had hitherto done, was by way of retaliation, or in ſelf-defence: with Narſes they acted as auxiliaries; but now extending their politics, they became principals, and conducted a war with which they had nothing to do, without any other aſſiſtance than the ſpiritual endeavours of the pope; which would have afforded but a ſlight protection to the exarch againſt the power of the Lombards [i].

The Venetians extend their politics.

About this time the affairs of the republic were diſturbed by ſome diviſions in the church. Calixtus biſhop of Aquileia, diſdaining to acknowlege the ſuperiority and juriſdiction of the new ſee of Grada, raiſed a little army, and over-running the whole territory of Grada and the adjacent provinces, every where committed devaſtations, which in a Goth, Hun, or Lombard, would have been termed ſavage; but in a Catholic prieſt were thought pious, and deſerving canonization, notwithſtanding the whole diſpute turned upon a ridiculous point of precedency: however, by means of the pope's mediation, the affair was at length terminated to the ſatisfaction of all parties [k].

Civil diviſions.

Notwithſtanding the other valuable qualities of the doge, he had a fierceneſs and haughty inſolence, which not only rendered him diſagreeable, but frequently intolerable. The Heracleans having by ſome trivial fault incurred his diſpleaſure, he entered their country in a hoſtile manner, laying every place waſte in his progreſs. At length, meeting with a body of their troops, a battle was fought, in which both parties behaved with incredible valour: the field was long diſputed, and victory hovered in ſuſpence, when a random blow put an end to the doge's life, and ſecured their liberty to the Heracleans.

i Sabell. ibid. Blond. de Geſtis Ven. etiam in Hiſt. p. 374.
k Sabell. lib. i. dec. i.

After

A. D. 737. After the death of Hypato, a kind of interregnum for the ſpace of a year enſued. Sabellicus relates, that warm debates, and violent heats reigned in the aſſembly; that the people were divided about a ſucceſſor; and that a majority appeared for a change of government; which was effected, contrary to the inclinations of the moſt conſiderable families. The plan propoſed and carried into execution was, that a maſter of the horſe ſhould be choſen every year, into whoſe hands was transferred the authority of the doge: the ſhort duration of his power, would, it was thought, prevent the abuſe of it; eſpecially as his conduct underwent a ſevere ſcrutiny at the expiration of his office[l]. The firſt perſon appointed to this authority was Dominico Leo, a man of ſome ſway and intereſt in the city: he was ſucceeded by Felix Cornicula for the next year; who quitting the reins at the time appointed by law, had Deodato, ſon to Hypato, elected in his room[m]. He was recalled from baniſhment three years after his father's death, and paſſed through nine months of his office, at which period he died, univerſally eſteemed. Juliano Cepari was next choſen, of whom we know nothing more than his having ruled for a year. Then was elected Fabritio Ciani, or, according to others, Giovanni Fabritio, the fourth and laſt maſter of the horſe, or general of the forces[n]: he was depoſed before the year expired, had his eyes put out, and was confined for life, though for what fault we are not informed.

Interregnum.

A new form of government.

A maſter of the horſe choſen.

Thus ended the authority of the new governors: an authority eſtabliſhed without much deliberation, and laid aſide without ſufficient reaſon.

[l] Sanſov. del. v. p. lib. xiii. Sabell. lib. i. dec. i. Blond. de Geſt. Ven. [m] Sanſov. Chron. Veneto. Sabell. lib. i. dec. i.
[n] Sabell. ibid.

SECT.

SECT. III.

The Form of Government again changed, and the Doges restored; Venice engaged in divers foreign Wars, and particularly with Pepin, King of France, who laid siege to the City, and was forced to relinquish the Enterprize.

THEODATO, Doge IV.

THE minds of the people were eagerly bent upon the restitution of the ducal government, an anarchy must have ensued, had not they been gratified with restoring that very authority they reviled as tyrannical and oppressive but a few years before. In short, a doge was elected, the choice falling upon Theodato, the second son of doge Hypato, and the brother of Guiliano Hypato, master of the horse °. Theodato was recalled from banishment, in which he had lived ever since the death of his father, to take upon him the supreme government. His first public transaction was to curb the ambition of the Lombards, and procure justice to the Heracleans; this aim he effected without bloodshed, by the mere weight of his influence and authority. Theodato next repaired the castle of Brundulla, standing at the mouth of the bay leading to Chioggia. This fort is exceeding strong, both by nature and art: what were his motives to add to the fortifications we know not; this is certain, that Galla made use of it as a pretext to cover his own villainous intentions. This man omitted no opportunity of insinuating the suspicious, dangerous, and dark designs of the doge; that he intended no less than to render himself independent and absolute; that besides his haughty carriage to the nobility, and fawning obsequiousness to the common people; besides the strong body-guard he always maintained, and the state he assumed, this last action, his fortifying with all possible art, and keeping a strong garrison in a castle of no use to the republic, was an undeniable proof of his ambitious views. Having thus wrought upon the passions of the leading

A. D. 742.

Theodato.

Of service to the Heracleans.

° Sabell. lib. ii. dec. i. Sansov. del Vit. Prin. lib. xiii.

men, he obtained a body of troops, with which marching secretly to Brundulla, while the doge was there, he unexpectedly entered the castle, seized, blinded, and deposed Theodato: then returning to Venice, he had the address to procure himself to be elected in his stead. Thus ended the power of the unhappy Theodato, after he had governed the republic for thirteen years[p]. He was a man of a speculative turn, much addicted to study and retirement, of few words, and a reserved carriage: the misfortunes of the first part of his life had confirmed his natural propensity to solitude; yet when he appeared in public, no man better supported the magnificence, munificence, and majesty of a prince.

Deposed.

GALLA, Doge V.

A. D. 755. *Galla.*

SOME writers affirm, that Galla never was lawfully elected; but seizing the authority, he maintained himself in it by his influence over the troops, given him to depose Theodato[q]. This circumstance is not improbable, if we consider his character, and the short duration of his power. He was master of deep dissimulation, and an insinuating manner; he could cloke the blackest vices under the appearance of virtue, and mask his ambition with the direct semblance of patriotism. But when his cunning was insufficient to effect his purposes, he was equally vigorous in his public, as he had been artful in his secret practices, sacrificing honour, honesty, and reputation, to his interest and the love of power. After a reign of one year and two months, he was deposed and blinded (a piece of policy the Venetians would seem to have borrowed from the Eastern nations), leaving behind him the character of a bad man; an ambitious, turbulent and tyrannical prince.

DOMENCO MONEGARIO, Doge VI.

A. D. 756. *Domenco Monegario.*

AFTER the expulsion of Galla, the general council appointed Domenco Monegario his successor. What could induce them to this choice is not easily imagined, as we are told that his judgment[r] was so weak, and his temper so impetuous, as to render it necessary to direct

[p] Blond. Flav. Hist. 391. Sansov. del Vit. Prin. [q] Sabell. lib. ii. dec. i. Sansov. del Vit. de Princip. lib. xiii. p. 214. [r] Sabell. ibid.

the

the one and control the other by the authority of certain tribunes. Upon his accession, he shewed himself a monster of iniquity [s]. He was cruel, covetous, and lewd beyond example; insomuch that the republic, finding the virtues of the tribunes an unequal balance to his vices, inflicted the same punishment on him as they had done on his predecessor (A). *Tribunes oppose him.*

MAURITIO GALBAIO, Doge VII.

THE cruelty of the late administration did not deter the council from electing Mauritio Galbaio, who was permitted to associate his son Giovanni in the government. About the beginning of Mauritio's dogeship, the Heracleans and Jesulans abandoned their dwellings, and sought protection of Charlemagne, who settled them in Malamoc, until their affairs could be reinstated [t]: the occasion of their flight proceeded from the discovery of some conspiracies which Fortunato, bishop of Grada, had formed against the republic. The Heracleans and Jesulans were deeply concerned in the plot, and fearing the resentment of the doge, whom they intended to depose, thought to screen themselves under the sanction of Charlemagne's power; the Venetians, however, bravely attacked them, driving them out of Malamoc, without regarding the emperor's protection. Charlemagne was so incensed, that he ordered Pepin to declare war against the republic. Pepin immediately published a declaration against the Venetians; but he had not yet entered their territories when news were brought to him, that Astulphus, king of the Lombards, was committing the most horrid cruelties in the pope's dominions, and destroying every thing with fire and sword; this circumstance for a while suspended, but did not altogether divert the blow intended. Pepin was no sooner at liberty to turn his arms against the republic, than he pursued the war so successfully, as to deprive them of almost all their domi- A. D. 764. *Mauritio Galbaio.* *War with Pepin.*

[s] Sanson. lib. ii. dec. i. Blond. de Gest. Ven. Sanson. Vit. lib. xii.
[t] Sanson. ibid. Sabel. lib. ii. dec. i. Blond. Flav. Hist. p. 395.

(A) According to Sabellicus, Bonitentius, Blondus Flavius, and some other writers, Domenco Monegario continued but five years in the dogeship. But Sansovino, in his chronological tables, has prolonged his power to the eighth year.

nions upon the continent: he destroyed Heraclea, and laid waste the country of the Jesulans; an extraordinary method of assisting those who had demanded his succour. We are for this reason inclined to distrust this account of the origin of the war; and the more, as some anachronisms in it render the whole improbable: the truth seems to be, that the Venetians had incurred the displeasure of Pepin, by the assistance they lent Astulphus, with whom they were in alliance. Bonitentius relates, that Pepin's success was not great, and the impression he made on the frontiers, which Mauritio bravely defended, inconsiderable. We are farther told, that before he came to a decisive engagement with the Venetians, he was called off from the war by the revolt of Astulphus: certain it is, that the Venetians had about this time declared themselves a free, independent state, acknowleging the superiority neither of the Eastern or Western empire, nor even the spiritual jurisdiction of the pope, but under certain restrictions [u]. This circumstance then might be an additional cause of Pepin's resentment, and have drawn upon the Venetians the war. Soon after the conclusion of this affair Mauritio died; and with him was extinct for a time, the happiness of the republic: his wisdom had conducted them safely through the most perilous and critical juncture the state ever beheld, and his valour gained him the esteem of Pepin, then the greatest potentate of the West [w]. He was humane, affable and courteous; he possessed all those talents and qualities which could gain him the esteem or love of the people.

Venice declares itself a free state.

Mauritio dies.

GIOVANNI, Doge VIII.

A. D. 773. THE republic had reason to lament the loss of this amiable prince: his son Giovanni, the very reverse of the father's character, succeeded. Giovanni had been his father's colleague; and now succeeding to the whole authority, he began his administration with harrassing Giovanni de Trieste, bishop of Grada, a prelate of virtue and piety. We are left in the dark in relation to the cause of this oppression [x]. Whatever it was, the bishop met with the most barbarous and inhuman usage; he was taken, and, after a short confinement, thrown headlong from a high tower. The succeeding bishop formed a

Giovanni succeeds.

[u] Blond. de Gest. Ven. [w] Sansov. del Vit. de Princip. lib. xiii. [x] Ibid. Sabel. lib. ii. dec. i.

strong

strong party in Venice against the doge, either to depose or to murder him; but the plot was discovered just as it was on the point of execution, and the bishop and other conspirators forced to save themselves by flight. The leading men in this plot were Demetrio Marmani, Foscaro de Georges, and Obelerio, at the same time tribunes [y]: they concealed themselves in Treviso, but the bishop went directly to the court of Pepin, and threw himself upon that prince's protection. Pepin had been styled king of Italy by the pope; in consequence of which title he always espoused the cause of the church, without enquiring into its merit. He resolved to support the bishop; but before hostilities were commenced, Giovanni and his son Mauritio, whom he had made his colleague, were deposed for their barbarity and insolence; and Obelerio Antenoreo, one of the tribunes, elected doge. In this period it was that Olivula was erected into an episcopal see (the first we have any mention of in Venice), having the islands Lupria and Dorsedura within its jurisdiction; the ancient family of the Scapari at this time built the church of Moses, the finest piece of architecture Venice had seen; Sergius, a private stranger, who had been suddenly and miraculously cured of an inveterate disease, founded and adorned the building called St. Michael's church, in gratitude to that saint for his recovery. These, and such other important facts, do the historians of early ages relate [z].

OBELERIO, Doge IX.

OBELERIO was one of the tribunes who conspired against Giovanni: he had taken refuge in Treviso, where he resided till the expulsion of the doge and his son. Upon his accession he requested the permission of the assembly to devolve some part of the government upon his brother Beato, modestly declaring, that he was unable to support the whole burden [a]. Beato was sent to Constantinople, probably to strengthen the republic against the approaching storm from Pepin, by the friendship of Nicephorus: he was kindly received by the Greek emperor, and treated with the respect due to a crowned head. During his absence Valentin, the youngest brother, was appointed to assist Obelerio: but here we find so many

A. D. 804.

Obelerio.

y Sanson. ibid. Blond. de Gest. Ven.
z Bonit. Com. lib. i.
a Sanson. del Vit. Prin.

contradictions as it would be impossible to reconcile; such a variety of discording opinions among authors, that we are at a loss which of them to follow. Sabellicus relates, that Obelerio being deposed by his brother Beato, fled to Charlemagne for protection; that the emperor sent orders to Pepin to march immediately into Italy against the Venetians and Beato, who had usurped the whole authority [b]: others say, that Pepin had entered the frontiers of the republic before the emperor's commands arrived in order to restore the bishop of Grada. Sabellicus farther affirms, that Pepin having seized all the dominions of the republic upon the continent, was preparing to lay siege to Venice, when his fleet was entirely dispersed and ruined by a storm.

Pepin lays siege to Venice.

In a war that broke out between Pepin and the Greek emperor Nicephorus, the doge undertook to mediate a peace; but shewing a bias to the interest of Nicephorus, the treaty was abruptly broke off [c]. Pepin was so incensed at Obelerio's partiality, that he determined to carry the war into the Venetian dominions, and exterminate the republic. After having laid waste the province of Venetia, he led his army directly to Venice, blocking the city up at the same time by his fleet. The Venetians were not disheartened at the number of their enemies, the reputation of Pepin, or their own civil divisions. Their animosities were laid aside, and a strict union was formed against the common enemy: the chief command was given to Valentin [d], as Obelerio was supposed too nearly allied to Pepin, to fight with that good-will and chearfulness the service of his country required. The Venetians, notwithstanding the most obstinate defence, the most vigorous sallies, and their selling every inch of ground at an incredible expence of blood, were at length reduced to that part of the city south of the Rialto; this stream, and their own bravery, being now their only defence. While Pepin was preparing to lay a bridge over the canal, they resolved, as a last effort, to attack his fleet, and to vanquish or die in defence of their liberty. Embarking all the troops they could spare, they bore down, with the advantage of the wind and tide, upon the enemy, and began the attack with such fury, as odliged the French admiral to give way. The lightness of their ships, and their knowlege of the soundings, gave

[b] Lib. ii. dec. i. Sansov. del. Vit. Prin. Sansov. lib. xiii.
[c] Foug. p. 16.
[d] Sabell. lib. ii. dec. i.

the

the Venetians every advantage they could wiſh: the enemy's fleet was run aground, and the greater part of their troops periſhed in attempting to eſcape; the ſhips were either taken or deſtroyed. During this action at ſea, Pepin reſolved to aſſault the city by land, not doubting but the garriſon was ſo weakened by the number of forces they had ſent on board the fleet, as to be able to make but a ſlight reſiſtance. Having for this purpoſe thrown a bridge over the Rialto, he was marching his troops acroſs it when he found himſelf attacked on every ſide by the Venetians from their boats, and others who had poſted themſelves on the bridge. The battle was long bloody and doubtful, till the Venetians employed all their power to break down the bridge; which at laſt yielding to their obſtinate endeavours, a prodigious ſlaughter of the French enſued: however, they fought like men in deſpair, ſeeing no hopes of ſafety but in victory; but all communication being cut off with the troops on ſhore, they were to a man either killed or drowned. The number of ſlain was ſo great, that the ſpace between the Rialto and Malamoc was covered with dead bodies, and has ever ſince gone by a name expreſſive of the prodigious ſlaughter [e]. Pepin was ſo ſtruck with the intrepidity of the Venetians, that he raiſed the ſiege, abandoned the enterprize, and concluded a peace with the republic: he afterwards came to Venice to intercede for Obelerio, that he might be reſtored, which favour the Venetians granted, more out of reſpect to the requeſt of ſo great a prince, than love to the unhappy Obelerio [f]. The people had a notion that he had encouraged Pepin to declare war upon the republic, and that a correſpondence between them was carried on during the ſiege; Pepin was therefore no ſooner withdrawn, than the populace ſeizing upon Obelerio, tore his body in pieces, and ſcattered his limbs and bowels about the city. His wife ſhared the ſame fate; for as ſhe was the ſiſter of Pepin, it was not doubted but her influence was the cauſe of her huſband's perfidy. Thus ended the bloody war with Pepin, which coſt the doge his life, after he had governed jointly with his brothers for the ſpace of five years. Obelerio had ſome excellent qualities; his heart was tender and humane; his averſion to blood made him heſitate in ſuch a manner, as drew upon him the imputation of treachery [g]:

The doge put to death.

e Sanſov. Vit. Principi, lib. xiii. p. 216, dec. i.
f Sabell. lib. ii.
g Sanſov. del. Vit. Prin. lib. xiii.

it is possible too that the easiness of his temper, his affection for his wife, and even subjection to her violent passions, might have led him into an unjustifiable correspondence with Pepin; but we have no proof that he ever betrayed his country, or committed any other crime deserving such a cruel fate.

ANGELO PARTICIPATIO, Doge X.

A D. 809. OBELERIO was succeeded by Angelo Participatio, the tenth doge; if we include Valentin, who commanded during the siege, the eleventh. Sanlovino omits him in his table[h]: we have followed this writer's authority, as his chronology is the most regular, best connected, and consistent with facts. Participatio was descended from an ancient family of Heraclea, as appears by an inscription upon a monument erected to commemorate his having repaired, beautified, and adorned the place of his nativity, hence called Villa Nova. In his administration the city of Venice was enlarged by an addition of sixty of the surrounding islands, connected with bridges, and taken into the liberties of the capital[i]; the Rialto was assigned for the constant residence of the princes; and a palace of elegant structure reared for the abode of the doge.

Angelo Participatio.

Angelo having associated Giovanni, his eldest son, in the government, sent Justiniano, the younger, upon an embassy to Leo, emperor of the East; which commission he executed with great address, distinguishing himself by his sound judgment, and accurate knowlege of mankind. He was so incensed at the preference shewn Giovanni, that he obstinately refused to visit his father upon his return; and persisted in his resolution till Giovanni was deposed and banished: after which event, Justiniano was appointed his father's colleague[k].

About this time a plot formed against the doge was discovered: Giovanni Tolonico, Bono Bragadino, and other chiefs of the conspiracy were put to death; some of inferior rank banished, and slight corporal punishments inflicted upon others. This affair being terminated, the Venetians found themselves involved in a quarrel with Ulric, bishop of Aquileia, assisted by the Forlians. Ulric had resented the fee of Aquileia's being subjected to the jurisdiction of the bishop of Grada: in order to revenge

[h] Chronico. Venet. [i] Sabell. lib. iii. dec. i. [k] Sabell. lib. iii. d. i. Sanfov. del Vit. La Briærfic. lib. xiii.

himself,

himself, he raised an army, entered into treaty with the Forlians, and marched into the bishoprick of Grada in a hostile manner. He likewise fitted out a fleet to molest his brother prelate by sea; but the Venetians coming up with the latter, burnt, sunk, and destroyed the squadron, taking Ulric and all his principal officers prisoners: then landing their forces, they not only dispersed the bishop's army, but took several towns upon the coast, and laid waste the whole province of Friuli. At their return they set Ulric and the other prisoners at liberty, on condition he would annually send to Venice twelve wild boars, a bull, and twelve loaves, in acknowlegement of his subjection[l]: we are told that a festival, in commemoration of this victory and tribute, is still observed. These are all the transactions, public and private, which occur during the government of Angelo Participatio.

JUSTINIANO, Doge XI.

JUSTINIANO, at his father's death, came into possession of the whole government. His first public act was to send a fleet to the assistance of the emperor Michael[m], against the Saracens, who were by this time become formidable to the Christian powers. Thus we see, that the Venetians were among the first Christians who endeavoured to give a check to the progress of the infidels: we shall soon find them taking the lead, and fighting the most dreadful battles. *Justiniano.*

All that historians farther relate of Justiniano, and the republic during his government, consists of miracles, legends, and fables of superstition and ignorance: this truth indeed may be collected from them, that he was a wise prince, who pursued peace and the happiness of his people; cherished trade and industry, and cultivated the duties of religion, virtue, and humanity. He died two years after he had taken upon him the supreme authority, being succeeded by his brother Giovanni.

GIOVANNI, Doge XII.

GIOVANNI was hardly established in his authority when an impostor started up, who personated Obelerio, and pretended he had been unjustly deposed. Arriving A. D. 829. *Giovanni.*

[l] Sansov. ibid. p. 217. Boniten. lib. i.

[m] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. Sansov. lib. xiii.

in

in the island of Carlia (now Voggio) he was well received by many of the principal inhabitants, who espoused his cause, either from a persuasion that he was the real Obelerio, or from private motives. In a little time he assembled a considerable army, and contracting an alliance with the Narentines, a piratical state, was preparing to attack the city, when Giovanni surprised him with a powerful fleet, and obliged him to fly to Malamoc. The inhabitants of this island, in attempting to screen the pretended Obelerio, brought ruin upon themselves; for Giovanni attacked and defeated them, burnt the city, seized upon the impostor, and cut off his head: before he returned with his fleet, he punished the Narentines for the assistance they afforded the pretended Obelerio, the disturbances given the republic, and for several depredations committed on the Venetian merchants [n].

Soon after this exploit, Giovanni was forced to quit the city by a powerful faction, headed by Carosio, who, on the doge's departure, seized upon the palace, and usurped the supreme authority: but his sway was of short duration; he was deposed by some of the chiefs of his own faction, and Giovanni recalled by those very persons who had conspired against him but a few weeks before. His whole life was chequered with a variety of good and bad fortune: first he was appointed his father's colleague, then deposed by his brother; soon after recalled by the people; next obliged to fly from a faction; suddenly again restored by the same faction; and lastly deposed, and constrained to end his days in a monastery.

PIERO TRADONICO, Doge XIII.

A. D. 839. *Piero Tradonico.*

PIERO TRADONICO, a native of the ancient city Pola, was elected doge in the room of Giovanni Participatio, and was scarce established in his authority, when Theodosius (perhaps Theophilus), lieutenant to the emperor Michael, came in person to Venice, to conclude an alliance offensive and defensive against the Saracens, who had seized some of the islands of the Archipelago, and were then ravaging Italy [o]. The Venetians readily acceded to his proposals, and immediately equipped a fleet of sixty gallies, with orders to join the Grecian fleet with all expedition, and seek the enemy. Sala, the Sa-

[n] Sabel. lib. iii. Blond. de Gest. Venet. [o] Sansov. lib. xiii. p. 219.

racen

racen general, was then beſieging Tarentum, which he quitted on advice that the combined fleet was approaching, and retired to Crotona; here he made a ſtand, and was ſoon attacked by the Grecian admiral. The battle was long and bloody; but juſt as the Venetians had broke the enemy's line, and victory was inclining to the confederates, the Grecian admiral bore away with all the ſail he could make, leaving the Venetians to ſhift for themſelves. They were ſoon ſurrounded and oppreſſed by the ſuperior number [p] of the Saracen fleet; but preferring death to an inglorious flight, they fought till ſcarce a ſhip remained to carry the report of their misfortunes to Venice. The news of this defeat threw the republic into the utmoſt conſternation and perplexity; they doubted not but the Saracens would immediately lay ſiege to the city, for which it was but badly prepared, having loſt the braveſt of their forces in the late unfortunate engagement: however, their fears were ſoon happily removed, by certain intelligence that the Saracens were gone to Ancona, which place they pillaged and deſtroyed.

The piratical Narentines were elated with the misfortunes of the republic; and thinking her low condition a proper opportunity for revenging the late diſgrace, they began to rob, plunder, and lay waſte the coaſt of Dalmatia, carrying their incurſions to the gates of the city Caorli [q]. The Venetians were little diſpoſed to engage in a new war; yet thinking it beneath the dignity of the republic tamely to bear the inſolence of thoſe robbers, they fitted out a fleet, which ſoon reduced the Narentines to ſubmiſſion, and obliged them to repair the damage they had done. Before the Venetians had recover- A. D. 849.
ed the great loſs ſuſtained by the defeat from the Saracens, civil commotions aroſe to complete their miſery: the whole ſtate was divided into two violent factions, ſupported by the nobleſt and moſt powerful families in Venice. On one ſide were the Juſtiniani, the Polani, and the Baſſei; on the other, the Selioni, the Sevoli, and the Barbolani; who carried their animoſity ſo far, that not a day paſſed without frays, bloodſhed, and murder; at laſt the Barbolani were driven out of the city, an expulſion which in ſome meaſure appeaſed the fury of the combatants. They were ſoon after reſtored, at the

[p] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. p. 397.

[q] Blond. de Geſt. Ven. etiam. in Hiſt.

inter-

interceſſion of Lodovioc II. and then again the tumults were renewed; in one of which the doge was murdered. Sabellicus relates, that he was for a long time bravely defended by his ſervants, who, after he was killed, retreated into the palace, and ſtood a ſiege for thirty days, till famine at length compelled them to ſurrender[r]. It was death to ſeize upon the palace, deemed the property of the republic; yet, in conſideration of their brave zeal for ſo good a maſter, they were pardoned and rewarded. A ſtrict ſcrutiny was then made into the occaſion of the doge's murder: ſome of the conſpirators were hanged, others drowned, and a great number baniſhed. Thus died Piero Tradonico, after he had governed the republic with great reputation for the ſpace of twenty-nine years. All the hiſtorians agree in giving him the higheſt praiſes; they call him temperate, pious, juſt, a warrior, and a ſtateſman: the misfortunes of the city they attribute to the pride, wealth, and ambition of the nobility. A tribunal was appointed to inquire into the cauſes of the civil diviſions; it conſiſted of the biſhop of Equiline, the dean of Grada, and Dominico Baſſoni, men of great prudence and caution. Their impartiality and integrity were ſo univerſally acknowleged, that both parties acquieſcing in their judgment, peace, concord, and happineſs, were in a little time reſtored.

ORSO PARTICIPATIO, Doge XIV.

A. D 864. *Orſo Participatio.*

THE aſſembly then proceeded to the election of a new doge, when the majority declared in favour of Orſo Participatio. He began his adminiſtration with endeavouring to preſerve the public tranquillity; but the ambition and warlike diſpoſition of the Saracens fruſtrated his deſign. They made a ſudden incurſion into Dalmatia, which they plundered and deſtroyed; then ravaging the coaſt of Iſtria, they laid ſiege to Grada with a powerful fleet and army. The republic ſaw, that ſpirit and reſolution muſt be exerted. A fleet was equipped, and the doge came ſo ſuddenly upon the enemy, that, breaking up the ſiege, they retired precipitately with the loſs of a great number of men and veſſels: we are told that, upon this occaſion, Giovanni, the doge's ſon, gave ſo many proofs of his courage, conduct, and other military

[r] Sanſov. del Vit. de Princip. lib. xiii. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i.

qualities,

qualities, that he was raised to the dignity of colleague to his father. Bonitentius mentions another defeat sustained by the Saracens before Tarentum; likewise a victory obtained over the Narentines, who had violated the former peace, and laid waste the country of Istria. Sabellicus passes over the former, as not deserving credit; but it seems to be incontestably proved by an inscription quoted by Sansovino (B). Orso now turned his attention to domestic affairs; he terminated the quarrel between the prelates of Grada and Tourcelles; he assigned that part of the city called Dorso Duro, which was naked and desolate, for the residence of his squires; he composed all differences subsisting between the republic and the Forlians, or people of Friuli; he brought about a perfect harmony between the sees of Aquileia and Grada. After a happy, wise, and prosperous reign of seventeen years, Orso died, the darling of the people, the terror of the Saracens, and scourge of the Narentines. He found the republic low; he left it flourishing: at his accession it was divided into factions, filled with tumults and civil broils; he restored tranquillity, peace, and harmony: he found the treasury exhausted, the marine ruined, and the public commerce destroyed; he rendered the state rich, powerful, and respected by all its neighbours. A. D. 881.

GIOVANNI PARTICIPATIO, Doge XV.

ORSO was succeeded by his son Giovanni; Sabellicus calls him his brother. The new doge, at the request of the assembly, sent his brother Badoario to pope John, to solicit the investiture of Commachio, and that it might for ever be annexed to the Venetian dominions. Marini, the count of Commachio, having notice of this embassy, lay in wait for Badoario, wounded and made him prisoner, obliging him to purchase his liberty by a promise, in the name of the republic, that the design should be relinquished[s]. Badoario dying soon after his return to Venice, the republic declared war against the count, besieged Commachio, and used with the utmost severity the persons concerned in the conspiracy against the ambassador. Giovanni falling dangerously ill, he delegated the *Giovanni Participatio.*

[s] Sansov. del Vit. de Principi. lib. xiii. p. 221.

(B) Furentes Dalmatos compescui, Saracenosque Italiam vexantes apud Tarentum fœliciter profligavi. P. 220.

government

government upon his brother Orso, who soon voluntarily resigned the trust: Giovanni, having recovered his health, resumed the management of the state; but soon after, being seized with a lingering malady, formally abdicated his authority (C). Giovanni Participatio was both a soldier and politician; but he had an insolence and pride of disposition, which rendered his government odious to the people.

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XVI.

A. D. 887. *Pietro Candiano.*

PIETRO CANDIANO was appointed doge by the universal consent of the assembly: to him Giovanni resigned the trust, coming publicly with the state of a doge to the council, and returning to his own house as a private person [t]. The people were so taken with the modesty, and dignity of his manner, and the grace with which he divested himself of power, that, forgetting their former dislike to his government, they exclaimed, that no one but Giovanni was worthy to rule: however, he persisted in his resolution, and Candiano was confirmed in the supreme magistracy. The incursions of the Narentines, who had been so lately chastised, rendered it necessary to equip a fleet. Candiano taking upon himself the command of a small squadron of seven gallies, came up with the pirates, and maintained a hot engagement for several hours, notwithstanding their great superiority: at last the enemy, finding that victory depending upon the doge's life, who was every where present animating his men, bore down with their stoutest ships upon Candiano's galley. The dispute was obstinate; but the doge being slain, the men surrendered to the Narentines [u]. The assembly was inconsolable at this loss, and the people tumultuous; nor could any thing appease them besides a promise from Giovanni that he would resume the government, if a doge was not immediately elected to their satisfaction [w]. The council nominated Pietro Tri-

[t] Sabell. lib. iii. dec. i. [u] Blond. Flav. Hist. 348. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. [w] Sansov. del. Vit. Prin. lib. xiii.

(C) Sansovino relates this fact of Candiano; but all the historians besides attribute it to Giovanni. What confirms their authority is, that Sansovino himself allows of Candiano's being slain in the field, which is improbable, if he resigned the dogeship.

buno,

buno, a person equally esteemed for his public and private virtues: the people were contented, and regularity and order restored. A. D. 888.

PIETRO TRIBUNO, Doge XVII.

Pietro Tribuno.

SOON after Tribuno's accession, the republic was thrown into the utmost consternation by a report that a powerful army of Hunns, who had broke into Italy, was marching towards Venice. The Hunns, having defeated Berengarius, entered Italy, putting every Roman they met to the sword, burning the villages, destroying the harvests and vintages, slaughtering the cattle; in short, laying every place waste and desolate, without remorse or humanity. Induced by the wealth of the Venetian republic, they resolved to sack and pillage the city. Marching through the maritime provinces, they burnt Villa Nova, Jesuloa, and Chioggio: after destroying every thing upon the coast, they prepared boats to attack the Rialto, which they imagined must yield to their prodigious numbers [x]. Pietro Tribuno omitted nothing which became a great general and a soldier: he placed strong guards round the city, fortified the places most exposed, equipped a fleet with incredible dispatch, and harrassed the enemy by perpetual sallies. His activity, penetration, skill, and presence of mind, were astonishing. He animated the troops by his example; was the foremost in every attack: in a word, was the life and soul of the whole state. A. D. 903.

The Hunns preparing to make a general assault, Pietro, after a short and animating speech, ordered the soldiers to be embarked, and immediately bore down upon the enemy near Albiola. The battle began with fury, and continued with obstinacy for several days; the fleets separated at night, the combatants returning next day to the charge with fresh vigour: the Venetians every where opposed courage to numbers, and the doge performed prodigies of valour. At last Tribuno, fearing that the spirits of his men might sink under the obstinacy and multitude of the enemy, collected all his force, resolving either to die or make an impression upon their line. He was so bravely seconded by his troops, that the barbarians were broken and defeated, and a general carnage ensued. The sea was covered with dead bodies, and the Veneti-

[x] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. Blond. Hist. lib. ii. dec. ii.

ans

ans fought, says the florid Blondus, upon heaps of the slain barbarians as upon dry land; the siege was raised, the Hunns were driven out of Italy, and the reputation of Venice for arms became famous all over the world[y]. In this manner do their historians speak; and truly we must allow, that never were valour, conduct, and perseverance more conspicuous than upon this occasion. The city was ill prepared for a siege when it was invested. Besides the scarcity of provisions, the weakness of the marine, and the low state of the finances, which had been greatly exhausted in the late wars against the Saracens and Narentines, a general languor, despondency, and depression of spirits, prevailed among all degrees of the inhabitants, owing to the late losses and miscarriages: but necessity and the animating example of their valiant doge overcame all difficulties, and inspired every Venetian with sentiments worthy of the freedom of their constitution, and wisdom of their government. As soon as they were delivered from the barbarians, the doge employed all his attention to reward those who had distinguished themselves in the siege; to relieve those who had suffered by the death of their fathers, husbands, or sons; to repair the buildings that had been pulled down, or otherways damaged, by the barbarians; and to establish peace, order, and tranquility, through every part of the republic. While he was thus employed, an acute disease suddenly deprived the republic of her greatest commander, her wisest statesman, and best governor.

URSO BODOAIRIO, Doge XVIII.

A. D. 912. THE council of state proceeded to the election of a successor, their choice fell upon Urso Bodoairio, commonly called Urso Participatio the Second, a man of strict morals, great piety, prudence, and justice; of a peaceable and quiet disposition, equally studious of his own ease and of the public tranquillity. The republic sent Pietro, the doge's son, on an embassy to Constantinople, where he was well received, loaded with rich presents, and honoured with the title of protospater of the empire: on his return he was attacked, plundered, and made prisoner by Michael, a petty prince of Dalmatia[z]. Some time after Pietro made his escape, and returned in

Urso Bodoairio.

His son made prisoner.

[y] Blond. de Gest. Ven. Sabell. lib. iii. dec. i. Sansov. del Vit. de Princip. lib. xiii.

[z] Sabel. ibid. Blond. de Gest. Ven.

great

great distress; but neither the hardships he suffered, the insult upon the republic, nor the intreaties of his son, could prevail on the pacific temper of Urso to declare war against the Dalmatians. After governing the state for the space of twenty years, with great moderation, Bodoairio resigned his authority and retired to a monastery, where he finished his days in the austere practice of the most rigid virtue [a]. *He resigns.*

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XIX.

PIETRO CANDIANO the Second, was elected doge in the room of the abdicated prince. About this time the republic declared war against the Commachians, who had infringed the last treaty: it was carried on with so much vigour and success, that the Commachians, finding they were unable to cope with so powerful an enemy, surrendered prisoners at discretion. The Venetians used their power with great moderation; they set the enemy at liberty, and restored them to all their former privileges. In this dogeship, Istria likewise was conquered and annexed to the dominions of the republic; soon after Candiano died, having governed the republic for seven years. He is ranked among the middling princes, having neither virtues nor vices in his character so distinguishing as to merit particular regard. A. D. 932. *Candiano.*

PIETRO PARTICIPATIO, Doge XX.

THE administration of the succeeding prince, Pietro Participatio, was pacific. Nothing is recorded either of him or of the republic, but that he obtained from the emperor the privilege of coining money in his own name, with the arms of the state on the reverse [b]. Some historians affirm, that the republic assumed the right of coining money long before this æra, which indeed is probable, as they had declared themselves a free people in the beginning of Charlemagne's reign [c]. *Pietro Participatio.*

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XXI.

PARTICIPATIO was succeeded by his son Pietro Candiano, the third of that name. He had been col- A. D. 942. *Pietro Candiano.*

[a] Sansov. de Vit. Princip. [b] Sansov. del. Vit. de Princip. [c] Blond. de Gest. Venet.

league to his father for the first year of his dogeship, but was banished the city for his intolerable cruelty, pride, and insolence. Experience and misfortune, however, reclaiming him, he was recalled, and substituted by the common consent in his father's room, of which choice the people had never cause to repent.

Candiano was scarce established in his authority, when the peculations, frauds, and robberies of the Narentines, obliged the republic to declare war against this people. They had in a manner blocked up Venice, so that no trading vessel could with safety, go in or out of the harbour. Nay, every part of the Adriatic, was crowded with the ships of piratical states[d]. Shame and revenge took possession of every breast: a fleet was manned with all expedition, and sent in quest of the pirates; who, being distributed in single ships or small squadrons, were unable to resist so strong an armament: they therefore submitted to the clemency of the republic, and were pardoned, on condition they would repair all the damage sustained by the Venetians, pay an annual tribute, and give
A. D. 943. security for their future behaviour[e]. In the mean time violent tumults and seditions prevailed all over the city. The doge had taken for his colleague Pietro, his second son, a young man of a factious, turbulent, and impetuous spirit[f]. Not satisfied with the preference to his elder brother given him, he was ambitious of governing alone; he animated the people to seditions, excited tumults, and encouraged insolence and contempt of his father's authority: in short, the profligate, the robber, and assassin, were not only protected, but encouraged by Pietro. The senate, dreading the consequences of such tumultuous riots, did all in their power to support the old doge's authority, to quell seditions, and compose the minds of the people. At last, Candiano in person, followed by the senate, addressed the multitude in terms so feeling and pathetic, that their rage was suddenly turned against Pietro and the other incendiaries, who, at their remonstrance, were banished the city[g]. The clergy and people bound themselves by a solemn oath never to recall them: an oath which was soon violated. Pietro, after wandering about for some time, at length had recourse to Guido, son and successor of Berengarius, who furnished him with six large armed gallies to make war upon his father and country.

Pietro banished.

[d] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. [e] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. Blond. de Gest. Venet. [f] Sabel. ibid. [g] Blond. ibid.

Without

Without remorſe or feeling he commenced hoſtilities, took, plundered, and deſtroyed all the Venetian ſhipping; and committed ſuch enormities as broke his good old father's heart. The misfortunes of Candiano's adminiſtration may be aſcribed ſolely to his parental affection, and particular fondneſs for the leaſt deſerving of his children. *Candiano dies.*

PIETRO CANDIANO, Doge XXII.

CANDIANO was ſcarce dead, when the affections of the people, ever inconſtant, were as violently bent upon recalling Pietro, as before they were on puniſhing him with death or baniſhment. He was at this time in arms againſt the republic; yet the people, unmindful of the oath they had voluntarily taken but a year before, diſpatched meſſengers to him, and conferred upon him the ſupreme authority, from a ſhare in which he had lately and deſervedly been depoſed. Not ſatisfied with the common honours beſtowed upon doges, they ſent three hundred ſhips and barges, filled with the nobility and chief citizens, to meet him[h]: but they ſoon received the juſt reward of their folly and perjury; nor did he long enjoy a dignity he owed more to the caprice of the people than to his own merit. *Pietro Candiano.*

Candiano was not long poſſeſſed of the adminiſtration, before he plunged into the moſt profligate, abandoned, and wanton wickedneſs: he was now an aſſemblage of every vice which can have place in the human heart; his cruelty, luſt, avarice, and brutality were not to be equalled. The miſery of the republic was augmented by a dreadful fire which broke out, and, in the ſpace of a few hours, conſumed above three hundred houſes, an incredible number of inhabitants, and a prodigious quantity of effects of great value. A. D. 967.

Before this accident the doge had levied an army, and marched againſt the inhabitants of Uderza, on pretence of their with-holding certain lands belonging to his wife. He firſt plundered and laid waſte their country, then attacked their city, took and levelled it with the ground, uſing the citizens with the utmoſt inhumanity[i]: from thence he paſſed to Ferrara; aſſaulted and took a city on the confines, treating it in the ſame manner as he had done Uderza. Upon his return to Venice his views roſe in propor-

[h] Sanſov. del. Vit. Principi. Hiſt. lib. ii. dec. i.

[i] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. i. Blond.

tion to his success: he practised every excess of an absolute and barbarous tyrant. That he might be able to proceed with impunity, he was constantly attended by a strong body-guard, and maintained a numerous garrison in the palace: but no defence is sufficient to protect a tyrant against the resentment of an injured people. The Venetians, calling to mind their ancient liberty, suddenly fell upon the guard, dispersed them, and sacrificed the doge to their resentment. Other historians relate, that the doge retreating to his palace, defended himself with great valour: that the assailants set fire to the houses nearest the palace, not being able to approach it, which in a little time consumed them, the palace, doge, and garrison. This is probably the same fire which other historians affirm to have happened in the beginning of Candiano's dogeship; but the accounts of this transaction are so various, that we must leave the reader to determine for himself. Upon this calamitous occasion perished the beautiful churches of St. Mark, St. Theodore, and St. Mary Jubenica.

Put to death.

A.D. 976.

The republic, says Sabellicus, having recovered her liberty, it was difficult to judge whether her joy at finding herself rid of a cruel tyrant, or sorrow to see the ravages committed by the fire, were the greatest: nothing but feasting, mirth, and festivity were to be seen on the one hand; while on the other, complaints, lamentations, and wailings, were poured forth. The council, fearing the consequences of this distracted situation of things, hastened to the election of a new doge. After their late sufferings, it is not to be doubted but they used the utmost caution and circumspection in the choice of a prince: they were happy in their endeavours, the election having been declared in favour of Pietro Urseolo, a man equally distinguished by his birth, his public and private virtues.

PIETRO URSEOLO, Doge XXIII.

Pietro Urseolo.

URSEOLO was with the utmost difficulty prevailed upon to accept the honours assigned him by the voice of the nation[k]: he pleaded conscience, inability, and his dislike to grandeur and business; but the more his modesty declined the offers made him, the more earnest were the people in their intreaties. At length, out of love and

[k] Sabel. lib. i. dec. ii. Blond. Hist. lib. ii. dec. ii.

com-

compaſſion for the public, he accepted that authority of which the leſs deſerving were ambitious from views of ſelf-intereſt. He began his government with rebuilding the palace and St. Mark's church at his own expence; he made large donations to the ſufferers by the late fire, and omitted nothing which could reſtore the city to its former ſplendor, or the citizens to their happineſs[l]. While he was thus employed, the Saracens broke into Italy, took and deſtroyed Capua, and were beſieging Barri, a town in the Bergamaſco. The inhabitants were greatly diſtreſſed by famine, when Urſeolo ſeaſonably arrived with a fleet to their relief: he contented himſelf with ſupplying the town with proviſions, and reinforcing the garriſon, until the arrival of the Grecian fleet. As ſoon as they had joined him, he fell upon the Saracens with ſuch reſolution and conduct, that he ſoon defeated and compelled them to raiſe the ſiege: it deſerves notice, that the emperor's lieutenant ſerved under Urſeolo. In the mean time the doge's conduct was ſo moderate, his manner ſo affable, his vigilance ſo ſtrict, and his juſtice ſo impartial, that every unprejudiced perſon acknowledged the wiſdom of his conduct: factions, however, were formed againſt him by the adherents and miniſters of the late unhappy Candiano. The biſhop of Grada had likewiſe nearly engaged the republic in a war with the emperor Otho; but the wiſdom of Urſeolo triumphed over every difficulty, and ſecured tranquility, peace, and happineſs to his people[m]. After a ſhort reign of two years, he reſigned the truſt he had managed with ſo much integrity, and ſet out on a pilgrimage to Aquitaine (C); after having with the utmoſt care regulated the affairs of the public in ſuch a manner, that his ſucceſſor might not be embarraſſed, and bequeathed his eſtate to the republic, telling the ſenate he ſhould have little occaſion for riches in exerciſing the duties of religion[n].

The Saracens come into Italy.

A. D. 977.

[l] Sanſov. del Vit. Princip. Sabel. lib. vii. dec. ii.

[m] Blond. de Geſt. Venet.

[n] Sabel. lib. i. dec. ii.

(C) The doge had undertaken this pilgrimage at the inſtigation of one Gueria, a monk, who reſided for ſome time at Venice; he lived for ſome years in Aquitaine in a courſe of rigid devotion, quite unmindful of his former dignity. In ſuch acts of auſterity did the religion of thoſe days conſiſt; as if one of the firſt duties of a reaſonable creature was not to contribute all in his power to the good of ſociety.

VITALIS, Doge XXIV.

Vitalis.

THE assembly met to appoint a successor; Vitalis, son of Candiano, was the person fixed upon. Of him, or of the republic during the year he governed, we find nothing recorded, besides his having obtained leave for his brother the bishop of Grada to return to the city. About the end of the year he fell dangerously ill, and imagining he should not recover, he vowed to live a monastic life the remainder of his days, which vow he unwillingly performed after the terrors of death were removed[o].

TRIBUNO MEMIO, Doge XXV.

A. D. 979.

Tribuno Memio.

A new election became necessary by the resignation of Vitalis; accordingly the great council chose Tribuno Memio, a man of profound wisdom and experience. Civil discords arose in the very beginning of Tribuno's government, which miserably distracted the republic. The powerful families of Morosini and Caloprini had carried their animosity so high, that every day produced tumults, and bloodshed[p]. Morosini was at length murdered by the opposite faction; and Caloprini forced to fly the city to avoid justice. He went directly to the court of the emperor Otho, and promised to deliver the city into his hands, if he would declare war against the republic: the emperor bearing a grudge to the Venetians, would willingly have complied with Caloprini's proposal, had he not found it inconvenient. In some measure he gratified this fugitive, by strictly prohibiting all the subjects of the empire to carry on any sort of trade, commerce, or intercourse with the Venetians. As Venice was wholly supplied with corn, beef, and the other necessaries of life from Italy and the empire, this injunction soon produced a famine: however, the republic would not descend from its dignity by making concessions to the emperor; on the contrary, they razed to the ground the house of Caloprini, and banished his whole family. Just as their necessities became extremely pressing, they were happily relieved by the death of Otho[q], the succeeding emperor not chusing to support Caloprini against his country. Plenty and peace were hardly restored to Venice

[o] Sansov. ibid. [p] Sabel. ibid. [q] Sabel. lib. i. dec. ii.

when

when Tribuno Memio died, or, as some historians affirm, was deposed [r]: certain it is, that his government was not universally approved. A prince who takes part in factions must necessarily incur the dislike of many of his subjects, and govern with a partiality that will infallibly render him odious, and his people unhappy.

PIETRO URSEOLO the Second, Doge XXVI.

A. D. 991.

PIETRO URSEOLO the Second, was declared successor to Tribuno by the council and people, a dignity which is said to have been foretold him by his father. Under Ursеolo the republic ascended rapidly to a high degree of wealth, power, and grandeur. The Venetians obtained liberty for their merchants to trade freely without duty or impost to all the ports of Greece, Italy, the empire, Egypt, Syria: the Narentines were again suppressed, Nola reduced, and, with several cities of Dalmatia and Istria, annexed to the Venetian dominions: Lessina, the rendezvous of pirates, was taken; Spalatro subdued and subjected to St. Mark's. Thence the doge sailed to Corfu, which he attacked and destroyed: he then steered for Pharos (now Lesnia), and destroyed a strong fort at the mouth of the haven, the town sharing the same fate, after a gallant defence. The duke having cleared the seas of pirates, subjected Istria, Dalmatia, Liburnia, and the islands upon the coasts, returned in triumph, and entered the city amidst the acclamations of his joyful people: upon this occasion it was that the title of dukes of Venice and Dalmatia was conferred upon the doges [s]. Magistrates were immediately appointed to govern the conquered cities, and every other measure taken that could establish their tranquility. Soon after Ursеolo died, having by will divided his estate into three parts; one he bequeathed to his relations, the other to the exchequer, and the third to the poor. He deservedly bore the reputation of a great warrior and statesman: but what particularly endeared him to the people was the goodness of his heart, which made him the friend, the father, and protector of indigent merit [t].

Pietro Ursеolo.

War with the Narentines.

Pietro Ursеolo dies.

[r] Flav. de Gest. Venet. Idem Hist. lib. iii. dec. ii. lib. iii. dec. ii. Sansov. del. Vit. de Princip. Dec. p. ii.

[s] Blond.

[t] Sansov. del. Vit. de Princip.

OTHO URSEOLO, Doge XXVII.

A.D. 1009. *Otho Urseolo.*

TO repair in the best manner possible the loss sustained by the death of so valuable a prince, the council raised his son Otho to the supreme dignity. Otho so exactly followed the steps of his father, that the republic was scarce sensible of the change.

War with the Atrians.

Two years after he had been created doge, he found it necessary to engage the republic in a war. The inhabitants of Atri had made incursions into the Venetian territories, plundering and destroying the frontier towns, and cruelly robbing the inhabitants of Loretto of their just rights and privileges. The Venetians endeavoured to obtain justice by negociation; but this being denied, they marched an army against the enemy, defeated them in a pitched battle near the town of Loretto, dispersed their forces, and compelled them to sue for peace, and make restitution [u].

A.D. 1013. *War with the prince of Croatia.*

Soon after the republic had finished this affair, she found herself involved in another, and no less troublesome quarrel. Marcimirus, prince of Croatia, had infested the boundaries of Zara, seized several towns, detaining the inhabitants prisoners until they had swore allegiance to him, contrary to an express treaty concluded a few years before with the republic. The inhabitants of Zara applying to the Venetians for assistance, were supported by a powerful armament, commanded by the doge in person. Marcimirus gave him battle, and was easily defeated [x]. Historians do not inform us whether this war was carried on by sea or land; they only relate, that Otho having vanquished the enemy, scoured the coasts of Dalmatia, Liburnia, and Istria, which his father had brought under the dominion of the republic. Soon after his return, a conspiracy was formed against him, headed by Dominico Flabenico: he was seized, his beard shaved, deposed, and banished, fifteen years after he had assumed the supreme authority; Sabellicus says five, admitting which there must have been an interregnum of ten years; a conjecture supported by no authority. Otho was possessed of great abilities in the senate, the cabinet, and the field. He had a particular talent in watching incidents, and turning them to the advantage of the state; he was naturally inclined to war, but the general plan of his politics aimed at peace,

Otho deposed by conspiracy.

A.D. 1026.

His character.

[u] Blond. Hist. lib. iv dec. ii. [x] Sabel. ibid.

and

and promoting arts, industry, and commerce: however, his character was not without blemish; he was vindictive, cruel, and jealous, except when his good sense found it necessary to suppress his natural disposition[y].

PIETRO CENTRANIGO, Doge XXVIII.

Pietro Centranigo.

NO sooner was Otho deposed, than Pietro Centranigo was elected doge. Pietro applied himself assiduously to compose the tumults occasioned by the late conspiracy; to establish order, regularity, and peace, through every part of the republic. When Otho was banished, his brother Urso, fearing he might fall a sacrifice to the same faction, fled precipitately from his diocese of Grada, and concealed himself in Venice[z]. Pepin, patriarch of Aquileia, taking advantage of his flight, and of the public disturbances, seized upon Grada, pretending that he held it for Urso, and appropriated the public money to his own use. Centranigo was preparing to force him to make restitution, when he was deposed and confined to a monastery by a faction, after having governed, with great humanity and prudence, for the space of five years[a].

Deposed.

DOMINICO FLABENICO, Doge XXIX.

Dominico Flabenico.

AFTER various tumults and disorders in the state, during an interregnum of one year, Dominico Flabenico was raised to the supreme authority with the universal assent of the people. He set out on his administration with a most vindictive, unjust, and unpopular action; assembling the people, he proposed expelling the family of Urseolo as persons disaffected to the free constitution of the republic, and ambitious of ruling arbitrarily. The multitude, unmindful of the just government, wise conduct, and great bravery of Otho and his father, determined to oblige the doge and secure their liberties, by which means one of the most noble, ancient, and worthy families in Venice received a wound, of which it never afterwards recovered[b]. In Dominico's reign it was ordained, that no future prince should associate a colleague in the supreme power; a rule ever since unaltered[c]. Without performing one signal action he died of old age, and was suc-

y Sabel. lib ii. dec. ii.
a Sansov. del. Vit. Princip. Hist. p. 359.
z Blond. de Gest. Venet.
b Sabel. ibid.
c Blond.

ceeded

ceeded by Dominico Contarini, called to the government by the general voice of the nation.

DOMINICO CONTARINI, Doge XXX.

A.D. 1043. *Dominico Contarini.*

THE confusions of the last reign had prevented the republic from punishing the perfidy of the prince of Croatia, who was not to be restrained by treaties, or the most solemn engagements, whenever his interest and ambition were concerned: he had now absolutely subdued Zara, and over-run a great part of the country; many cities had likewise revolted to him, either out of fickleness, or dislike to the Venetian government. To put a stop to these evils, the doge, with a powerful fleet, set sail for the coast of Dalmatia, landed his army, and invested Zara by sea and land; the city did not hold out long; and the terror with which the surrender of this important place struck the other cities, kept them firm in their obedience and fidelity [d]. Sansovino relates, that Zara had revolted to the king of Hungary, whose troops composed the garrison at the time it was reduced by Contarini.

DOMINICO SELVO, Doge XXXI.

Contarini dies.

AFTER a happy reign of twenty-nine years, Contarini died, greatly admired for his wisdom, valour, and conduct; and no less beloved on account of his courtesy, humanity, benevolence, and clemency [e]. His body was interred with great pomp; during which ceremony Dominico Selvo, who attended, was proclaimed doge, amidst the acclamations of the people. This doge had the honour of giving the first check to the Norman power, at that time very formidable: they were attacked before Durazzo by the Venetian fleet, defeated, and forced to relinquish the siege. They returned soon after, and were a second time attacked by Selvo, but with different fortune; he was now defeated in his turn, and his whole fleet taken and destroyed: although the doge had exhibited very extraordinary proofs of courage and conduct, he no sooner arrived in Venice, than the people, exasperated at the loss, deposed him without ever enquiring into his conduct.

Dominico Selvo.

[d] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii. [e] Ibid.

VITA-

VITALIS FALIERO, Doge XXXII.

VITALIS FALIERO was choſen to ſucceed Selvo: his firſt propoſal in council was, that ambaſſadors ſhould be diſpatched to the emperor Alexis, to ſolicit the inveſtiture of Dalmatia and Croatia, countries which the republic held by the right of conqueſt. Dominico Dandalo, Ciani Vitalis, and Andrea Michaeli, were the perſons fixed upon to negotiate this important affair: the emperor received them as they had reaſon from the ſervices of the republic to expect, and granted their requeſt, ſo that thoſe provinces were inſeparably annexed to the Venetian dominions. Faliero died after a long reign diſtinguiſhed only by miracles and fables, the offſpring of ſuperſtition and ignorance. *Vitalis Faliero.* A.D. 1084. *Dalmatia annexed to the Venetian dominions.*

VITALIS MICHAELI, Doge XXXIII.

HE was ſucceeded by Vitalis Michaeli, who greatly augmented the maritime power of Venice. In his time the croiſade was preached up in Europe: the republic was not proof againſt the contagion of enthuſiaſm; ſhe took part in the holy league, and equipped a fleet of two hundred veſſels. Before this armament put to ſea, a rupture with the republic of Piſa happened, owing to the mutual jealouſy of the rival ſtates: the Venetians firſt attacked and defeated the Piſans in a bloody ſea action; after which the fleet ſteered for Smyrna, and from thence directed their courſe to Aſcalon, then beſieged by the Chriſtians. To the intrepidity of the Venetians may be attributed the conqueſt not only of Aſcalon, but of Caipha and Tiberias: it is probable the doge would have purſued his good fortune, had he not been recalled to repel an invaſion of the Normans into Dalmatia. Here he was equally ſucceſsful; the Normans were every where defeated, and the doge returned loaded with booty and glory to Venice; ſoon after which he died, much eſteemed and regretted. *Vitalis Michaeli.*

ORDELAPHO FALIERO, Doge XXXIV.

ORDELAPHO FALIERO was elected to ſucceed Vitalis: he was ſcarce fixed in his authority when a great fleet was again ſent to the coaſt of Africa; Sabellicus calls the number ſixty, but Blondus makes it up one hundred. *Ordelapho Faliero.*

dred. The Venetians aſſiſted Baldwin in the ſiege of Ptolemais, or Acon, and were the chief inſtruments of its ſurrender; afterwards they laid ſiege to Sydon and Faronica, both which places they carried by aſſault. Baldwin, in recompence of her ſervices, preſented the republic with the city of Acre, which he endowed with extraordinary immunities and privileges; upon which the fleet returned to Venice [m].

War with the Paduans.

In the beginning of the following year a controverſy aroſe between the republic and the Paduans, which terminated in a war: the latter, aſſiſted by ſome of the neighbouring ſtates, ventured a battle; but were defeated with the loſs of ſix hundred of their men. This affair happened at Bebia, juſt upon their confines, and ſo terrified the Paduans, that they ſolicited protection from the emperor Henry the Fourth [n]. The emperor generouſly uſed his influence to reconcile them, and ſucceeded.

Fire in Venice.

In the courſe of this year two dreadful fires deſtroyed a great number of houſes, conſumed whole ſtreets, and laid waſte ſixteen of the iſlands on which the city ſtood: ſeveral of the moſt beautiful churches, and other buildings periſhed in the flames; but ſo great was the induſtry, wealth, and number of the inhabitants, that in a few months hardly any remains of the late deſolation were viſible. The city received new luſtre by the fire; and the churches, houſes, and buildings, ſeemed to riſe with additional grandeur and elegance out of their aſhes [o].

Scarce had the republic recovered this calamity when news arrived of the revolt of Zara: the inhabitants of that place expelled their governor, and put themſelves under the protection of the king of Hungary. This prince, elated by his late ſucceſs againſt the Normans, which he chiefly owed to the Venetians, was ſo ungrateful and perfidious as to ſeize upon ſeveral towns in Dalmatia, contrary to a ſolemn treaty; other cities, and among theſe Zara, voluntarily acknowleged his dominion, throwing off their allegiance to the republic [p]. The doge paſſed with a ſtrong ſquadron to Dalmatia, beſieged Zara, and ſoon obliged it to ſurrender. Ordelapho likewiſe defeated an army that had been ſent to the relief of the place. From hence he marched to Siegua, which had likewiſe revolted, expelled the Hungarian garriſon, and ſeverely chaſtiſed the inhabitants: the other towns ſub-

[m] Sabell. lib. v. dec. ii.
[n] Blond. Hiſt. dec. iii. lib. iv.
[o] Sabell. lib. vi. dec. i.
[p] Blond. de Geſt. Venet.

mitted

mitted of course, and once more acknowleged the jurisdiction of the republic. The doge, not satisfied with recovering Dalmatia, crossed the mountains into Croatia, and wholly subdued it; whence the republic assumed the title of lords of Croatia [q].

War with the prince of Croatia.

Ordelapho having settled the provinces, and left garrisons in the cities, returned to Venice, attended by a great number of prisoners of condition and rank, where he was joyfully received by the people. His stay was but short; for another great army of Hungarians entering Dalmatia, made a rapid progress in the conquest of the province. The doge knowing the Dalmatians to be of an inconstant fickle disposition, thought that no time was to be lost in opposing them: fitting out, therefore, a fleet with the utmost expedition, he landed his troops, and engaged the enemy. The conflict was violent, victory for a long time declaring for neither side: at last the doge, incensed at the resistance of an enemy so often conquered by the Venetians, broke in upon their ranks with a chosen body of troops, and would have certainly determined the battle favourably, had he not unhappily been mortally wounded. His death so dispirited the Venetians, that they quitted the field, leaving the wounded to the mercy of the Hungarians, who cruelly butchered all the prisoners, and so successfully pursued the rear of the flying army, that a prodigious slaughter ensued. The city was greatly afflicted at the defeat of their army, and death of their prince, who so bravely asserted the rights of the republic: the people were clamorous for a peace, and the council irresolute. It was at length determined to send ambassadors to the king of Hungary, to obtain a truce at least, upon the best terms possible: in the mean time the body of Ordelapho was brought to Venice, and honourably interred, being attended with all the nobility in deep mourning, and the rest of the people, who loved his person as much as they admired his courage [r].

A.D. 1089.

DOMENICO MICHELI, Doge XXXV.

DOMENICO MICHELI succeeded to the government. Immediately after his accession, the pope's nuncio arrived in Venice, and excited such a spirit of enthusiasm in the people, that it was unanimously resolved to send a fleet to

Domenico Micheli.

[q] Sabell. lib. vi. dec. ii. Sansov. del. Vit. Princip. Lib. vi. dec. ii. Blond. Flav. lib. i. dec iii.

[r] Sabell.

assist

assist the Christians in Africa. Such was the eagerness of the citizens to embark in this expedition, that they strove whose names should be first enrolled, and in a few days a fleet of sixty gallies put to sea, steering its course to Dalmatia. The doge having victualled the fleet, sailed from thence to Cyprus, where hearing that the Saracens were besieging Joppa, he continued his route thither. The garrison was reduced to the last extremity when the doge arrived, surprised, and defeated the enemy, made a prodigious slaughter, and obliged the Saracens precipitately to raise the siege[s]: the booty which the Venetians took upon this occasion was immense, and sufficiently reimbursed the expence of the expedition. After this victory the doge went to Jerusalem, where he was kindly received, and complimented upon his conduct and success.

Tyre besieged. Tyre was next besieged by the united forces of the republic and Varimond bishop of Jerusalem. It had been agreed, that when the cities of Tyre and Ascalon were reduced, the Venetians should share two-thirds of the spoils and property taken. Accordingly the city was invested by sea and land for two months: the garrison made no overtures towards a capitulation; and feuds, jealousies, and suspicions, began to distract the councils of the besiegers. The troops on shore complained, that all the fatigue, dangers, and hardships of the siege fell upon them, while the Venetians lying at ease in their ships, were to reap the chief advantages from their success: these and other complaints being either redressed or silenced by the doge, peace and harmony were re-established, and the siege prosecuted with so much vigour, that the garrison was forced to surrender at discretion. The share agreed upon was without any dispute assigned to the Venetians, whose moderation as well as courage gained them great reputation.

A.D. 1124. While the Venetians were gathering laurels in Syria, Caloiane Comnenus, son of the emperor Alexis, jealous of the great reputation of the republic, resolved to attack her, thus weakened by the absence of the fleet and doge; but the Venetians having timely notice of his intentions, recalled the doge. Stopping at Rhodes on his way home to refresh and water the fleet, the inhabitants refused to furnish him with the necessaries he demanded: incensed at this denial, he attacked the city, took and levelled it with the ground. From thence he sailed to Chios, which

[s] Blond. de Gest. Venet.

he

he likewise laid waste and destroyed, carrying off the body of St. Isidore, in those days reputed a treasure of inestimable value: then he seized upon Samos, Lesbos, Andros, and all the other islands of the Archipelago, belonging to the emperor. Setting sail for Dalmatia, he recovered Zara, Spolatra, and Tralau, places which had revolted in the preceding administration: after this glorious campaign, he conducted his fleet back to Venice, where he was joyfully received by the people[t]. From this time to his death Domenico pursued pacific measures, and cultivated the arts, commerce, and industry. The republic had acquired great honour and wealth under him, and was advancing by large strides to that high pitch of glory, grandeur, and power, she soon after attained.

PIETRO POLANI, Doge XXXVI.

DOMENICO MICHELI was succeeded by Pietro Polani, his son-in-law. Soon after Polani's accession the Paduans, unmindful of the conditions of the late peace, began to encroach upon the frontiers of the republic. The Venetian general on the continent highly resented their perfidy, and, without consulting his superiors, attacked and defeated the Paduan army: the slaughter was great on both sides, but the honour of the field remained to the Venetians. This single battle disposed both parties to peace, which accordingly was concluded on condition that the Paduans banished from their city the promoters of the war. Tranquillity had no sooner been restored to the republic, than it was again disturbed by a request from the emperor Emanuel, that the Venetian fleet might be sent against Roger king of Sicily, and son of Guiscard prince of the Normans. A powerful armament was equipped to assist the emperor, and Polani embarked in person in the expedition; but meeting with a terrible storm that damaged the fleet, he put into Caorli to refit. Here the doge fell dangerously ill, and despairing of recovering soon enough to come up with the Normans, he committed the fleet to his brother Giovanni, with orders to proceed against the enemy. Giovanni taking and destroying several of Roger's ships he met with in his cruize, sailed to Corfu, which he reduced by force. On his way from thence he met the whole Norman fleet coming to the relief of the place. Immediately an action

Pietro Polani.

War with Padua.

[t] Sabell. lib. vi. dec. i.

began:

began: Giovanni attacked with great fury, and was received with equal valour; but the Venetians proving the more skilful mariners, got the windward of the enemy, soon broke their line, sunk, took, and destroyed a number of their ships, and at last gained a complete victory with an inconsiderable loss [u]. The empire being thus relieved, Giovanni returned with the fleet to Venice, a prodigious booty, and a great number of prisoners: but the doge's death, which happened a few days before, prevented the general expressions of joy for so glorious a victory. At the death of Roger king of Sicily, the republic entered into an alliance with William his successor, who granted a variety of valuable privileges and immunities to the Venetian merchants trading to his dominions. Six ships of war were this year sent out to clear the gulf of pirates, in which service they were so successful, that a boat loaded with gold, says Blondus, might easily pass from one end of the Adriatic to the other.

The Venetians beat the Sicilian fleet.

DOMENICO MOROSINI, Doge XXXVII.

Domenico Morosini.

IN the room of the late doge was elected Domenico Morosini: in the beginning of his government a terrible fire broke out, which some ascribe to chance, others to design, that consumed a great part of the city. The republic spared no pains to discover the cause of this misfortune, but all their endeavours were to no purpose; the incendiaries, if any there were, could never be brought to justice [x].

About this time the Polani and other inhabitants of Istria were committing several depredations and robberies on the high seas, which the republic thought it her duty to repress. Having for this purpose sent the duke's son, attended by Marino Gradonico, the fleet besieged Pola, and in a short time took it by storm, putting the chief pirates in irons, and pardoning the other inhabitants, on their promising to send yearly to Venice two thousand weight of oil for the use of St. Mark's church [y]. Little besides happened under this doge, who employed himself chiefly in religious and ecclesiastical affairs, building churches, founding monasteries, removing the bodies of saints and martyrs, and other such acts of what was then denominated piety.

[u] Blond. Hist. dec. iii. lib. iii.
[x] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. i.
[y] Sabel. ibid.

VITA-

VITALIS MICHAELI, Doge XXXVIII.

MOROSINI was ſucceeded by Vitalis Michaeli the Second, a man of prudence, valour, and experience: he perſuaded the republic to join France and England, in ſupporting the claim of Alexander the Third to the ſee of Rome, in oppoſition to Octavian, who was favoured by the emperor Frederic. The emperor, incenſed at the proceedings of the republic, gave orders to the ſtates bordering upon the Venetian dominions to make incurſions, to plunder, deſtroy, and lay waſte every place belonging to the Venetians [z]. A number of petty ſtates, who envied her greatneſs, joined in a league offenſive and defenſive againſt Venice. Verona, Padua, and Ferrara, now combined to deſtroy the republic: they joined forces, and began with attacking the frontier towns; La Mothe, a place of ſome conſideration, they diſmantled, after plundering and making priſoners the inhabitants. A new enemy likewiſe ſtarted up: Ulric, biſhop of Aquileia, laying hold of the troubles of the ſtate, had raiſed an army of Forlians and ſeized upon Grada, not with intention to keep it, but only to enrich and beautify his own cathedral with the ſpoils of this ſee: however, the Venetians coming upon him, not only retook the plunder, but ſent the prelate and ſeveral of his inferior clergy priſoners to Venice [a].

A.D. 1156.

Vitalis Michaeli.

War with Verona, Padua, and Ferrara.

Biſhop of Aquileia taken.

It would ſeem, that the ſucceſs of this republic was become the object of envy and hatred of all the other powers; for Emanuel, emperor of Greece, uſed his utmoſt addreſs to embroil the Venetians with their ally William king of Sicily; but the ſenate avoided this ſnare, and made ſpirited anſwers to the emperor's ambaſſadors. Emanuel made their refuſal a pretence for declaring war againſt the Venetians, and ſeized upon the cities of Spalatra, Trahu, and Raguſa [b]. Soon after he ſent ambaſſadors to the Venetians, to aſſure them that his intention was not to detain thoſe places, which in the firſt heat of paſſion he had ſeized; that he had the greateſt affection for the republic, as well as gratitude for the many ſervices they had done his predeceſſors and the empire; that their merchants might trade without fear of moleſtation in all his ports; and that the Venetians might always rely upon his friendſhip, notwithſtanding the late differences. The

Treachery of Emanuel the Greek emperor.

A.D. 1170.

[z] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. iii. [a] Ibid. Item Blond. Hiſt. dec. iii. lib. iii. [b] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. i.

Venetian merchants were perfectly satisfied with this declaration, they fitted out large fleets, in order to repair the loss sustained by the late stop to their commerce; but they soon received the reward of their credulity: their ships no sooner put into the ports of Greece than they were seized, the crews imprisoned, and the cargoes sent to the emperor's warehouses. A few who made their escape soon informed the republic of the perfidy of the Greek monarch [c]. A spirit of revenge fired every breast, and a fleet was equipped to retaliate the injury, and punish the treachery of Emanuel: this naval armament consisted of a hundred gallies and twenty ships of war, well manned and victualled, who were soon joined by twenty ships and gallies from Istria and Dalmatia, the whole commanded by the doge in person. His first exploit was against Trahu, which he besieged, took, and demolished, in order to strike terror into the other towns that had thrown off the Venetian yoke, and acknowleged the dominion of Emanuel. Having subdued the rebellious cities of Dalmatia, he set sail for Negropont; as he was preparing to enter upon hostilities, the governor demanded a truce; a conference ensued, in which the governor assured him that the emperor would prefer a disadvantageous peace to a successful war [d]: but his intention was only to gain time, as appeared by the result. The bishop of Equiline, and Manasses Bodoairio, were dispatched to Emanuel, from whence they could obtain nothing but fair speeches and specious promises, upon which they could have no dependence, after the late violation of the most solemn oaths: sometimes he would approve of their demands; again he would refer them to his council; then he would send ambassadors to Vitalis, with different terms: in short, it was obvious that he intended nothing more than to protract the time; the bishop and Bodoairio, therefore, took their leave and returned to the doge, whom they found at Chios, which island he had reduced during their absence [e]. The emperor's intrigues succeeded so well, that the season was spent in negociations, which terminated where they began: the doge, therefore, resolved to winter at Chios, in order to be ready for the following campaign; but a contagious distemper appearing among his troops, carried them off in great numbers. The report was, that the springs and wells in the island had been

Trahu besieged.

[c] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. i. [d] Ibid. [e] Sabel. ibid.

poisoned

poiſoned by the emperor's order; and indeed ſo violent was the diſorder, and ſo great the havock among the troops, that there ſeemed room for ſuſpicion [f].

The doge, perceiving the contagion to increaſe among his men, thought proper to return home; by which means the infection was received and ſoon ſpread over Venice, ſweeping off daily incredible numbers of all ages, ſexes, and degrees. The people began to murmur and complain of the doge's conduct, which they aſcribed to deſign and treachery, rather than imprudence, or inattention [g]. This was the temper of the city when the great council met: here it broke out with the utmoſt violence; nothing but upbraidings and revilings could be heard: the prince was called a monſter, traitor, and parricide; a wretch that had ſold his country to the blackeſt and moſt perfidious of all enemies, and who had even dipt his hands in the blood of that people he was bound by every law, human and divine, to protect. He was not permitted to make his defence; they ſuppoſed him guilty, and the cleareſt proofs and ſtrongeſt conviction could not alter their ſentiments. In ſhort, he fell a ſacrifice to the ſtrong paſſions, furious zeal, and blind prejudices of an incenſed multitude: his body was inſtantly mangled and torn in pieces, his name ſtigmatized with infamy, his houſe razed to the ground, and his innocent family baniſhed the city [h]. Thus, by an extraordinary fatality, periſhed Vitalis Michaeli, after he had governed for the ſpace of ſeventeen years, with moderation, prudence, courage, and conduct. His misfortunes would ſeem to ariſe from his own integrity and the treachery of his enemy.

Vitalis was ſcarely dead when the paſſions of the people ſubſided from rage into compaſſion [i]. The edict which had baniſhed his family was revoked, and the favours which he was incapable of receiving were liberally conferred on his wife, children, and domeſtics. Upon this occaſion was erected the ſeignory, or council of ten, to take cognizance of all tumults, riots, ſeditions, high crimes, and miſdeanours [k].

[f] Sabel. ibid. Blond. Hiſt. lib. iv. dec. iii. [g] Sabel. ibid. [h] Sabel. lib. i. dec. i. [i] Blond. Hiſt. lib. iii. dec. iii. [k] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. i.

SEBASTIANO ZIANI, Doge XXXIX.

A.D. 1173. *Sebaſtiano Ziani.*

SEBASTIANO ZIANI, the ſucceding doge, was no ſooner elected than the republic was involved in a war with Frederic Barbaroſſa. Pope Alexander had taken ſanctuary in Venice, to avoid the perſecution of Barbaroſſa, who had profeſſed an implacable hatred to him, for having refuſed to ſupport the judgment the emperor gave in favour of Octavian his rival. The Venetians diſpatched ambaſſadors to the emperor, who anſwered them in a rage, "Go, and tell your prince and people, that Frederic, the Roman emperor, demands his enemy, who is protected by them. If they ſend him not inſtantly, bound hand and foot, he will overturn every law, human and divine, to accompliſh his revenge: he will bring his army before their city, and fix his victorious ſtandards in the market-place, which ſhall float in the blood of its citizens[l]." The ambaſſadors returning with this terrible menace, it was agreed to equip a fleet with all expedition, and prepare for repelling the emperor's meditated vengeance. While the Venetians were thus employed, Otho, the emperor's ſon, entered the gulf with a ſtrong ſquadron of ſeventy-five gallies, and was making ſail to the city. The doge reſolved to oppoſe him with the few ſhips which were fit to put to ſea: the fleets met off the coaſt of Iſtria, and a dreadful battle enſued, the event of which was, that the doge conquered his enemy, took, ſunk, and deſtroyed forty-eight of his ſhips, and returned in triumph to Venice. From this time was continued the ceremony of marrying the ſea: the pope going out to meet the victorious doge, preſented him with a ring, ſaying, "Take, Ziani, this ring, and give it to the ſea, as a teſtimony of your dominion over it. Let your ſucceſſors annually perform the ſame ceremony, that poſterity may know your valour has purchaſed this prerogative, and ſubjected this element to you even as a huſband ſubjecteth his wife[m]."

Otho was taken priſoner in this battle; but he was permitted, on his parole, to viſit the imperial court of his father. This young prince had conceived the higheſt friendſhip for the republic, and eſteem for Ziani: he determined to ſerve them, by putting an end to the war which the ſtates

[l] Sabel. lib. vii. dec. i. Deſd. p. ii. Blond. Flav. de Geſt. Venet.

[m] Sabel. ibid.

could

could not long ſupport againſt the power of the emperor. On his arrival at court, he urged ſuch arguments as not only prevailed on Barbaroſſa to conclude peace with the republic, but to viſit a city ſo famed for commerce and naval power. His arrival at Venice was equally unexpected and agreeable: he was treated with all poſſible reſpect; and on his departure attended to Ancona by the doge, the whole ſenate, and body of nobility. At Venice he was reconciled to the pope, both agreeing to confer the higheſt honours and privileges on the doge and the republic. It was ſoon after this event, that Ziani, on account of his age, reſigned the ducal diadem, retiring to ſpend his life in a monaſtery, after he had governed the republic with great reputation, ſpirit, prudence, and juſtice, for the ſpace of eight years (A).

ORIO MASTROPIETRO, Doge XL.

ORIO MASTROPIETRO was now raiſed to the ducal dignity. Sabellicus relates that a council of four perſons was appointed to chuſe another council of forty, in which ſhould reſide the power of electing a doge; but *Orio Maſtropietro.*

(A) Before he retired he gave a prodigious ſum of money in truſt to the procurators of St. Mark, as a perpetual fund for indigent orphans, widows, diſtreſſed tradeſmen, merchants, and all thoſe who were reduced by misfortunes, and not through extravagance, or neglect. He ſettled this endowment with a ſimplicity, modeſty, and reſerve becoming the true nature of charitable inſtitutions: here was no pomp, parade, or oſtentation; every thing was conducted with the utmoſt delicacy and ſecrecy; nor was the perſon relieved hurt by the manner of conferring the obligation. He was privately ſent for, and deſired to give a faithful account of his ſituation, circumſtances, and the cauſes which had reduced him, which, with his name, were entered in a weekly regiſter, and in a few days the ſum the procurators thought neceſſary was ſent to him. The truſtees made up their accounts annually, to be inſpected by the ſeignory, the ſavij, and the doge, to prevent the abuſe or embezzlement of the charity. However, in proceſs of time, this noble inſtitution, like all other public endowments, was proſtituted to the baſe purpoſes of the truſtees, nobility, and whoever had weight, intereſt, and influence to make the proper application, without regard to merit or want (1).

(1) Sanſovino, lib. xiii. p. 231.

no other historian takes notice of this regulation: it is probable therefore that Sabellicus means by this council the first rise of the pregadi, or senate, or of the forty judges in criminal cases; for we do not find one instance in history where a general assembly of the nobility was not called at the death or resignation of a doge.

Origin of the pregadi, or senate.

Mastropietro was no sooner fixed in the sovereign authority than he entered into a treaty with the Pisans, and settled all the differences between the states, that he might be at liberty to punish the treacherous city of Zara, which had a fourth time revolted, and received a Hungarian garrison [n]. The inhabitants of this place had, at different times, put the republic to great charges to keep them in obedience; she was now therefore determined to give them a decisive blow: for this purpose a strong squadron was equipped, many of the citizens contributing out of their private fortunes to the expence, and embarking themselves in the expedition. The fleet soon arrived upon the coast of Dalmatia, reduced all the rebellious islands, and was preparing to lay siege to Zara, when the pope's nuncio arrived [o]. His business was to request the Venetians to defer the punishment of the Zaratins, that they might once more be at liberty to embark in the holy war, and assist in stemming the conquests of Saladine, which, like a torrent, overwhelmed Syria and Palestine.

The pope demands a fleet to be sent to Syria.

The Venetians, unwilling to be wanting either in respect to his holiness, or zeal for the church, raised the siege, and returned to Venice with the fleet, to victual it for a longer voyage, and receive a reinforcement of men and ships. The expedition used was so great, that in conjunction with the Pisan fleet, they were besieging Acon long before the arrival of the other Christian princes; which city, after a tedious and bloody siege, they subdued. The fleet was scarce arrived when the doge resigned his authority, having reigned fourteen years; during which he maintained that character of wisdom, integrity, and virtue, for which he had been distinguished in a private station.

A.D. 1188.

Orio Mastropietro resigns.

[n] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. i. Sabel. ibid.

[o] Blond. lib. v. dec. iii.

HENRICO

HENRICO DANDOLO, Doge XLI.

THE assembly met for the election of a new doge, when their choice fell upon Henrico Dandolo, under whom the republic arrived at a high pitch of reputation, power, and grandeur. The Pisans, who envied the rising dignity of Venice, seized every occasion of coming to a rupture. While they jointly carried on the siege of Acon, numberless little feuds, jealousies, and differences had arisen among the soldiers. The Pisan fleet returning home from Syria, surprised, took, and plundered the city of Pola, then tributary to the Venetians, leaving in it a garrison. The republic, not caring to put up with an affront so flagrant, fitted out six ships of war and six gallies, which were immediately sent to retake Pola: in this attempt they not only succeeded, but they also destroyed a great number of Pisan ships lying in the harbour [q]. Soon after the Venetians intercepted, sunk, took, and destroyed a rich homeward bound Turkey fleet belonging to that rival republic. About this time the doge prohibited the merchants of Verona to enter the ports of the Venetian dominions, or to carry on any kind of trade, intercourse, or commerce, with the republic. The Veronese had plundered some Venetian traders in the river Adice; and though the violence received no countenance from the government, yet, as no compensation was made to the sufferers, the doge thought this breach of the law of nations deserved to be resented. His spirited conduct soon brought the Veronese to make acknowlegments and satisfaction for the injury done; upon which their merchants were restored to their usual immunities.

A.D. 1192. *Henrico Dandolo.* *War with the Pisans.* A.D. 1193. *Trade with Verona prohibited.*

The republic at the same time sent a strong squadron against the combined fleets of Pisa and Brundusium. It was commanded by Giovanni Basilio and Thomaso Phalerio, two officers of experience and valour: they soon humbled the pride of the confederates, having not only destroyed all their shipping at sea, but struck terror into the whole coast of Brundusium, and even into the city. The Brundusians made a separate peace, which soon reduced the Pisans, unable to carry on the war alone, to the necessity of accepting such terms as the republic thought proper to impose.

Peace with the Pisans.

[q] Savel. lib. viii. dec. i. Blond. de Gest. Venet.

A.D.1201. In conſequence of a treaty with Alexis, and Baldwin, earl of Flanders, ſixty gallies, twenty ſhips of war, and a great number of tranſports, were immediately equipped againſt the Iſtrians. So heartily did the republic engage in this enterprize, that the doge, notwithſtanding a defect in his ſight almoſt to blindneſs, embarked with a choice body of troops[r]. The enemy, confounded at ſo formidable an armament, ſent to demand peace upon any terms, and to acknowlege the ſovereignty of the republic: the revolted cities likewiſe returned to their duty, Zara alone remaining obſtinate: this place, therefore, the fleet attacked, though the city was defended by ſtrong walls and a numerous Hungarian garriſon, well provided. In the end, the perſeverance of the beſieged was forced to yield to the bravery of the Venetians; the city was diſmantled, deprived of its privileges, the Hungarians made priſoners, and many of the principal inhabitants put to death[s].

The ſeaſon in the mean while was ſpent without any thing effected for the relief of the old emperor, the original purport of the treaty. The princes propoſed wintering in Dalmatia, and deferring the expedition to Greece until the following ſummer; but their intention was altered by the tears, intreaty, and eloquence of young Alexis: he pathetically lamented his father's blindneſs, impriſonment, ſlavery, and his own baniſhment, by the cruelty of his uncle: he conjured them by the friendſhip his father had inviolably preſerved for the republic; their faith, alliance, and compaſſion. His eloquence was ſo moving, his judgment ſo ripe, and his promiſes ſo large, that the princes determined upon affording him immediate aſſiſtance, and accordingly ſailed for Greece. Conſtantinople was inveſted and taken, the uſurper forced to fly, old Alexis was reſtored, and tranquility ſeemingly eſtabliſhed: but Alexis ſoon dying, his ſon was elected in his room, who was a few days afterwards depoſed and murdered by his own ſubjects; Myrtillus, a man of obſcure birth, raiſed by the favour of old Alexis, aſſuming the imperial dignity. The French and Venetians were encamped without the city. Myrtillus's firſt care, therefore, was to drive them out of his dominions: for this purpoſe he attempted to ſurpriſe the camp; but being repulſed, ſhut himſelf up in Conſtantinople determined to ſtand a

Conſtantinople taken by the French and Venetians.

A.D. 1203.

[r] Blond. lib. iii dec. ii. Sanſov. delle Vit. di Princip. [s] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. i. Blond. ut ſupra. Daniel Hiſt. de France, vol. i.

ſiege.

siege. The allies assaulted it with so much vigour, spirit, and intrepidity, that the usurper, unable to withstand them, made his escape, leaving the city to the mercy of the conquerors: however, the citizens defended it for some time after his flight; but, after a siege of eighty days, were forced to surrender.

Upon this occasion, Baldwin was elected emperor, and all the chief offices of the empire were filled up with Venetians, as a recompence for their services: Thomaso Morosini, in particular, was appointed patriarch of Constantinople, the doge protospater, and many other favours were conferred upon the republic [t]. The allies entered Thrace early in the spring, and subdued it; then followed the conquest of Candia, and other islands in the Archipelago, which were given to the Venetians: in short, before the end of the campaign, the whole empire was subjected to Baldwin, and very considerable acquisitions made by the republic. *Baldwin made emperor.*

During this expedition to Greece, the Zaratines again revolted, made inroads and incursions into the Venetian territories, and debauched several other cities from their allegiance. Rayniero Dandolo, the doge's son, was sent with a fleet against them: after divers battles and sieges they were conquered. Dandolo took several children of distinction as hostages, raised a heavy contribution, and obliged them to pay a yearly tribute to the republic. About the same time the doge and his son returned to Venice, loaded with rich booty, and dignified by laurels and victories [u]. Old Dandolo soon after died, having acquired the reputation of a wise, active, and brave prince: he raised the republic to a degree of splendor and consequence to which it had never before arrived, and laid the foundation of that greatness to which the Venetians soon attained [x]. He was succeeded by Pietro Ziani, son to the doge of that name. *Zaratines revolt.*

PIETRO ZIANI, Doge XLII.

IN the beginning of Ziani's government ambassadors came from Constantinople to solicit the doge and senate, that the Venetians, residing in Greece, might be a allowed to chuse a prætor, subordinate to the republic, but with a supreme power over the Venetians residing upon the A.D. 1205. *Pietro Ziani.*

[t] Sanson. delle Vit. [u] Boniten. Comment. p. 63. [x] Sanson. del Vit. di Dan. Sabel. lib. viii. dec. i.

eastern

eastern continent. The subjects of the republic were so numerous and powerful in Constantinople, and all the other parts of the empire, that it was thought necessary to grant their request, finding it would be inconvenient either to subject them to the laws of the empire, or remit every judicial case to Venice. In order to form a chain of territory, they were permitted to conquer all the islands of the Archipelago, which had not yet acknowledged the sovereignty of the republic, and to include them in their own jurisdiction, under certain limitations and restrictions. For this purpose the Greek Venetians fitted out a fleet, every man of a certain property supporting the expence of one or more ships, and reaping a proportionable share of the conquests. They soon reduced Naxos, Pharos, Molos, Herma, and Andros, with several other islands; afterwards they attacked and took Negropont, Euripa, Tenos, Micona, Sciros, Philocotion, and Lemnos, leaving colonies in each [y].

The Venetians subdue the Greek islands.

Whilst private adventurers were acquiring wealth, and extending the dominion of the republic, the doge and great fleet were not idle. He was scarce got out of the gulph, when he met with Leo Vitrano, a famous Genoese pirate, who had infested the seas, making prize of ships of whatever nation fell in his way: him the doge fought, defeated, and carried prisoner to Corfu, where he was hanged in terrorem. After recovering Corfu, he directed his course first to Modona, and then to Corona, two cities famous for harbouring robbers, thieves, and pirates; and these he entirely demolished [z].

Leo Vitrano put to death.

Another small squadron of the republic fell in with the grand Genoese fleet, at that time scouring the seas, and committing depredations unbecoming a civilized state and regularly planned government. Giovanni Trevisano, who commanded the Venetian fleet, consisting of nine gallies, attacked the Genoese, and, after a bloody and obstinate engagement, obliged them to sheer off, with the loss of twelve of their ships [a].

A.D. 1206.

Genoese defeated.

In the following year a dissension arose with the Paduans, at certain games instituted by the Trevisans, where the gentry of all the neighbouring states was assembled: the quarrel, which arose from a trifling accident, soon produced serious consequences, and ended in a war, in which the Paduans were worsted, and obliged to sue for

[y] Sabel. ibid. Blond. de Gest. Venet. [z] Sanson. del Vit. Princip. Bonten. Commen. p. 64. [a] Blond. de Gest. Venet.

peace.

peace. This the Venetians granted at the interceſſion of of the patriarch of Aquileia; but it was of ſhort duration, for another war ſoon broke out, which terminated equally to the ignominy of the Paduans, and the glory of the Venetians [b].

First war in Candia.

The iſland of Candia became now a bone of contention between the rival republics of Venice and Genoa. It had not been well ſettled under the Venetian government, when the Genoeſe, envying the proſperity of their ſiſter commonwealth, began to excite the Candians to revolt, and ſhake off the dominion of the republic: to this ſtep the Greeks were well diſpoſed; and, upon the promiſe of powerful ſuccours from Genoa, ſome of their chief men appeared in arms. They began with attacking the forts defended by Venetian garriſons, forming magazines, and equipping a fleet: but, though the rebels were powerfully ſupported, they could not long withſtand the force of the Venetians: the iſland was wholly ſubdued, and divided among the nobility, on condition that they ſhould maintain it at their own expence, acknowlege the ſovereignty of the mother country, pay a yearly tribute, and, when called upon, fit out a certain number of ſhips to join the Venetian admiral [c].

A.D. 1207.

This tranquility did not laſt long; the Venetian governor was murdered, and the very perſon he had called in to his aſſiſtance, having gone over to the rebels, was now at the head of their forces: his name was Marco Sanuto, a man of conſiderable property in the neighbouring iſlands. His intention was to become ſovereign of Candia, and independent of his country. After various marches, counter-marches, feints, ſkirmiſhes, and ſieges on both ſides, at laſt Gritti, the Venetian general, was ſurpriſed and defeated by the rebels: he made his eſcape from the battle, and died a few days after of grief and ſhame, for having been vanquiſhed by a handful of irregular undiſciplined militia [d].

A.D. 1209.

Second war in Candia.

The engagement produced a truce, and that a treaty, which laſted during the dogeſhip of Ziani, who reſigned his authority, after having governed for twenty-four years. Ziani's character differed widely from that of his father, who defeated Otho: he was reſerved and cloſe in his converſation; parſimonious, and even penurious in his conduct; cautious to timidity in his diſpoſition, at a time

[b] Sabell. lib. viii. dec. i. [c] Boniten. Commen. ibid. [d] Sabell. lib. viii. dec. i.

when

when the republic required spirit and intrepidity in her prince: yet he died with the reputation of a good, mild, and even successful governor, though we find the state engaged in quelling rebellions, composing tumults, and quieting civil broils for the greater part of his administration [e].

JIACOMO THIEPOLO, Doge XLIII.

Jiacomo Thiepolo.

JIACOMO THIEPOLO, governor of Candia, was elected doge in his room: he gave his first attention to the affairs of this island, where new insurrections appeared. The disaffected Greeks, not thinking themselves able to cope with the republic, sent to John Vattasus, governor of Lesbos, proprietor of considerable territories on the continent, and of several islands in the Archipelago, offering him the dominion of Candia, if he would expel the Venetians. Vattasus, induced by those promises, arrived at Candia with thirty gallies, and a considerable body of forces: he besieged two or three towns, which he took after an obstinate defence, and great slaughter of his troops. He was preparing to sit down before the capital, when Gradonico, the governor, surprised his camp, and forced him
A.D. 1225. to retreat with precipitation. Finding greater difficulties in the conquest of the island than the rebels had represented, he resolved to abandon the enterprize, and leave them to the punishment of their rashness. The chiefs of the malcontents thus abandoned, sent proposals to Gradonico, which being accepted, they returned to their allegiance: one of the conditions was, that they should pay yearly five hundred pounds weight of fine wax for the use of St. Mark's church [f].

Gradonico dying, the provedatori took upon them the government, until another governor should be appointed: his death produced another rebellion, fomented by Vattasus, and supported by a fleet which he sent with ammunition, stores, and a body of troops. The rebels had not made any considerable progress when the new governor arrived, and resolved to give them battle before their numbers were increased. He landed his troops at some distance from the enemy's camp, with directions to attack it as soon as they perceived his fleet engaged, thus proposing to make the action general and decisive. After they had fought all day, the governor, having received a wound,

Revolt of Candia.

[d] Sansov. delle Vit. di Princip.

[f] Sabell. lib. viii. dec. i.

ordered

ordered a retreat to be sounded, that his troops might return next morning with fresh vigour to the charge; but the rebels, and Vattasus's admiral, not caring to engage a second time, with troops who had shewn a resolution of either conquering or dying, removed before day-light to a more advantageous station, in order to make proposals of accommodation. They were glad to accept of the terms offered, which were, that they should either surrender, or put to death Emanuel Dracentopolus, and his brother Constantine, two persons of the first rank in the island, and the promoters of the rebellion [g].

Vattasus, and some other neighbouring princes, having entered into an alliance against the eastern empire, at that time in a declining condition, John, king of Jerusalem, governor of Constantinople, applied for assistance to the Venetians, by means of their prætor, or consul, at Constantinople. Zeno the prætor gave immediate notice to the doge and council of the danger with which the empire was threatened, of its weak situation, the low condition of its finances, the power of the enemy, and the dependance it had upon the republic for protection and shelter against the impending storm. Orders for levying an army, and equipping a fleet, were immediately issued; but, in despite of the expedition used, the enemy were before the walls of Constantinople, laying close siege, before the arrival of the Venetians. Leonardo Quirini and Marco Gussoni, captain-general and admiral of the Venetian armament, made all the sail possible to succour the city: their arrival was seasonable, the besieged were reduced to the last extremity. The signal was given for attacking the enemy's fleet, and this service performed with such courage and conduct, that in a few hours it was totally defeated, with a prodigious loss and slaughter: then the victorious Venetians entered the city, where they were received with the utmost joy: the spirits of the citizens were raised, and the utmost confidence inspired into every breast. Their stay was but short; for as soon as the troops had refreshed themselves, they were ordered to embark and return to Venice (A).

A.D. 1234. *Constantinople besieged.*

g Sabel. ibid. Blond. de Gest. Venet. Boniten. Comment.

(A) Sansovino places the war with the emperor Frederic before the first siege of Constantinople by Vattasus; but in this he is contradicted by Blondus and Sabellicus, who, from a number of circumstances, seem right in placing it between the two wars carried on by that prince against the Grecian empire.

Pope

Pope Gregory was at this time oppreſſed by Frederic, who committed the moſt ſhocking and inhuman barbarities in the eccleſiaſtical territories: he requeſted aſſiſtance of the Venetians againſt that mercileſs tyrant, and had a fleet, conſiſting of forty ſail, and a body of troops ſent to his aſſiſtance, under the ſame Quirini and Guſſoni. Before they ſailed news arrived that the doge's ſon, who ſerved in the pope's army, was taken priſoner and put to death by Frederic. This outrage inflamed the troops with a violent deſire of revenge: however, no general action happened, until the Genoeſe demanded their aſſiſtance againſt Frederic and the Piſans, who had a hundred gallies at ſea [h].

Treaty with the Genoeſe.

The alliance of the two republics was brought about by pope Gregory the Ninth, who was ſenſible that he could not maintain too ſtrict an union among the Italian powers, to ſtrengthen him againſt his ſworn enemy the emperor. In this treaty it was ſtipulated, that neither republic ſhould form an alliance, declare war, or furniſh aid or ſupport to any other power whatever, without conſent of the contracting parties; and that the whole force and power of either ſhould be ready to aſſiſt and ſuccour whichever of the parties was attacked. Excommunications and dreadful anathemas were thundered by the pope againſt the breach of this league, ſo uſeful to the ſupport of the holy ſee againſt the emperor [i]. The Venetian fleet was immediately diſpatched to the ſuccour of their allies; but ſoon recalled to the relief of Conſtantinople, beſieged a ſecond time by Vattaſus: before their arrival the ſiege was raiſed, and the enemy defeated, by a briſk ſally which Giovanni the prætor made at the head of the Venetian inhabitants. The fleet then returned to join the Genoeſe; but neither were hearty in the alliance. A jealouſy and rivalſhip reigned between thoſe proud republics, which ſoon after terminated in a bloody war, in ſpite of the pope's endeavours to maintain the alliance. Their feuds prevented any thing being carried on with vigour againſt the Piſans: however the junction of the fleets had this good effect, that neither the Piſans nor the emperor durſt attempt an attack upon ſo formidable an armament. While Jiacomo was carrying on the war on the continent againſt the emperor's lieutenant, Padua had been cruelly enſlaved by the Imperialiſts, who committed the moſt inhuman barbarities wherever they paſſed. The Venetian did all in his power to bring them to a general action; but for ſeveral

[h] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. i. [i] Sabel. ibid. Blond. de Geſt. Ven.

campaigns

campaigns nothing happened besides plundering, burning, and destroying towns and villages; at last the doge died before a decisive stroke was struck; and the breach with the Genoese grew so wide, that the Venetians found it necessary to drop the pope's quarrel, to attend to their own affairs [k]. A.D. 1249.

Sansovino mentions an inscription upon his tomb, which would seem to point out some reformation of the laws, and change of the constitution under him (B); but no other writer countenances this suggestion. History indeed is silent as to the conduct of Thiepolo; yet we may collect that he was a mild, good, and pacific prince, though the numerous and extended connections of the republic engaged her in frequent wars during his administration.

MARINO MOROSINI, Doge XLIV.

MARINO MOROSINI was the next doge elected: his government was short, but warlike. This year Philippo Fontano, bishop of Ravenna, came to Venice in quality of legate from pope Alexander, preaching up eternal felicity to those who would take arms against the emperor's lieutenant in Italy [l]. An implicit faith in the pope's word composed the religion of those times; we need not therefore doubt of the legate's success in raising recruits by means of so large a premium. Many of the nobility and chief citizens entered into the legate's service, who was no less a temporal than a spiritual soldier; the republic furnished Fontano not only with troops, but with arms, money, and provisions; so careful were the Venetians of their salvation. The legate was pretty successful against the emperor's lieutenant; he took Padua, and several other cities, when his army was greatly weakened by the departure of the Venetians, recalled on account of the war which had now broke out with great fury with the Genoese [m]. *Marino Morosini.*

Religion likewise was the cause of this rupture, and of much bloodshed. The Venetians and Genoese both pretended an exclusive right to a certain church in the city of Acon, taken from the Saracens; the former founded their *War with Genoa.*

[k] Sabell. lib. viii dec. i. [l] Blond. lib. iv. dec. ii. Sabell. ibid. [m] Sabell. ubi supra. Blond. de Gest. Ven. etiam Hist. lib. viii. dec. i.

(B) Armis recupero Jadram, legesque reformo. P. 233.

claim

claim upon the compact with Baldwin, the latter on the deciſion of Philip de Montfort, governor of the city; both were obſtinate, and the diſpute ſoon came to blows. It was now to be finally decided by the ſword; the pope laboured all in his power to reconcile them, but their animoſity was carried ſo high, that nothing but the ruin of one of the parties could prove ſatisfactory. They entered upon hoſtilities with that rancour, virulence, and malice, peculiar to all wars carried on upon account of religion. The fleets met near Ptolemais; both were powerful, and they engaged with great fury: the battle was bloody and long, until by a ſtroke of military ſkill in the Venetian admiral, the Genoeſe were broke and diſperſed, many of their ſhips, and about two thouſand priſoners taken. Nor did this victory ſatiate the revenge of the Venetians; they expelled all the Genoeſe from Acon, demoliſhed their houſes and churches, leaving not the ſmalleſt veſtige remaining of their having ever inhabited the city; they likewiſe employed as ſlaves in their gallies all the priſoners taken in the late battle, nor could the influence of the pope procure their releaſe, until he began to thunder out dreadful anathemas. This war is mentioned by Sabellicus under the dogeſhip of Moroſini; but Sanſovino and Blondus place it under his ſucceſſor. It is probable that as Moroſini's ſway was ſhort, it might have begun with him, and continued during the firſt years of Zeno; certain it is, that Moroſini died ſoon after the departure of the legate Fontano from Venice; but whether before or after this engagement in Syria, we cannot poſitively affirm. All authors allow that he governed between three and four years; that the republic was happy and flouriſhing under him; that he had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his private capacity, when a young man, no leſs in the field, than he did afterwards in his old age, in the cabinet; and that the qualities of his head could only be ſurpaſſed by thoſe of his heart.

Genoeſe defeated.

A.D. 1252.

RINIERO ZENO, Doge XLV.

Riniero Zeno.

AT the acceſſion of Riniero Zeno, elected ſucceſſor to Moroſini, the republic ſent Gilberto Dandolo with a ſquadron of thirty gallies to Greece; he ſoon had the good fortune to fall in with the combined fleets of Greece and Genoa, which he attacked with ſo much reſolution, that the Greeks ſoon gave way, and the Genoeſe being left alone

alone, surrendered, few or none of them having the good fortune to escape [n]. They, however, soon replaced this loss by another squadron, more powerful than the former, and the Venetian admiral had likewise received an addition of fifteen gallies; the Genoese, commanded by the famous Michael Doria, sought out the Venetian admiral Dandolo, who was no less eager to come to an engagement. They soon met, and a battle was fought with the utmost resolution, conduct, and obstinacy; hatred, revenge, and glory animated both; a rivalship subsisted between the commanders as well as the states. The honour of each country depending upon the ability and courage of those two admirals, nothing was omitted, which great and skilful officers ought to direct, or soldiers perform; but fortune did not second the great qualities and merit of Doria. After one of the bloodiest actions related in history, his line was broke, but not his courage; he continued to defend himself with infinite intrepidity after the greatest part of his fleet was taken, sunk, or burnt; at last, overpowered with numbers, he fell into the hands of the Venetians, a circumstance which gave them juster cause of triumph than all their other conquests. This victory cost the republic many of her best officers, with an incredible number of private men; but the public joy at having humbled a proud rival, suppressed all reflections on the loss sustained. It was the first fair trial of valour and skill the two republics had ever made, the event of which gave the Venetians that superiority at sea which they maintained for a series of years. The conduct of the admirals was no less to be admired after than during the battle: the one bore his adversity with that greatness of soul, that invincible spirit and resolution, which made even the enemy acknowlege he deserved victory: the other enjoyed his prosperity with a moderation, calmness, and generosity, which obliged Doria to confess that he had the best right to conquer: in short, those two great men, who were inveterate enemies before fortune had declared herself, became the warmest friends as soon as their almost equal merit had proved to each how deserving he was of the other's esteem [o].

A.D. 1262.

Doria defeated.

His character.

Paleologus imagining that the Genoese would not be able to recover this severe blow at Trepani, made a separate peace with the Venetians; like a true politician

[n] Sabell. Blond. ibid. Boniten. Comment. lib. ii. cap. 4. Sabell. ibid.

[o] Amelot,

he regarded his own interest only, holding as nothing the most solemn treaties and engagements [p].

Although the war was conducted with great prudence, conduct, and success, yet the people murmured: the vast fleets and armies became insupportable; every thing was taxed high, even the necessaries of life; trade was at a stand, and industry entirely suppressed, on account of the number of citizens employed in the public service, as well as the high price of provisions and scarcity of money.

A.D. 1263. The government finding it necessary to reinforce Dandolo with troops and ships to oppose a new fleet, equipped by the Genoese, had recourse to a new tax upon the markets, which so incensed the common people, that they assembled in a riotous manner about the palace, breathing vengeance against the doge and senate. Riniero Zeno thinking to awe them by his authority, or quiet them by his moderation, came out to harangue the people; but no sooner had he appeared than the mob insulted him with stones and mud, and obliged him to retire: however, the nobility exerted themselves with so much resolution and spirit, that the tumult was at last dispersed, and the ringleaders were imprisoned [q]. The imposition was laid upon the markets, the reinforcement sent to Dandolo, and the people soon satisfied of the necessity of this measure; for it had scarce joined the main fleet when they were attacked near Rhodes by the Genoese, impatient to revenge the late affront, and wipe off the disgrace: but it was apparent that Doria did not command; the Genoese were broke and put in confusion after the first charge; a complete victory was gained, and a great number of ships taken.

A sedition in Venice.

The Genoese again defeated.

In a little time after this event, Dandolo fell in with a fleet of the enemy's merchantmen returning home, richly laden; of these he made prize, sending them home to Venice, to the great joy of the people, who now began to forget the impression with which they purchased so many victories, and so much glory. Nor was the republic less successful in Syria, from whence they had driven the Genoese, making themselves masters of Ptolemais, as well as of the sea-coast; but Riniero did not long enjoy the fruits of these uninterrupted successes; he was carried off by a sudden illness, after having governed the state, with a rapid tide of prosperity for seventeen years. During his dogeship the republic attained to a very high pitch of

[p] Blond. lib. iv. dec. ii. [q] Sanfov. p. 234.

power,

power, consequence, and reputation abroad, though not equally prosperous at home: the finances were low and exhausted; industry and commerce gave way to martial atchievements; and public glory seemed to be eagerly desired, while private œconomy was universally neglected.

LORENZO THIEPOLO, Doge XLVI.

ZENO was no sooner dead than the council met for the election of a new doge, when a majority of voices declared for Lorenzo Thiepolo, son to the doge Jiacomo[r]. The Christians in Syria being in the utmost distress, and daily losing ground to the infidels, the pope and the kings of France and Sicily offered their mediation to accommodate matters between the Venetians and Genoese: Clement, the pope, desired, that if a peace could not be settled, at least the two republics should suspend their animosity, conclude a truce, and turn their arms against the infidels. As Venice and Genoa were then the most powerful maritime states in Europe, it was not possible for the other potentates to make any progress in the holy war without their assistance. After the conferences had been twice broken off, at length a truce was concluded at the intercession of Philip, king of France, who was bent upon sending assistance to the adventurers in Syria. Thus ended this war, after it had been carried on with the utmost heat, enmity, and rancour, for the space of eleven years.

A.D. 1268.

Lorenzo Thiepolo.

Peace with Genoa.

But the Venetians had scarce breathed after this war when they found themselves engaged in another with some of their neighbours. An impost had been laid by the republic upon all merchandize and shipping passing between the gulf of Fana and the mouth of the Po: this step the Venetians had taken with a view of filling their exhausted treasury, and likewise out of pique to some of the bordering states, who had refused to send corn to the city during a late famine[s]. The Bolognians, who at that time possessed the extensive province of Romagnia, began to murmur at this proceeding, as an infringement of their liberties, and a prejudice to their commerce. Not caring to declare war before they had made every necessary preparation, they raised troops, and equipped a fleet in the most secret manner. As soon as their armaments were in

[r] Sansov. p. 234.

[s] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. i. Blond. lib. iv. dec. ii.

forwardneſs, they ſent ambaſſadors to Venice, to ſolicit at leaſt a mitigation of the duty impoſed upon the commerce paſſing through certain ſtreights, with orders that, in caſe of refuſal, they ſhould immediately come away, and denounce war[t]. The doge, however, readily penetrated their intention, and, to counterplot them, ordered a certain number of gallies to go and ſeize upon the mouth of the Po, a ſtation of great importance.

War with the Bolognians.

At laſt, after ſkirmiſhing near two years, both armies came to a general engagement: the Venetians, commanded by Marco Gradonico, were inferior in number to the enemy; but that deficiency was compenſated by diſcipline, courage, and a general; the battle was warm for the time it laſted; but the Venetians ſoon broke and routed the enemy, made great havock of the rear of the flying Bolognians, and took ſome thouſands priſoners, ſo that they were obliged to ſue for peace[u]. Their propoſals were accepted, on condition that they deſtroyed the fort erected at the mouth of the Po, made reparation for the damages they ſuſtained by the war, and ſubmitted to the impoſt.

Bolognians defeated.

A.D. 1273. For a ſeries of years the Venetians had been engaged in continual wars, whence we may juſtly infer, that the power of the republic had excited the jealouſy of her neighbours. Peace was but juſt eſtabliſhed with the Bolognians, when another little ſtate, the inhabitants of Ancona, took arms againſt her, in order to open to themſelves a free navigation. To preſerve the appearance of moderation, they firſt ſent ambaſſadors to the pope, requeſting his mediation and intereſt with the Venetians to remit the late impoſt; the pope, glad to be thought of conſequence, ordered the Venetians to ſend ambaſſadors to Viterbo, to hold a conference upon this ſubject. The ambaſſadors went, and managed the conference with ſo much addreſs, that his holineſs was entirely gained, and the complaints of the Anconitans were left unredreſſed. So heartily did he eſpouſe the republic, that he procured the truce with Genoa to be prolonged for two years, to prevent her being embarraſſed with two wars at the ſame time. During theſe negociations Thiepolo died, after he had been doge about ſix years, and was ſucceeded by Jiacomo Contarini.

Diſpute with the Anconitans.

[t] Sabel. lib. viii. dec. i. [u] Sabel. ibid.

JIACOMO

JIACOMO CONTARINI, Doge XLVII.

THE new doge was but just elected, when an accident had well nigh broke the truce with Genoa: a Venetian merchantman was seized by two gallies belonging to the Genoese; and, as it was not doubted but it was done by the orders of the government, the doge and republic began to prepare for war: however, they resolved, before hostilities commenced, to demand restitution by their envoy; and, if this was refused, to retaliate. The envoy had no sooner presented his memorial than the Genoese ordered the ship and cargo to be restored, and compensation to be made for the loss sustained by the detention, together with every thing else the Venetians required [x]. *Jiacomo Contarini.*

In the mean time some disturbances arose within the dominions of the republic. The Istrians, who had always been the most faithful of all the conquered provinces, were now suddenly in rebellion, and supported by the patriarch of Aquileia; but the patriarch and rebels were soon conquered by Andrea Baseio, the Venetian admiral, and reduced to their obedience. *Istrians revolt.* A.D. 1275.

The war with Ancona was for some time suppressed, but not extinguished. It now broke out with great violence: the Anconitans took the opportunity of the republic's being engaged in Istria, to redress their grievances, by committing violence on the Venetian shipping, and refusing to pay the duty required in the gulf of Fana [y]. A squadron of twenty-six sail was sent by the doge to lay siege to Ancona; the Venetian admiral attacked the harbour, but, being repulsed, the fleet was soon after dispersed by a storm, six gallies were lost, and the rest so damaged as to be unfit for service. The Venetians sent another fleet upon the same enterprize, which, by a stratagem of the enemy, proved equally unsuccessful. Thus, in a short space, the Venetians had been twice defeated in their attempts, either by unforeseen accidents or misconduct: nothing, however, could make them lay aside the design of humbling the Anconitans. Another fleet, more formidable than either of the former, was ordered to lay immediate siege to Ancona, which so terrified the inhabitants, that they dispatched some of the chief citi- *War with Ancona.*

[x] Boniten. Com. ubi supra. [y] Blond. lib. iv. dec. ii. Boniten. lib. ii. iii.

zens to pope Nicholas, just then elected, to request his assistance against the oppression of the Venetians[z]. At the same time the Venetian ambassadors came to Rome to congratulate the pope upon his accession, but were denied audience: the republic resented the affront by recalling her ambassadors; but they had scarce quitted the city when they were seized, and brought back by order of his holiness, who again dismissed them with a severe repri-
A.D.1277. mand. The Venetians, however, paid very little regard to the pope's indignation, for, the day after their ambassadors returned, a reinforcement was sent to their fleet at Ancona, with express orders to proceed in the siege with all possible vigour. When the Anconitans perceived that neither the pope's authority nor their own forces were sufficient for their defence, they supplicated peace, which the republic obliged them to purchase at a very considerable price, to indemnify the expences of the war[a].

GIOVANNO DANDOLO, Doge XLVIII.

Giovanno Dandolo. TWO years after, the doge being unable, by reason of his great age, to attend public business, resigned his authority, and had for his successor Giovanno Dandolo. The government of this prince began inauspiciously, the city having been greatly damaged by the overflowing of the sea, and a dreadful earthquake. A new war likewise broke out with the patriarch of Aquileia and the Istrians, which occasioned a good deal of trouble to the Venetians. On the first arrival of the Venetian forces in Istria, the patriarch, finding himself too weak, and imagining it would be difficult to effect a junction with the Istrians, pretended to submit upon the terms granted by the republic. Having thus deceived the Venetians, he soon found means to join count Goritian, the Istrian general, and to draw over several cities which had hitherto remained firm in their duty; their numbers were, in a little time, increased to an army of thirty thousand men, a force which required all the vigour, caution, and strength the republic was able to exert. A strong armament was prepared with all
A.D.1280. possible dispatch, which, in a short time, besieged Trieste; but the vigour and number of the garrison obliged the Venetians to relinquish the enterprize.

[z] Sabel. lib. ix. dec. i. Sansov. del Vit. di Prin. [a] Blond. lib. v. dec. ii.

For

For the space of two years hardly any thing, besides fruitless attacks upon Trieste, encampments, marches, and feints occurred in Istria. The affairs of the republic in Syria succeeded little better; for Tyre, Sidon, and Baruth were taken by the infidels: not long after the Venetians were driven out of Acon, and all the Christians out of Syria. Dandolo was so affected with all these misfortunes, that he fell sick, and died a sacrifice to the public misfortunes, which, however, could not be charged to his misconduct. A D. 1286.

PIETRO GRADONICO, Doge XLIX.

UPON the death of Dandolo, Pietro Gradonico was promoted to the dogeship: in the beginning of his reign the republic put an end to the war with the patriarch and the Istrians, in order to employ all her power against the Genoese. We are not told by Sansovino, the only historian who mentions it, the particular terms of this peace, or whether the Istrians submitted to the Venetian government; we imagine, therefore, that a truce only was agreed upon, since we find hostilities again renewed in Istria a few years after. *Pietro Gradonico.*

The truce between the republics of Venice and Genoa being some time expired, neither made overtures for its being renewed: the dominion of the sea would seem to be the only cause of recommencing hostilities, since the city of Acon, the former bone of contention, was now out of the question, both Venetians and Genoese being driven from thence by the infidels. The Venetian fleet, consisting of sixty gallies, commanded by Rogero Morosini, first began to enter upon action: this admiral sailed directly to Pera, a port much frequented by the Genoese merchants trading to Greece. This little fort he invested, took, and destroyed, together with several small settlements belonging to the enemy upon the same coasts [b]. All this season the Genoese consumed in making preparations for the war, and in convoying their merchants to their different destinations. Early in the spring the Venetians sent another squadron, under the command of Giovanni Souranza, to the city of Capha in the Chersonese, which, after a tedious siege, he took and demolished; but winter coming on before he could return, his fleet was block- A D. 1289. *Genoese war.* A.D. 1290.

[b] Blond. de Gest. Ven. etiam in Histor. lib. v. dec. i.

ed up by the froſt, and many of his crew periſhed with the cold and want of neceſſaries; a loſs which more than overbalanced the advantages ariſing from the plunder and deſtruction of Capha.

A.D.1291. In the following year the Genoeſe fleet at length put to ſea, under Lampadio Doria, of the ſame family with the famous admiral of that name. It conſiſted of ſeventy gallies and ſhips of war, well manned and appointed, all fired with ſentiments of revenge, and determined to periſh or wipe away the diſgrace ſuſtained in the laſt great engagement. Doria ſteered his courſe to the gulf of Venice, with intention to lay ſiege to the city, but meeting the Venetian fleet under Andrea Dandolo at Corfu, an engagement enſued: the battle commenced with great fury, and was for ſeveral hours maintained with equal courage, and without any apparent advaantge on either ſide. At laſt the Venetians were defeated, if that can be called a defeat when ſcarce a number of the conquerors remained ſufficient to report the news of their victory: Dandolo was made priſoner, and every ſhip belonging to the republic was taken or deſtroyed. Sabellicus ſays, that four thouſand Venetians were made priſoners; but, from the accounts of other hiſtorians, not half that number remained alive on both ſides [c]. Andrea Dandolo was ſo much affected by the diſgrace of having yielded up that honour acquired in the laſt war, that, in the agony of deſpair, he daſhed out his brains againſt the ſide of the cabin where he was confined [d].

Venetians defeated.

A.D.1292. Ricoaldo of Ferrara relates, that the miſconduct of thirty Venetian gallies, who kept aloof, and ſlackened ſail during the engagement, occaſioned this defeat; and that, upon returning home, the chief officers met with that death in an ignominious way, which they ſo carefully avoided in a manner honourable to themſelves, and ſerviceable to their country. Certain it is, that the joy at Genoa for a victory ſo dearly purchaſed was not great, ſcarce a family in the city having eſcaped the loſs of a father, ſon, or brother. The grief at Venice was ſtill greater; for, to the loſs of their fleet and army, they had the additional affliction of having been vanquiſhed: however, the Venetians did not deſpond; they fitted out another fleet, no leſs powerful than the former, every man in the city chearfully contributing towards the expence.

[c] Blond. de Geſt. Ven. etiam in Hiſt. lib. viii. dec. ii. [d] Sabel. lib. x. dec. i.

Part

Part of this armament was kept for the defence of the city and commerce; another part, consisting of twenty-five gallies, under the conduct of Marco Basseio, was sent to protect the islands and towns in the Ionian and Ægean seas [e]. Basseio soon fell in with the Genoese fleet, who, elated with their late victory, bore down and engaged him. The Venetians, though inferior in number, fought bravely for some time, but were at last defeated, with the loss of sixteen gallies.

Though this calamity was much less than the former, the affliction of the republic was augmented: already oppressed with shame and misfortune, fresh disgrace would have proved intolerable, if the intrepidity of the doge, who alone appeared undaunted and resolute, had not stemmed the torrent of despair [f].

Although the victorious Genoese triumphed along the coasts, made descents upon several of the Venetian maritime towns, and even took, plundered, and destroyed Cidonia, a city in Candia, yet the doge was determined once more to try the fortune of the republic. Another fleet was fitted out, and several battles were fought with various success, until both sides exhausted, spent, and unable longer to continue so ruinous a war, laid down their arms by mutual consent. The want of ability, not of inclination to prosecute their animosity, ended a quarrel which had brought both the republics to the brink of ruin [g]. A.D. 1294.

A conspiracy.

But this bloody war was not the only danger with which Venice was environed: seditions, tumults, and conspiracies at home equally threatened her destruction. One Marino Buconio, a man of no rank or power, but of a bold, enterprizing, and seditious spirit, formed a design of murdering the doge, and several senators of the first merit and distinction; for this purpose he engaged a party of all the discontented, violent, factious, and desperate men about the city. The plot was conducted with great secresy and conduct; but, just as it was ripe for execution, one of the conspirators, from remorse of conscience, discovered it to the doge, who ordered Buconio to be seized and put to death; several of his accomplices shared the same fate, which struck such terror into the rest, that they fled out of the city to avoid justice [h].

[e] Blond. lib. v. dec. ii. [f] Sansov. p. 236. [g] Sabel. lib. i. dec. ii. [h] Sabel. ibid. Blond. lib. vi. dec. ii.

This

A.D. 1296. This plot was hardly suppressed when another, more dangerous not only to the person of the doge but to public liberty, was formed by Baimonti Thiepolo and others of the nobility: the scheme was laid to enter the palace, murder the doge, council, and senate; to assume the reins of authority; divide among the conspirators the property and power of the deceased; and to rule with an arbitrary sway, without restriction of oaths, or control of councils and senates [k]. A multitude of the common people, either from the love of novelty, or the specious arguments of the conspirators, or the force of money and promises, were gained. Upon the day fixed for the execution of their wicked purpose, secret notice of it was sent by an unknown hand to the doge, who immediately communicated it to some of the senators in whom he could confide. The senators were scarce assembled, with such of their friends as the short notice would suffer them to collect, when the conspirators assaulted the palace: the alarm instantly spread over the city, and brought every man attached to the constitution to the assistance of the doge and senate. In the mean time the conspirators had filled the spacious market-place of St. Mark's with their armed associates. Here a furious battle began; on one side stood Baimonti and the conspirators, endeavouring to destroy liberty, property, and the common rights of humanity; on the other, the doge and senate, bravely resolved to perish with their freedom. Gradonico animated his party by his speech and example: they pressed forward upon the conspirators, who finding themselves inferior in number, and disappointed in their hopes of taking them unprepared, began to give way. Justiniano seasonably coming up with a fresh body of men he had collected, attacked the conspirators vigorously in the rear, broke them, and made prodigious slaughter [l]. Baimonti, perceiving his party giving way, was the first to desert, as he had been the foremost in promoting the villainous de-

Another conspiracy.

A.D. 1299. sign; he endeavoured to escape, but was knocked down by a large stone a woman let fall upon his head from her window, and, before he could recover himself, was taken and cut in pieces by some of the doge's friends who pursued him; the rest were almost all either taken or killed. The arms of Baimonti and his accomplices were erazed

[k] Sabel. lib. ii. dec. ii. Blond. lib. vi. dec. ii. [l] Burnet's Travels.

out

out of the public records, their houſes pulled down, eſtates confiſcated, and families for ever baniſhed the city and dominions of the republic. This happy delivery from oppreſſion, bondage, and death, is to this day yearly commemorated at Venice.

But the troubles of the republic did not end here; for the Zaratines, embracing the opportunity of her diſtreſſed condition, revolted and expelled Moroſini their governor. The doge equipped a fleet to reduce them to obedience, but died before any progreſs was made in the war. The adminiſtration of this excellent prince was one of the moſt unfortunate of the republic: it was indeed the ambition and martial turn of the Venetians which had at this time occaſioned their misfortunes, not accident or miſconduct. *Zara revolts.*

MORINI GEORGI, Doge L.

MORINI GEORGI, ſurnamed Santo, or the *Holy*, was for his wiſdom appointed in the room of Gradonico. The ſenate wiſely preferred a governor of experience and prudence, to one poſſeſſed of more ſhining but leſs ſolid qualities; one whoſe age and temper would diſpoſe him to cultivate peace, induſtry, and commerce, which of late had been much neglected: but though Georgi's inclination led him to purſue pacific meaſures, the neceſſity of the ſtate obliged him to proſecute the war with the Zaratines. A.D.1305. *Morini Georgi.*

Beletto was ſent to Dalmatia in the laſt year of Gradonico's dogeſhip; but the ſummer was ſpent before the walls of Zara, and no memorable action performed. Georgi detached Dalmaſio, a Spaniard, with a thouſand horſe to ſupport Beletto, to cut off convoys, and ſcour the country; but the Zaratines found means to tamper with this officer: however, Zara, diſtreſſed for proviſions, ſurrendered upon gentle and eaſy conditions. Dalmaſio made his eſcape to Italy in a ſmall bark he had hired, to prevent falling into the hands of the Venetians, and was ſhipwrecked in his paſſage. A D 1307.

Before the news of the ſurrender of the city arrived at Venice, the doge died, after having performed many acts of piety and charity, a year and eleven months after his election [m]. He was ſucceeded by Giovanni Souranza, choſen by the unanimous aſſent of the people.

[m] Sanſov. del Vit. Princip.

GIOVANNI

GIOVANNI SOURANZA, Doge LI.

A.D.1310. *Giovanni Souranza.*

Under Souranza's dogeship a magistrate was appointed to preside over trade and commerce: in a few years the number was encreased to three, which was the first rise of a commercial board or council [n]. Nothing memorable happened during his government: some little disputes indeed arose with the Genoese, but they were soon terminated without bloodshed: a rebellion in Candia appeared, but was instantly suppressed; and the Paduans, by the assistance of the republic, were restored to their liberty, Mastin, the tyrant, being driven out of the city.

FRANCISCO DANDOLO, Doge LII.

A.D. 1330. *Francisco Dandolo.*

FRANCISCO DANDOLO became so popular by his submission to the pope in a late embassy, in which he was mean enough to appease the pontiff's resentment by suffering himself to be chained down to the foot of his table, that he was unanimously elected in the room of the deceased prince; and indeed his firm conduct and resolution in quality of doge, would seem to wipe off the disgrace he incurred by his servile tameness when ambassador. Two Venetian merchantmen were taken about this time by the Genoese; but the doge being otherwise employed, deferred his vengeance to a more convenient opportunity [o].

A.D.1330.

This year the infidels, not satisfied with having driven the Christians out of Syria, molested the coast of Cyprus, Candia, and Rhodes, and so infested the seas, that there was no security for merchants to trade in the Levant. The republic therefore, entered into an alliance with the pope and the French king, to repel the attempts of the Turks in Europe, and recover Syria. It was stipulated, that Venice should supply a hundred ships of war and gallies, besides transports and store-ships; but the French failing in their engagement, this mighty enterprize ended with the treaty [p]. The Turks, taking advantage of the irresolution of the Christians, made themselves masters of the sea, putting an entire stop to every kind of

[n] Desd. part 2. A. 2. [o] Sabell. lib. ii. dec. ii. [p] Daniel.

com-

commerce, a circumſtance which obliged the Venetians to ſend a fleet againſt them for the protection of their trade and iſlands. Pietro Zeno was appointed admiral: he purſued the infidels with ſo much ſucceſs, that he not only drove them out of the Levant, but defrayed the charges of the expedition by the captures.

The power of the people of Eſcalla, as hiſtorians call them, was become ſo great that all the ſurrounding ſtates apprehended being over-run by that treacherous and ambitious people: beſides Verona, Vicenza, and Breſcia, which they poſſeſſed for ſome time, they had lately ſeized upon Parma, after having by fraud driven thence the family of the Roſſi. Treviſo likewiſe, according to Sabellicus, fell into their hands. About a century before they were no more than a ſingle family that had ſettled in Lombardy, which in time, by their ſtrong connexions, ambition, and intrigues, formed this powerful ſtate, that became an object of the jealouſy of all its neighbours [q]. Maſtin, the chief, thirſting to be revenged on the Venetians for driving him out of Padua, annoyed the commerce of the city. Thus were ſown the ſeeds of a war, to prepare for which the Venetians raiſed forces, and made alliances with the Roſſi, and other princes of Italy, who dreaded and had ſuffered from the power of Maſtin. The Venetians never entered upon a war with greater alacrity: they really were not immediately concerned with Maſtin, having nothing to fear from him while they applied themſelves to commerce and maritime affairs: but they began early to give their attention to the balance of power; a maxim in politics which has ſince proved the occaſion of numberleſs wars in Chriſtendom, and in no part of it more than in Italy.

The league being concluded with the Italian ſtates, A.D.1335. the doge and ſenate gave orders, that the name of every perſon in the city fit to bear arms ſhould be enrolled: the liſt amounted to eighty thouſand [r] from twenty to ſixty years of age. Volunteers flocked from France, Germany, and England, to ſerve in this war; inſomuch that the Venetians could have raiſed an army, which, with one blow, would have deſtroyed the tyrant; but it was not their policy to leave the event to the fate of one battle: they choſe to try the power and courage of their enemy

[q] Blond. Hiſt. lib. vii. dec. ii. Sabell. lib. ii. dec. ii.

[r] P. Paruti. lib. i. p. 2.

firſt

firſt by ſlight ſkirmiſhes, both to accuſtom their troops to an enemy, and try their fortune. The republic choſe Pietro Roſſi, an implacable enemy to the tyrant Maſtin, to command their army. He was at this time cloſely beſieged by Maſtin in a little fort to which he eſcaped from Parma: but he ventured in diſguiſe through the enemy's camp, and arrived ſafe at Florence, where reſting but two days, his impatience to be in the field made him haſten, with a few troops of horſe, to the camp. The enemy, hearing of his arrival near Lucca, placed a ſtrong body in ambuſh to attack his rear, while he was oppoſed in front by another corps. Roſſi's rear was ſoon put into diſorder, and the troops gave all up for loſt, when he arrived ſeaſonably to animate, rally, and ſupport them: he was every where preſent, giving his directions with a compoſure that inſpired his own men with irreſiſtible courage, and wholly diſcomfitted the enemy. They were defeated, and purſued to the gates of Lucca, a great number of priſoners made, and a carnage and ſlaughter, which aſtoniſhed even thoſe acquainted with his valour.

Mean while the Venetians were not idle: Gerrard Caminenſis having with a detachment ſeized upon the city of Uderza, Maſtin marched againſt him, and attacked the garriſon left by Gerrard, but was repulſed: Next day, however, he found means to draw the beſieged into an ambuſcade, which ſucceeding, the city fell into his hands.

Roſſi had ſcarce joined the army, when the count of Colalta, with a ſtrong corps, deſerted the enemy and came over to him; an example that was followed by the Forlians, ſome of the inhabitants of the Alps, and a great number of Germans. Maſtin finding the ſtrength of the confederates, having experienced the valour of their leader and knowing they were immediately to enter upon action, ſent ambaſſadors to Venice with terms of peace, which were rejected. Breaking up his camp he put ſtrong garriſons in Lucca and Padua, which laſt his brother Albert had taken by ſurprize, ſince the commencement of the war: then he ordered Thomaſino, governor of Meſtra, to tamper with the Venetians, as if he was willing to deliver up the town to them upon certain conditions. The ſum agreed upon was delivered, and hoſtages were given to Roſſi for the ſurrender of the town upon a certain day. Maſtin took care to diſpoſe a ſtrong body

The treachery of Maſtin.

body of horſe and foot in the city, in ſuch a manner as to be able to ſeize upon the confederates as ſoon as they entered, a ſcheme which accordingly was executed, and about three hundred priſoners were made [s]. Roſſi then marched againſt the enemy, determined to revenge this treachery. Before he broke up his camp he made a ſhort ſpeech to the ſoldiers, informed them of the baſe arts of the enemy and the captivity of their comrades, aſſured them of victory, recommended ſtrict diſcipline and obedience to their officers, and laſtly reminded them that ſafety as well as honour depended upon courage. He was adviſed to beſiege Treviſo, but declared his firſt purpoſe was to fight the enemy; becauſe if they were defeated towns might be taken at leiſure. The confederates arrived upon the banks of the river Brente, before Albert, Maſtin's brother, had intelligence of their motions: his army was equal in number to theirs. His camp was fortified on the left by the town of Padua, on the right by the marſhes and fenny grounds, and in front by the river; yet he did not care to hazard a battle, but decamped with great precipitation and joined his brother [t]. Roſſi continued to advance, and offered battle to Maſtin: upon his declining it he ſent a herald to bid him defiance; but Maſtin was too well acquainted with the reputation of the general, and valour of his troops, to accept the challenge: he even retired farther, and encamped in a more advantageous and ſtrong ſituation. Roſſi finding it impoſſible to bring him to a deciſive action, employed his army in building a fort at Bevolento, a ſituation extremely commodious for haraſſing and checking the garriſon in Padua [u]. The remainder of the campaign was conſumed in negociations and treaties, which ended in nothing.

A fort built at Bevolento.

During theſe tranſactions Meſtra was ſurrendered to Roſſi; many other towns revolted from the enemy; Viſconti duke of Milan, and Philip Gonzaga, had already taken the field againſt Maſtin. In ſhort, he was environed by falſe friends and profeſſed enemies, yet he was not deſerted by his courage, deſerving of a better cauſe. He every where oppoſed cunning, fraud, and intrigue, to the generous and open enmity of Roſſi: one while he laid the country waſte through which he knew the con-

[s] Boniten. lib. ii. de Geſt. Vit. Boniten.
[t] Sabel. lib. ii. dec. ii. Comment. lib. ii.
[u] Blond.

federates

federates muſt paſs; another time he advanced as if with intention to fight; then again he would decamp precipitately, and leave a body of troops in ambuſh: ſometimes he would endeavour to ſtarve Roſſi, by cutting off his convoys of forage and proviſions; then by forced marches would he attack his rear. In ſhort, nothing was omitted which could annoy or harraſs; but he had to do with a general, vigilant, active, and experienced, perfectly acquainted with all his wiles and ſtratagems. At laſt Maſtin was reduced to thoſe difficulties into which he endeavoured to bring the enemy: he had ſo ruined and impoveriſhed the country, that it was unable to ſupport his army, and the neighbouring princes being all in the oppoſite intereſt refuſed to ſupply him. Now he ſought battle with the ſame eagerneſs with which before he avoided it, which Roſſi prudently declined, knowing that victory would certainly attend his protracting the war. To heighten his misfortunes the cities of Feltre, Breſcia, and Bergamo, fell into the hands of the confederates; Padua revolted, and Maſtin's army was daily diminiſhed by deſertion [w].

But the thread of ſucceſs which had hitherto attended the allies was interrupted by the death of their general. The brave Pietro Roſſi was killed by an accidental ſhot: he was greatly lamented on account of his virtues and abilities. In honour of his memory his brother Orlando Roſſi, at that time beſieging Lucca, a brave and experienced officer, was choſen in his room. As ſoon as he arrived at the camp he made an incurſion into the Veroneſe, deſtroying every thing with fire and ſword to the gates of Verona. Maſtin was at this time beſieging Montichia, and, when he leaſt expected it, was ſurprized and defeated by Orlando, who drove him from the ſiege, and made prodigious ſlaughter in his camp. Maſtin was equally unſucceſsful in an attempt he ſoon after made upon the iſland Longara, which he attacked with ſea and land forces: the garriſon in a vigorous ſally repulſed him with great loſs, took ſeveral of his ſhips, and obliged him to abandon the enterprize. Orlando in the mean time inveſted Vicenza, and ſo cloſely blocked it up, that the garriſon was ſtarved to a capitulation.

Maſtin defeated.

Tired out with loſſes the tyrant ſued for peace upon any terms the republic would grant: the conditions impoſed were, that Feltre, Belluna, and Coneda ſhould re-

Treaty concluded.

[w] Sabel. lib. ii.

main

main to Charles of Bohemia: Bergamo and Breſcia, to Viſconti; Treviſo, with the caſtles and villages of the Trevisan, be for ever annexed to the Venetian dominions, together with thoſe of Bulde and Baſſan, with a free navigation on the river Adice; and laſtly, that four cities, ſpecified in the articles of peace, ſhould be yielded up to the Florentines[x]. Thus was the ambition of Maſtin curbed, his inſolence ſubdued, his tyranny ſuppreſſed, and thoſe cities and territories which he had acquired by rapine, fraud, and oppreſſion, were torn from the uſurper and reſtored to the juſt proprietors.

Dandolo, after governing the republic with great reputation at home and abroad for the ſpace of ten years, died of a fever[y], greatly regretted and eſteemed for his prudence, wiſdom, and good fortune.

BARTOLOMEO GRADONICO, Doge LIII.

BARTOLOMEO GRADONICO was next raiſed to the ducal throne by the general voice of the council, on account of his moderation, piety, and virtue. In the beginning of his dogeſhip the great hall, where the different councils have their departments, and ſit upon their reſpective affairs, was built. Little occurs in this pacific reign beſides prodigies, omens, and apparitions, a long detail of which is given us by Blondus and Sabellicus. They tell us, that Edward the Third of England demanded the aſſiſtance of the republic againſt Philip of France, ſupported by the Genoeſe; but was refuſed, although he condeſcended to make this requeſt in perſon: that a rebellion began to appear in Candia, which was nipt in the bud, and the ringleaders were delivered up to puniſhment, by the force of the rewards offered to the betrayers; and that a famine prevailed in the city; but no particulars are we favoured with of any of theſe tranſactions.

A.D.1338. *Bartolomeo Gradonico.*

ANDREA DANDOLO, Doge LIV.

GRADONICO was ſucceeded in his authority by Andrea Dandolo, a prince of a more active, vigilant, and warlike diſpoſition; at the ſame time penetrating, eloquent, open, liberal, and generous.

A.D. 1343. *Andrea Dandolo.*

[x] Boniten. Comment. lib. iii. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii. [y] Sanſov. p. 236.

In the beginning of his dogeship the republic, in consequence of a league formed by the Christian powers against the infidels, sent sixteen gallies under Pietro Zeno to Greece. Zeno had the good fortune to meet with a number of Turkish vessels, which he sunk and burnt; afterwards he took Smyrna by assault, put the garrison to the sword, and fortified it with some addition to the walls, leaving a strong body of forces for its defence. He afterwards, in conjunction with the fleets of Rhodes and Cyprus, fought several bloody and successful battles with the enemy: at last the Venetians, with their allies, received a signal defeat, most of them being taken, killed or drowned; but whether this fatal accident happened while Zeno commanded, we are left to conjecture.

Venetians defeated by the Turks.

In the second year of Dandolo's government, the Venetians opened a commerce with the infidels at Alexandria and other ports. Souranza and Justiniano, two rich citizens, by virtue of a dispensation from the pope, were the first who traded to the Turkish Asiatic dominions[z].

Zara revolts.

Zara, ever inconstant, revolted a seventh time, and sent to Lewis, king of Hungary, to demand his protection, and to offer him the sovereignty of the city. Simon Dandolo, brother to the doge, and Andrea Morosini, were appointed to reduce it; but it cost the Venetians dear, their troops having been often defeated. Lewis of Hungary arrived with sixty thousand men to the relief of the city; but he was defeated, driven out of Dalmatia, and the city at last taken. Sabellicus informs us, that the slaughter of the king's troops was so great, that, by infecting the air with the putrid exhalations, it produced a pestilence. No other punishment was inflicted upon the rebellious city besides the perpetual banishment of the promoters of this revolt.

A.D. 1344. Venice was now so much increased, and her causes of litigation were so multiplied, that the government erected a court of six auditors, or judges. This was the original of the council of the savii, according to some historians. By order of the doge and senate, their first business was to digest and abridge the laws, which, it seems, were swelled to an enormous bulk: all the decrees of the senate were likewise compiled in one volume, and divided, for the sake of perspicuity, into chapters, books, and sections, with a general index, and table of contents. The prince

[z] Desd. p. ii. Amelot's Hist. lib. ii. cap. iv. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii.

added

added to this a volume of judicial acts and decrees of the great council, which he had compiled and digested with his own hand while he was procurator of St. Mark's [a]. Thus Dandolo was no less attentive to the domestic and civil than to the foreign and military policy of the republic.

About this time Venice was afflicted with a series of unavoidable calamities; a terrible storm destroyed great part of their fleet and merchant ships; an earthquake and high tide threw down and damaged a prodigious number of houses and bridges in the city; and a plague swept off incredible numbers of the inhabitants. In consequence of these disasters, a decree of the great council passed to naturalize all foreigners who would come and reside in the city, which soon produced a happy effect, multitudes of people flocking from every quarter to enjoy the freedom and liberty of the Venetian constitution [b]. A.D. 1345.

Amidst all these misfortunes the Istrians revolted; but were soon subdued by the authority and spirit of Parnatio Justiniano. The authors of the revolt were sent to Venice, from whence they were enjoined not to stir under pain of death.

Before the Venetians were well recovered from the late civil misfortunes and wars, new differences arose with the Genoese. These last possessed several settlements in Greece from the time that Paleologus seized upon Constantinople, consequently they carried on a considerable trade, with which they were apprehensive the Venetians would interfere; they left no means untried to deprive the republic entirely of the Levant trade; they took, plundered, and robbed such of the Venetian merchants as came in their way; and committed several other violences and infractions of the law of nations. The doge and senate of Venice sent to demand satisfaction; and upon its being refused, equipped a fleet, and prepared for war: an embargo was laid upon all their shipping; gallies were sent for to Dalmatia, Candia, and Negropont; and Morosini, their admiral, was recalled from Ragusa. *War with Genoa.*

In a short time a squadron of thirty-five ships and gallies was ready to put to sea, under the conduct of Marco Rusino. He had not been long in quest of the enemy, when, by stress of weather, he was forced to put into Cariste,

[a] Sansov. delle Vit. Princip. Blond. lib. vii. dec. ii.

[b] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii.

where fourteen Genoese gallies rode at anchor, filled with rich merchandize, ammunition, provision, and every necessary for a fort they proposed building at Pera[c]. Rusino attacked them, took, sunk, and burnt ten gallies; four made their escape under cover of a dark night, but were afterwards taken by Morosini, admiral of the Adriatic, and carried into Venice. In the mean time, the Genoese fleet, commanded by Filippo Doria, reduced Negropont, the governor and officers having basely abandoned it before the attack began; for which conduct they were recalled, and put to death[d].

Genoese gallies taken and destroyed.

Negropont surrendered to the Genoese.

The republic had now entered into an alliance with the king of Arragon, who agreed to join them in person with a fleet against the Genoese. Some authors affirm, that Dandolo formed a treaty offensive and defensive with the Greek empire, from whom he received a considerable reinforcement. Pisani, the Venetian admiral, soon came to an engagement with the Genoese stationed in the Bosphorus: the fight began in the evening, and continued with great fury the whole night, without any apparent advantage on either side. Next day the battle ceased, rather from inability than want of inclination to pursue it, each admiral claiming the victory. Giovanni Delfino, who was present, says, that the Venetians gained a complete victory, having taken twenty-eight of the enemy's gallies, with the loss only of four: but the Genoese and other historians deny the assertion[e]. Pisani was blamed for attacking the enemy in so strong a situation, for the disposition of his attack, and for continuing it with obstinany through the night.

From this time forward a council of four experienced officers were appointed to attend, direct, and advise the admiral, in order to prevent any rash resolutions, which might prove destructive to the fleet, and ruinous to the republic[f]. The command of the grand fleet was now given to Rusino, who had so eminently distinguished himself in the beginning of the war. He first steered his course with a squadron of thirty gallies to Sardinia; there he joined the Arragonian fleet of forty sail, commanded by Barnardo Casnari; and immediately went to seek Grimaldi, the Genoese admiral, who was no less eager to engage. The two fleets met on the Sardinian coast: Ru-

A.D. 1347.

[c] Boniten. Com. lib. iii. dec. ii. Sabell. lib. iii. dec. ii.
[d] Blond. Flav. Hist. lib. vii.
[e] Boniten. Com. lib. iii.
[f] Desdier. p. i. Sabell. lib. iii. dec. ii. Blond. lib. vii. dec. ii.

sino

ſino ordered his ſhips to grapple with the enemy, and then chained them to each other in ſuch a manner that there was a neceſſity either to conquer or die. Thus a kind of land battle was fought upon the ſea, in which there was no room for diſputing the victory, the whole Genoeſe fleet having been either taken or deſtroyed, Grimaldi's ſhip alone eſcaping. When the news of this defeat arrived at Genoa, the whole city was in the greateſt conſternation, and the affliction was equal to what might be expected had Genoa itſelf fallen into the enemy's hands. In their deſpair the Genoeſe diſpatched ambaſſadors to Viſconti, duke of Milan, requeſting his protection and acceptance of the ſovereignty of the Genoeſe dominions, an offer which he did not decline.

Genoeſe defeated.

A.D. 1348.

The Genoeſe put themſelves under the protection of Viſconti.

Theſe tidings ſoon arrived at Venice, and put the republic upon forming alliances able to ballance the great power of Viſconti: treaties were made with Maſtin, the Carrarians, and the Florentines: the Venetian cities, forts, and towns, on the continent, were ſtrongly fortified, garriſoned and put in a poſture of defence; their fleet was increaſed, and their forces were augmented: we are likewiſe told, that the Venetians formed an alliance with Charles, king of Bohemia. In ſhort, they omitted nothing which could enable them to cope with ſo powerful an enemy. Viſconti, perceiving the vigilance and ſpirit of the republic, endeavoured to accommodate the difference: his propoſals were ſuch as he thought the Venetians would gladly embrace, when they conſidered the late addition of ſtrength the Genoeſe had acquired from his alliance; but he was miſtaken. They were haughtily rejected, and his ambaſſadors told, that it was the cuſtom with the Venetians to decide by the ſword, not by negociation [g].

A.D. 1340.

During this interval eight Genoeſe gallies entered the gulf and deſtroyed Corfu, and certain iſlands on the coaſt of Dalmatia. The republic diſpatched Nicholas Piſani, with fourteen gallies, in purſuit of them, who ſoon drove them out of the gulf. Next Pagano Doria entered the gulf with a ſtrong ſquadron, took a great number of Venetian ſhips, ſteered his courſe to Iſtria, deſtroyed Parenſa, and laid waſte the whole coaſt. Piſani being reinforced with twenty gallies, came up with him, engaged and defeated the Genoeſe, taking, ſinking, and burning

A.D. 1352.

Genoeſe defeated.

[g] Sabell. lib. iii. dec. ii. Blond. Hiſt. lib. viii. dec. ii. etiam de Geſt. Venet.

a great number of his ships; but not before Doria had thrown the city of Venice into great terror and confusion at his near approach.

Nothing else worth notice occurred, besides Dandolo's death, which happened in the beginning of the year 1354. He was deservedly reputed the greatest statesman, the greatest scholar, the greatest orator, and the finest gentleman of his time: he was likewise pious, just, and generous, qualities which particularly gained him the love and esteem of the people[h]. Marino Faliero was now raised to the ducal chair.

MARINO FALIERO, Doge LV.

Marino Faliero.

HIS reign was productive of foreign and domestic evils; defeats, famine, and pestilence, all conspiring to humble the pride of this towering republic. While the assembly was busied in chusing a doge, three Genoese gallies were taken by the Venetians upon the coast of Greece; the last instance of the republic's good fortune in the war[i]. Soon after the Venetian fleet, commanded by Pisani, was defeated by Doria: Pisani rode at anchor at the island Sapientia, on the coast of the Morea, waiting for Doria. Some authors affirm that the Genoese came some days sooner than they were expected, and took Pisani with the whole fleet by surprize; a circumstance hardly credible[k]. Others are equally positive, that a long and bloody battle was fought, in which, at length, Pisani with five thousand of his men were made prisoners, and above twenty gallies sunk. All authors agree, that the Venetians sustained, upon this occasion, an almost irreparable loss. The city would probably have been undone, if the victorious Doria had known as well how to pursue as to gain a victory. The Venetians were equally surprised and rejoiced when the news arrived that he was returned to Genoa, at a time they every hour expected him before their gates. It is probable that Doria's weakness from the loss he sustained in the action, prevented his laying siege to Venice: he knew the bravery of the Venetians, and what they were capable of doing in defence of their wives, children, property, and liberty, against an enemy they implacably hated.

The Venetians defeated.

[h] Sanfov. delle Vit. di Prin. p. 238.
[i] Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii.
[k] Blond. Hist. lib. viii. dec. ii.

The

The Venetians always displayed an admirable constancy in adversity: they now levied troops, equipped a fleet, and, to prevent Visconti's sending assistance to the Genoese, engaged him in a war at home, having prevailed upon Charles of Bohemia, to march with a powerful army into the duke's dominions[l]: in the mean while they made a truce for four months with Visconti, and exchanged prisoners with the Genoese. *Truce with Visconti.*

Faliero, who had been doge little more than nine months, was seized with a violent desire of governing the republic absolutely, without council, senate, or seignory, and of subverting the established constitution[m]. He begun his design by acts of popularity, and forming a strong faction among the lower rank of people: he even went so far as to make entertainments for them, at which himself would preside, taking occasion to hint how improper a popular government was, where vigour and unanimity were required; how unfit to retrieve the desperate affairs of the state, which only could be done by entrusting the power in the hands of one man, equally attached to his country and capable of directing it. When he perceived that the people listened to him with attention, he began to drop hints of his intention to deliver them from the tyranny of the senate, to retrieve the honour and power of the state, and to assume a greater latitude of power and authority than he now enjoyed, until he had restored their liberty; after which it should be left to their choice to continue him or not, as they found he deserved. His proposal was to murder the chief persons of the assembly, senate, and seignory, who had raised him to the dignity he possessed: this he laid before the people, after he had first provided his party with arms, and upon some pretence got a sufficient number together in the palace[n]. The 1st day of April was appointed for the execution of this infamous plot; a rumour was to be propagated that the enemy were at the walls, the great bell, the usual alarm, was to be tolled as a signal to the conspirators to join and begin the massacre. On the very day fixed for the performance of this dreadful tragedy, Beltrand, a conspirator, either through disgust or remorse, went to the house of Nicholao Leon, and made an ample discovery. Leon was so confounded with the horror of the action, that for some time he was unable to reply; *Faliero's conspiracy.*

[l] Sabel. ibid. Blond. Hist. lib. viii. dec. ii. Comm. lib. xxxi. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii. Blond. ibid. Sabel. lib. iii. dec. ii.

[m] Boniten.

[n] Boniten, ibid.

at laſt, ordering Beltrand to be confined, he diſpatched meſſengers to the chief ſenators, the ſeignory, and officers of the city, to come inſtantly to his houſe. A reſolution was taken to ſecure the doge and heads of the conſpiracy, which was happily executed. They were all put to death, and the doge's memory branded with particular marks of infamy: a veil was put over his picture (A), the ſenate having ordered that it ſhould rank among the reſt with this infamous diſtinction. A penſion of one thouſand ducats was ſettled upon the diſcoverer; and thus ended the reign of the ambitious, mad, and wicked Marino Faliero.

SECT. IV.

Containing the Origin of the Inquiſition of State; the Peace with Genoa; War with the King of Hungary; Revolt of Candia, and other Particulars.

State inquiſition.

WE have reaſon to ſuppoſe the inquiſition of ſtate owed its origin to this attempt to ſubvert the eſtabliſhed plan of government, deſtroy liberty, and introduce tyranny. Some authors imagine its riſe to be of a later date; but as they neither ſpecify the time, nor particularize the manner, we are at liberty to form conjectures. It is probable that ſo bold an attempt would have made the ſenate extremely circumſpect, jealous, and watchful of the conduct of their doges, animating them to embrace every probable method of retrenching their authority, and limiting their ambition. Certain we are, that the firſt intention of the inquiſition was ſolely to guard againſt the encroachments of the prince, and protect the privileges of the people, although its authority has ſince been extended.

During the interregnum Benardo Juſtiniano was ſent with a ſquadron to ſcour the ſeas, and convoy a fleet of

(A) The inſcriptions which Sanſovino reports to be placed upon the monuments of the doges, we are apt to think were rather put under their pictures and buſts: it was cuſtomary at Venice to erect theſe in the great hall, in compliment to their memory. Theſe words which he mentions to have been inſcribed on Marino's tomb were far more probably wrote under his picture, buſto, or ſtatue: "Temeritatis meæ pænas lui."

merchant-

merchantmen from Greece: he was ſo diligent that he took a great number of Genoeſe ſhips, and if he had not been prevented by peace, would probably have recovered the late diſgraces ſuſtained by the republic. But this object, equally the intereſt and wiſh of both parties, was at laſt obtained, after the war had raged with the utmoſt violence for the ſpace of five years. The priſoners on both ſides were ſet at liberty, and nothing but rejoicings, mirth, and gladneſs filled the hearts of every Venetian and Genoeſe; not that their animoſity was ſatiated, but their power was exhauſted [o].

Peace with Genoa.

GIOVANNI GRADONICO, Doge LVI.

GIOVANNI GRADONICO was choſen to ſucceed Faliero, after the republic had been for two months in the hands of a vice-doge. Of this prince nothing is recorded, his reign being ſhort, and the republic bleſſed with profound tranquility. Some differences aroſe between Lewis, king of Hungary, and the republic, but they did not break out into open war during the life of this doge. Lewis complained of injuſtice in the laſt treaty concerning Dalmatia and renewed his claim to the cities he had then formally ceded: he demanded that the republic would at leaſt acknowlege by a ſmall tribute his ſuperiority; but the Venetian ambaſſador refuſed to give any anſwer until he had received inſtructions from his maſter and the ſenate; during which interval the doge died, after having reigned one year and two months, including the regency of Cornaro [p].

A.D.1355.

Giovanni Gradonico.

War with Lewis, king of Hungary.

GIOVANNI DELFINO, Doge LVII.

GIOVANNI DELFINO, his ſucceſſor, poſitively rejected the king's propoſal, preferring war to ſervitude. Upon which Lewis marched an army into Dalmatia, ſo great that he at the ſame time beſieged Zara, Scia, Spalatra, Nona, and Trahu. The Venetians, amazed at his expedition, raiſed forces, and equipped a fleet, by which they found means to reinforce the garriſons, and ſupply the cities with every neceſſary. Lewis, finding that the war would be protracted by this method of proceeding, raiſed the ſieges, and ſent an army of ſixty thouſand men to ſupport Franciſco Carrario in Italy, with whom he

Giovanni Delfino.

[o] Blond. Sabel. ibid. [p] Sanſov. p. 23.

ha

had contracted an alliance[r]; knowing that the republic was not to be brought to terms while the war was carried
A.D. 1356. on at so great a distance. He had besides considerable reinforcements from the duke of Austria, the patriarch of Aquileia, who seized every opportunity of distressing the Venetians, and from the earl of Coalta. With this numerous army Coniglian, Sacilla, and some other places were invested, and no sooner besieged than taken.

The Hungarians afterwards sate down before Treviso, and laid close siege to the city. The Venetians had supplied the garrison with large store of ammunition, provision, and every other necessary: several assaults were made, and the enemy as often repulsed; nor had the king's menaces, that he would put the whole garrison to the sword if they did not surrender, any other effect than to animate the besieged, and increase their hatred to Lewis: at last, tired out with their obstinacy, he turned
Lewis retires into Hungary. the siege into a blockade, and retired into Hungary. The Venetians were in the mean time busy levying forces in German and in the city: as these auxiliaries were encamped upon the river Brente, near Vicenza, they were surprised and cut off before the Venetians could come to their relief[s]. Soon after this accident, a truce for five months was agreed upon, during which time peace was negociating.

Several cities taken from the republic. The negociations producing no effect, hostilies re-commenced at the expiration of the truce. Spalatra, and Trahu, fell into the king's hands, the republic being unable to raise the sieges, as their chief strength was necessarily employed in Italy. Zara was taken by surprize; and of all the cities in Dalmatia, Emona alone remained to the Venetians: it had been for some months bravely and obstinately defended by Giovanni Justiniano, one of the best officers of his age. The king lost four times the number of the garrison before the town, and was no nearer being master of it than when he made his first ap-
A. D. 1356. proaches: however, the republic finding that Dalmatia must inevitably be lost if they did not conclude peace, sent ambassadors to Lewis with terms rather convenient than honourable. Their proposals were accepted, by which the Venetian territories, from the gulf of Fana to Durazzo, the entire claim to Dalmatia, and some other districts, were ceded to Lewis; he, on the other hand,

[r] Sabel. lib. iv. dec. ii. Blond. de Gest. Ven. [s] Bonitem. Commen. lib. iii.

giving

giving up his conquests in Isteria, Italy, and laying himself under an obligation to prevent the Dalmatians from practising piracy, their common vocation[t]. *Peace with Lewis.*

Not long after the conclusion of the peace Delfino died, after a reign of five years, during which he had approved himself a good and wise, thought unfortunate prince.

LORENZO CELSO, Doge LVIII.

DELFINO no sooner expired than twelve senators were dispatched to congratulate Lorenzo Celso, elected by the assembly, on his accession to the dogeship. Celso was at that time in Germany, on his return from an embassy to the emperor Charles IV. His father declined complimenting him after his arrival, to prevent his standing uncovered in his son's presence, thinking it an indignity to the paternal authority to be subjected to the ducal[u]. The duke of Austria and king of Cyprus made him a visit of congratulation; for, in his embassies, Lorenzo had acquired the esteem of a great number of foreign princes. A.D. 1361. *Lorenzo Celso.*

During their residence in Venice great commotions broke out in Candia. The senate, to defray the expences of the late war, taxed all the natives of Venice, of a certain property in the island, and imposed a still heavier tax upon the original inhabitants. The Venetians were the first to take up arms against their country, an example which so encouraged the natives, that the rebellion became general, the governor, provedatori, and all the ships of the republic being seized. *Candia revolts.*

The rebels chose Marco Gradonico, surnamed Bayardo, for their general, an officer of experience and valour; they began with fortifying the most advantageous situations, laying up magazines, equipping a fleet, and keeping strict discipline among the troops: every thing was done which the duty of a good officer required, and that could secure the island in the independency it affected. The news soon arrived at Venice, which greatly embarrassed the doge and senate, as the authors of the insurrection were Venetians of distinction and family. After long debates, it was resolved to send three of the senators to sound the intentions of the rebels, offer A.D. 1363.

[t] Sabel. lib. iv. dec. ii. Sabel. ibid.

[u] Blond. Hist. lib. ix. dec. ii.

propofals,

propoſals, and, if poſſible, perſuade them to reaſon. The ambaſſadors uſed every argument which could ſoothe the paſſions, determine the judgment, or work upon the heart, but all to no purpoſe; they reſolved to be an independent free people [w]. Finding all their endeavours to no purpoſe, the ſenators went on board certain gallies that waited for them, the captains of which, juſt as they were getting under ſail, ſeized about three hundred of the crowd upon the ſhore, and carried them priſoners to Venice.

War with the Candians.

War was now determined upon by the republic, and the Candians declared enemies to their country. Ambaſſadors were ſent to the emperors of the Eaſt and Weſt, to the kings of France, Hungary, and other potentates, to demand aid and aſſiſtance againſt this rebellious colony, or at leaſt to obtain an aſſurance that no protection or ſuccour ſhould be afforded them againſt their mother country. Their ambaſſadors were kindly received, and the moſt liberal and ſolemn aſſurances every where given not only of denying the Candians any ſupport, but of their deteſtation and abhorrence of their rebellion [x].

In the mean time an army was levied, their marine put in readineſs, Dominico Michaeli, who before was proveditor of the gulf, was appointed admiral, and the command of the land forces committed to Luchin Vermio. As ſoon as every thing was ready for embarkation Vermio reviewed his army, and found it conſiſted of five thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe, all veterans who had ſerved in the late wars, and in good order. The fleet, amounting
A D. 1364. to forty gallies and ſhips, arrived early in the ſpring at Candia.

But, during theſe tranſactions, ſeveral gentlemen of Candia, the capital of the iſland, hearing of the vigorous preparations carried on at Venice to reduce the rebels, begun to fall off, to practiſe with ſome of the chiefs of the faction, and to inſpire them with a ſenſe of their duty and danger. Hence proceeded horrid murders, maſſacres, and ſtratagems. The chiefs fearing they might be betrayed to the republic, left no means, by poiſon or the poinard, untried to take off the ſuſpected perſons, the traitors as they were called. Many Venetians, of the firſt diſtinction in the iſland, were ſuddenly put to death by the infernal arts of one Calergo, a famous poiſoner and aſſaſſin. In ſhort, the native Greeks per-

[w] Sabel. lib. iv. dec. ii. [x] Blond. Hiſt. lib. ix. dec. ii.

ceiving

ceiving the ſucceſs of their diabolical agent, began to diſtruſt all the Venetians: they now inſiſted upon the management of the war; they demanded that ten natural Greeks ſhould be admitted into the ſenate; they threatened to break open the priſons, and murder the Venetian priſoners confined there, if they were not voluntarily ſurrendered, and a ſolemn oath taken of their allegiance to the Greeks. They had even the inſolence to demand the ſame of the Venetian nobility that remained. A ſcheme likewiſe was laid for ſeizing upon Candace; depriving the Venetians of all authority; and, if poſſible, of maſſacring every Italian in the iſland: a juſt puniſhment upon them for their perfidy to their native country.

The Venetian nobility were now in a miſerable dilemma; declared enemies to the republic, and dreading its power at the very time they were betrayed, poiſoned, and aſſaſſinated by the Greeks, with whom they were aſſociated in one common act of rebellion. To extricate themſelves it was determined to deliver the iſland to the Genoeſe, as they doubted not but they would rejoice at ſo fair an opportunity of enlarging their dominions, and of ſhewing their hatred to the Venetians[y]: but the republic of Genoa, either from a principle of honour or diſlike to enter upon a freſh war, rejected the offer. It was next propoſed to throw themſelves on the clemency of the Venetian republic, thinking by this ſubmiſſion to purchaſe their pardon. The Greeks diſcovered and prevented this deſign.

The Venetian army lands in Candia.

The Venetian army being landed, Vermio detached a party to reconnoitre the enemy, view the ground round Candace, and regulate the manner of making his approaches. The detachment fell into an ambuſcade, were cut off, cruelly mangled, and hacked to pieces after they were killed; ſo great was the averſion of the Greeks to the Venetians; or ſo ready are men, engaged in a wrong cauſe, to perpetrate every villany. Vermio marched againſt the Candians, engaged and routed their army, making a great number of priſoners[z]. He then inveſted the capital on the land ſide, while Michaeli blocked it up by ſea, and ſoon reduced it to the obedience of the republic. It ſeems one article of the capitulation was, that the city ſhould not be plundered, and ſubjected to the ravages of the ſoldiers; to prevent which the gates were to

Candians defeated.

[y] Blond. & Sabel. ibid. [z] Boniten. lib. iii. Sabel. lib. iv. dec. ii.

be

be opened to the governor, and a party sufficient for his protection; the army to remain without the walls. The soldiers finding themselves deprived of the booty they expected, began to mutiny, and, in all probability their discontent would have terminated in a thorough revolt, had not the vigour and firmness of Vermio, quelled it, by putting the ringleaders to immediate death, and rewarding the rest of the army with double pay [a].

Candace being lost, and the army defeated, the rest of the island submitted of course. The chiefs, both Venetians and Greeks, were seized and put to death; the former with the greatest rigour, their offence admitting of no extenuation.

MARCO CORNARO, Doge LIX.

A.D.1365. *Marco Cornaro.*

IN the mean time Lorenzo Celso died, after he had governed the state for three years with discretion, temperance, and œconomy [b]. Marco Cornaro was but just elected to succeed him, when the news of a new revolt of the Candians arrived. It was excited by Calergo, who had found means to escape the just punishment denounced against him: he now ventured to appear publicly; he declared against the oppression of the Venetians, the pusillanimity of the Greeks, the subjection in which the natural lords of the island were kept, insisting on the weakness of the republic, and the strength of the island, if they would exert that spirit for which their forefathers were famous. Every argument that could inflame their minds, and dispose them to rebellion, was used, and with success. Calergo set up the Greek standard, exhorting every man inspired with the love of his country to enlist himself in the cause of freedom. A numerous army was soon raised, the forts were seized, and the nobility and Venetian magistrates put to death. Nicholao Dandolo and his brother were the first victims of the popular fury [c].

A.D.1365. *Second revolution of the Candians.*

Nicholao Justiniano, the provedatori, with some others of the nobility, found means to escape, and raise a body of forces to oppose Calergo; who, advancing to the citadel of Candace, assaulted it with great vigour, but was repulsed. The rebels, finding that they could make no impression here, retired, after setting the suburbs on fire,

[a] Sabel. Hist. ibid. Blond. lib. ix. dec. ii. [b] Sanso. del. Vin. Prin. [c] Sabel. lib. iv. dec. ii.

to

to Rethimna, which the Venetian garrison abandoned as untenable. Justiniano having received forces from Venice, and indulgences from Rome, marched against the rebels, and defeated them in a pitched battle; but this decided nothing, the enemy were soon recruited. Another battle ensued, and Justiniano was a second time victorious, though to as little purpose as before [d]. *Candians defeated.*

In this posture stood matters, when all of a sudden the inhabitants of fifteen towns and villages, which had hitherto remained quiet, joined the rebels; by which accession they became greatly superior to Justiniano. He therefore applied for speedy reinforcements to the republic, acting in the mean time on the defensive, while the rebels were committing the most barbarous excesses; he was on the point of being reduced to the greatest necessity, when a seasonable supply of provisions and troops arrived from Venice; upon which the scene was changed. The rebels were now driven into the mountains, cut off from their magazines and stores, and at length compelled to submit to the clemency of the republic. Reasonable terms were granted, on condition that Calergo, and some other persons, were delivered up to punishment; but he made his escape to Annapolis, which he bravely defended against all the power of the Venetians. At last, perceiving the place was no longer defensible, he abandoned the island in a vessel he had prepared for that purpose. Annapolis was surrendered, and the whole island reduced to its former obedience. A.D. 1368. *Peace with the Candians.*

Some members of the senate were dispatched to Candia to enquire into the grievances which had occasioned the revolt; to settle it upon a sure footing; to abrogate some old, and frame new laws; raze the holds and forts which were unnecessary to the safety of the island; in short, to establish tranquility and peace upon the best foundation which the temper and disposition of the Greeks would admit.

ANDREA CONTARENI, Doge LX.

MARCO CORNARO, after a troublesome sway of three years, died, and was succeeded by Andrea Contareni, who unwillingly received a dignity, to support which he was perfectly qualified. His scruples were no sooner surmounted than the Istrians revolted, under pre- *Andrea Contareni.*

[d] Sabel. ibid. Blond. Hist. lib. ix. dec. ii.

tence

tence that the duties exacted by the republic upon all merchandize passing through the gulf of Fana to the Po, was an insupportable imposition, ruinous of their commerce, upon which depended their very existence. They destroyed the galley the Venetians kept on the coast to receive the duty: not satisfied with this act of defiance, they pulled down the standards of the republic, and expelled the Venetian governors. The doge and senate, resolving to curb their insolence, sent against them a fleet and army, commanded by Michaeli and Molino [e]. In a short time the rebels were so hard pressed, that they threw themselves upon the protection of the duke of Austria, and erected his standard in all the public places. The duke came to their assistance with an army of ten thousand foot and four thousand horse: he was so much superior in strength to the Venetians that he invested and blocked up their camp, which was in great danger of being taken, when Molino arrived with a strong body of sailors, attacked the duke in the rear, and after putting the Germans in confusion, forced his way into the camp: having joined Michaeli, a general sally was made with such impetuosity, that the enemy were routed, and driven from their entrenchments with great slaughter. The duke's retreat was so precipitate, that he left the wounded, his baggage, and provision behind, together with three or four hundred prisoners [f]. A truce was granted him for a day to bury the dead; after which he was defeated in another action, and his pride so mortified, that, leaving the isthmus to the mercy of the conquerors, he retired into Austria. Thus the rebels losing their protector submitted to the republic, acknowleged their offence, made reparation, and agreed to pay the duty, the refusal of which had reduced them to this necessity.

Istrians revolt.

A.D. 1373.

The duke of Austria comes to their assistance.

The duke defeated.

War with the Carrarians.

Scarce was the republic rid of this troublesome affair when she resolved to enter on a fresh war. Francisco Carrario had usurped some of their dominions near the lakes; upon which the Paduans were forbid trading or carrying on any sort of commerce to Venice. Other neighbouring states were so affected by this prohibition, that they did all in their power to reconcile the contending parties; but not succeeding they applied for the mediation of Lewis, king of Hungary and the Florentines, at whose intercession it was agreed, that a truce for two

[e] Blond. de Gest. Ven. [f] Sabel. lib. iv. dec. i. Bonitem. Com. lib. iii. Blond. lib. ix. dec. ii.

months

months should take place, in order to negociate a peace. Commissioners were deputed by both sides to examine the bounds and fix the limits in an amicable manner; but the negociations were soon broke off, on certain intelligence which the republic received of a design formed by Carrario, of murdering the doge and senate. Strict search was made after the conspirators, some of whom were found, put to the torture, and on their confession hanged. Apprehensive that Carrario's villainous plots would not terminate with a single attempt, the senate ordered a constant patrole of horse, the guards of the palace and senate to be doubled, and each senator, who was obnoxious to the tyrant, to be constantly attended by two armed soldiers. Orders were likewise issued that all the wells in the city should be well guarded; butchers, bakers, and poulterers, were made responsible for all the meat they sold, and every precaution was taken to guard against poison[g]: nor did their fears end here, strong reasons appeared for suspecting that they were betrayed by some of their own body A scrupulous and rigid inquiry was made, which turned out to the safety of the state, and to the eternal shame of certain senators, who were proved guilty of holding a correspondence with their most insidious enemy. The most guilty met with condign punishment, others were imprisoned for life, and some, still less criminal, were degraded and for ever disqualified from holding a seat in the senate.

Carrario attempts to poison the doge and senate.

In the mean time the republic was taking measures for carrying on a vigorous war, in order to chastise the baseness of this treacherous enemy. Rayniero Vasco, the best commander of his time, was invited from Tuscany to lead their army, Dominico Michaeli being appointed his lieutenant. Michaeli marched against the Paduans, defeated them in several skirmishes, laid the country under contribution, and filled it with terror and consternation. Rayniero in the mean time arrived at Venice, and, having received his commission, immediately set out for the army, and was soon after dismissed, upon a quarrel with the provedatori, who had the address to render his conduct suspected. The great Vasco thought it beneath his character to stoop to a defence: he quitted the command with a dignity of sentiment, and contempt for the weakness of the republic, incapable of distinguishing true

[g] Sabel. et Blond. Boniten. Com. lib. iii. Blond. Hist. lib. ix. dec. ii.

merit, that reflects more honour on his memory than all the laurels of the greateſt conquerors.

Alberto Carrario, Pietro Fontana, Alberto and Andrea Dandolo, were appointed to take the command of the army by turns: their ſucceſs againſt the enemy was conſiderable, which diverted the public ſuſpicion from falling upon the provedatori, though their integrity was doubted by perſons of penetration. The Venetians were divided into two bodies, one of which was conducted by Thaddeo Juſtiniano: he was ſurpriſed by the enemy, and defeated after a vigorous reſiſtance and great ſlaughter of the Paduans, whoſe victory conſiſted in remaining maſters of the field of battle. Juſtiniano retired into the Treviſan, where he withſtood all the attacks of the enemy till he was reinforced.

Venetians receive a ſlight defeat.

A.D.1374. About this time Lewis, king of Hungary, came to the aſſiſtance of Franciſco Carrario and the Paduans, with a powerful army, which obliged the Venetians to act upon the defenſive, until an opportunity of breaking and dividing the enemy ſhould offer. On this occaſion the vigilance, activity, and conduct of Delfino, the admiral, were greatly admired: he ſupplied himſelf with a number of light boats, came round the lakes, built and garriſoned forts in ſuch a manner as greatly diſtreſſed and annoyed the enemy. A party could not come out of the camp to forage, but it was ſurpriſed by ſome of thoſe garriſons: the convoys of the enemy were cut off, and their army reduced to ſuch extremity as compelled them to a motion, which afforded the Venetians the opportunity they long deſired. Carrario was obliged to march through ſome narrow defiles, woods, and marſhy grounds, of which the Venetians taking advantage, attacked him in places where it was impoſſible to draw out his army. Pietro Fontano commanded the republic's forces upon this occaſion, and acquired great glory by the refined ſtrokes of generalſhip which he diſplayed. No opportunity was loſt, nothing omitted which could poſſibly harraſs, break, or reduce the enemy. For the ſpace of a week continual actions and ſkirmiſhes paſſed, all terminating to his advantage: at length, when the enemy was fatigued, broken, and diſpirited, Fontano attacked them with all his forces, and gained a complete victory, killed two thouſand upon the ſpot, and made three thouſand priſoners[h]. Diviſions aroſe among the enemy; the Paduans

The Venetians defeat the enemy.

[h] Blond. lib. iii. dec. i.

blamed

blamed the Carrarians; the Carrarians shuffled the public odium on the Hungarians. Marsi, the brother of Carrario, offered his mediation to compose those civil broils, which he foresaw must ruin the common cause; but Francisco continuing unalterable in his resentment, he quitted the army, and sought protection against the persecuting temper of his brother at Venice [i].

Lewis of Hungary, tired with his losses, determined upon a peace with the republic. Carraria, finding himself in danger of being deprived of so powerful an ally, began likewise to reflect upon the consequences of supporting a war singly against so powerful and warlike a people as the Venetians. He sent proposals to the Venetian general, which were accepted, and afterwards ratified by the doge and senate. It was proposed that the republic should appoint five commissioners to fix the limits of the controverted territories; that the Paduans should immediately, as an indemnification, pay forty thousand crowns to the republic, and an annual tribute of fourteen thousand crowns more for the term of fifteen years; that Francisco Carrario, or his son, should acknowlege his fault in presence of the people, senate, and doge of Venice; that the castle of Caranio, with all its districts, should be ceded to the republic; that Castlenuovo, with all the forts round it, should be razed, and never afterwards rebuilt; that Marsilio should enjoy the profits of his estate, either to reside in Venice or elsewhere, as he thought proper; that Carrario should forthwith discharge his auxiliaries, and disband his army; that he should annually remit three hundred crowns to St. Mark's church; that the Paduans should not build within three miles of the mouth of any river in Italy: that they should not maintain forts or garrisons; and lastly, that they should surrender up all the towns, villages, and lands, taken from the Venetians in the course of the war [k].

A.D. 1375. *Peace concluded.*

On these conditions, so glorious to the republic and easy to Carrario, considering the infamous means he had practised to ruin the Venetian constitution, murder the doge, and poison the senate, peace was restored. His son came to Venice to perform the articles, and ask pardon for his father's offence: he was carried to St. Mark's, where he solemnly swore to his father's acceptance of the

[i] Boniten. Com. lib. iii. Bodin. Blond. lib. i. dec. iii. [k] Sabel. lib. v. dec. ii. etiam Boniten. ubi supra.

conditions, expreſſed his contrition for the unprovoked injury offered the republic, and his firm reſolution to keep the peace ſacred and inviolable [l].

Monaſtery of Virgins deſtroyed by fire.

Soon after a fire deſtroyed the Monaſtery of Virgins, the moſt famous nunnery in Venice, in which a great number of young ladies of diſtinction periſhed, together with a great quantity of valuable effects, a prodigious ſum of money, and profuſion of rich plate.

A.D.1377.

Leopold of Auſtria invades the Trevifan.

Profound tranquillity, for the ſpace of three years, ſucceeded theſe events; at the expiration of which a freſh war recommenced with Leopold, duke of Auſtria, who, without any previous complaint or declaration, entered Italy, laid waſte the Trevifan, putting every thing to fire and ſword as far as the gates of Treviſo. The magiſtrates of the city ſent immediate notice to Venice of their danger; but the republic having laid up her fleet, and diſbanded her army, was forced to ſolicit the neighbouring powers to ſuccour the Trevifans. Their requeſt was rejected, and the Venetians found themſelves under the neceſſity of relying upon their own vigour and ſtrength [m].

An army and ſquadron were prepared with all poſſible diſpatch, and aſſurances of ſpeedy aſſiſtance ſent to the Trevifans. All the German merchants in the Venetian ports were ſeized, and their ſhips and goods confiſcated. Jacomo Caballa, an old warrior, was appointed to command the forces. As ſoon as the armament was complete, he marched to Treviſo, at the ſame time that the fleet ſcoured the ſeas: the enemy abandoned the Trevifan upon his approach; but, purſuing them, he obtain-

Auſtrians defeated.

a complete victory on the banks of the river Piava. Thence marching to Feltre, he deſtroyed the ſuburbs, and was about to inveſt the town, when he was informed of a ſtrong reinforcement Leopold had received, and of his intention to raiſe the ſiege. Upon this intelligence Jacomo determined to retreat towards the Trevifan, ſending his ſon with a detachment to ſeize upon the caſtle of Baldina, a place of ſome conſequence: Leopold having notice from his ſpies of Jacomo's intention, laid an ambuſcade for young Caballa, which ſucceeding, the whole detachment were made priſoners. Leopold diſmiſſed them next day, on their promiſing to return if an immediate peace did not enſue, propoſals of which he ſent by them

[l] Sanſov. del Vit. de Contar. Sabel. lib. v. dec. ii.

[m] Blond. de Geſt. Venet.

to

to Jacomo: Lewis, king of Hungary, acting as mediator, the propoſals were accepted, and peace was confirmed [n]. *Peace with Leopold.*

But Lewis, as if his intention had been to ſtrengthen the republic againſt himſelf, no ſooner freed her of this enemy than he entered into an alliance with the Genoeſe, the Carrarians, and the biſhop of Aquileia, againſt the Venetians. The cauſe of the war was this: Andronicus having conſpired againſt the life of his father Caloine, emperor of Greece, was detected, convicted, blinded, and baniſhed to Pera, a Genoeſe ſettlement. Caloine had conceived a ſtrong friendſhip for the Venetians, in conſequence of which he complimented the merchants of the republic with ſeveral valuable and excluſive privileges. The Genoeſe, piqued at the preference given to the Venetians, reſolved to revenge themſelves by raiſing Andronicus, who had in ſome meaſure recovered his ſight, to the empire: for this purpoſe they ſent directions to Pera to ſet him at liberty. Agents were employed over the empire to form a party in his favour, and a ſtrong ſquadron and body of forces ſent to his immediate aſſiſtance. Andronicus was no ſooner releaſed than, agreeable to the inconſtancy of the eaſtern nations, finding himſelf at the head of a powerful faction, determined to diſpute the empire with Caloine. He ſent orders to the governor of Tenedos, to ſurrender the iſland to the Genoeſe, propoſing thereby to ſecure a harbour and wintering for the fleet. This command the governor refuſed to obey, unleſs the order was counterſigned by the emperor. For farther intelligence he ſent to Conſtantinople; and was directed by Caloine to put the iſland in the poſſeſſion of the Venetians, whoſe aſſiſtance he was then ſoliciting. Thus Tenedos became the occaſion of this, as Candia had been of former wars, between the republics.

Marco Juſtiniano, admiral of the gulf of Venice, having orders to receive Tenedos from the Greek governor, ſailed thither, put the iſland in a poſture of defence, appointed Donato Troni governor, and then convoyed a fleet of merchantmen to Venice. Tenedos was of the utmoſt conſequence to the commerce of Genoa and Venice; both had long endeavoured to acquire the poſſeſſion of the iſland, and now the ſucceſs of the latter rekindled

[a] Sanſov. Venet. Cronic. Boniten. Com. lib. iii.

their ancient animosity, and occasioned a bloody, tedious, and destructive war.

War with the Genoese.

Before war was declared between the republics, the Genoese seized upon Lemnos, in the name of Andronicus, and made some Venetian merchants prisoners. Sailing from thence, they joined Andronicus with eleven gallies, and made directly for Tenedos; where, upon their arrival, they summoned Troni to surrender his trust to the lawful emperor. But this demand being answered by a flight of arrows, Andronicus gave the assault with great fury, which Troni sustained with so much bravery as defeated their efforts: then sallying out with the whole garrison, he rushed upon them with an impetuosity so irresistible as made the Genoese and Greeks precipitately take to their ships, and relinquish the attempt. The number of slain and prisoners was great, and the booty considerable, as it included all the enemy's battering engines and camp materials.

War was now declared by the Venetians against the Genoese, Lewis of Hungary, the bishop of Aquileia, and the Carrarians. Forty ships of war were equipped, and the command given to Victor Pisani, with Barba and Loretani in equality of proveditors. Victor lay at anchor with his fleet at Ancia, when he received intelligence that the Genoese, under Lodovico Fiesca, approached: he gave the proper directions for drawing up the fleet, animated the soldiers and mariners, and, weighing anchor, crowded sail to meet the enemy. Upon the near approach of the fleets, the sky was in an instant darkened with a cloud of arrows; but this kind of fighting was soon laid aside for the sword and pike: the ships being driven foul of each other by the tempestuousness of the weather; hereupon, they boarded, and an obstinate battle continued for two hours, when the Genoese were obliged to yield to the bravery of the Venetians, four of their gallies only escaping, the rest being either taken, sunk, or destroyed: about two thousand prisoners were made, and a greater number of the enemy was slain. Nor was the victory purchased without blood on the side of the Venetians, they having lost about six hundred men, including several citizens of distinction. However as the Genoese admiral, and the whole fleet, fell into Pisani's hands, he the less regretted his loss, although his son was among the number of the slain[1].

Sea fight between the Venetians and Genoese.

A.D. 1378.

Genoese defeated.

[1] Blond. lib. i. dec. iii. Sabel. lib. v. dec. ii. Carosin. apud. Sabel.

In

In the mean time the allies of Genoa had taken the field; entered, burnt, and destroyed the Trevisan; but failed in their attempt to surprise the city of Treviso. The Genoese likewise surprised the city of Famagosta, the richest maritime town in Cyprus, the king, the ally of the Venetians, having made his escape to Milan, where he married Visconti's daughter, and prevailed on the duke to assist the republic. The conditions of the treaty were, that the Venetians, with ten gallies, should transport the king to Cyprus, and assist him in retaking Famagosta from the Genoese: that on the other side Visconti should supply them with nine thousand foot and one thousand horse, for the defence of their dominions on the continent; and the king grant them a certain subsidy, which we do not find specified by historians [m].

Accordingly ten gallies were sent with his majesty; the harbour of Famagosta, a number of ships, and some prisoners were taken. It being resolved to storm the town, scaling ladders were applied to the walls, and the ramparts mounted by the Venetians, when the Cyprians failing to support them, and the Genoese attacking them vigorously in front with numbers greatly superior, they were driven headlong to the ground with great slaughter. The Genoese, however, not pursuing the blow, the Venetians reached their ships without any farther loss, and joined Pisani, who was steering his course to Catharra [n].

Catharra taken by Pisani.

This city belonged to Lewis, was strongly fortified, and well supplied: Pisani summoned the governor, but he returned a haughty answer that only inflamed the Venetians. The troops being landed the city was invested, and in a few days all the outworks were taken; then Pisani ordered a general assault, the walls were scaled, and the Venetians mounted the ramparts with a courage that daunted the enemy, though they still endeavoured to maintain their ground; but in a short time a flag of truce was hung out, and the governor surrendered at discretion: the booty was so considerable, that Pisani sent six ships loaded with rich merchandize to Venice.

Hearing that the Genoese fleet were steering towards Dalmatia, he directed his course to meet them, or, if he failed, to attack Zara and the coasts. The two fleets came in sight of each other at Tarentum, and in appearance prepared for battle; but the Genoese admiral, per-

[m] Caroſin. apud Sabel. etiam Boniten. Com. lib. v. dec. ii.

[n] Sabel.

ceiving Pisani to be well prepared, bore away with all the sail he could make. Pisani gave chace as far as the coast of Dalmatia, where, fearing some design of the enemy, who were superior to him, he waited for a reinforcement.

War carried on by land.

During these transactions at sea the war was briskly carried on by land; the Venetians had taken Saligetta, a city belonging to Gerardo Caminensis, who had joined in the league against the republic: Cesalta, and several other towns they burnt, ruined, or dismantled. Carrario, on the other hand, was not idle; having joined the patriarch of Aquileia, their forces amounted to sixteen thousand men, with which army they invested the city Mestra. To deprive the besieged of all succour, strong detachments were sent to block up every path by which the Venetians could march; but Nicholao Galliano and Hico Pisani being detached with a strong corps to attempt the relief of the besieged, they forced a passage, and so successfully harrassed the enemy's out-guards and camp, being at the same time supported by seasonable sallies from the town, that Carrario was compelled to raise the siege with some precipitation, leaving behind a great part of his baggage *.

Pisani was on his way to Trahu in quest of the Genoese fleet. Passing Sicco, he stopped to summon the fortress, the governor of which replied, that the Venetians must use more powerful arguments than menaces before they became masters of the place. This answer being reported to Pisani, he ordered an assault; the walls were scaled, and the fortress taken in the space of a few hours, with prodigious slaughter of the garrison. Loaded with prisoners, spoil, and rich booty, Pisani proceeded in his course to Trahu, sending a galley to Venice with the news of the taking of Sicco, and to procure a supply of provisions. The Genoese had strongly blocked up both the channels leading to the harbour of Trahu, a precaution which foiled all the attempts of Pisani to come to an engagement; he therefore landed his troops at some distance from the city, marching them up along the coast, and attacked it with great intrepidity; but the garrison was so numerous, and the want of provisions so great in his camp, that he was constrained to raise the siege, with the loss of seven hundred men, and retire to Zara. From hence he sent ten gallies to Albania to summon the garrison to surrender, a demand with which they immediately complied, fearing the fate of Sicco and Catharra.

Sicco taken by Pisani.

* Caroſin. apud Sabel. Blond. dec. iii. lib. i.

In

In the mean time the doge and ſenate, hearing of the retreat from Trahu, and of the famine in the fleet, ſent five gallies with proviſions, and orders to Piſani to return to Trahu, and either ſtarve or force the garriſon to ſurrender. Piſani, in obedience to his orders, made a ſecond attempt, much againſt his inclination, which proving unſucceſsful, he ſailed to Iſtria, and there expected orders either to winter or return with the fleet to Venice. The former was the reſolution of the republic, and a pernicious one in effect; for the cold was ſo extreme, and the dearth ſo great, that not half the crews ſurvived the winter. In the ſpring a reinforcement of eleven gallies was ſent with great ſtore of proviſion and ammunition. This ſupply enabled Piſani to put to ſea early; but he was ſcarce a day's ſail from the coaſt, when a terrible ſtorm diſperſed his gallies. The admiral, however, had the good fortune to unite the fleet on the coaſt of Apulia, where in a few days he deſcried the Genoeſe ſquadron, conſiſting of fifteen gallies. Orders were immediately iſſued to give chace, and in the evening the Venetians were near enough to engage the enemy, who, not chooſing to hazard a battle, diſperſed and bore away. Piſani, however, fell in with a part of the ſquadron, and forced an engagement, in which the Genoeſe admiral was killed by an arrow, and ſeveral ſhips were taken.

Famine in Piſani's fleet.

A.D. 1379.

This good fortune did not continue long; for he was defeated by the Genoeſe, with the loſs of a great part of his fleet. Piſani fought with all imaginable courage and conduct; but he fell into an ambuſcade laid by the enemy, through which he would have made his way, had he not baſely been deſerted by five of his gallies. He was recalled by the doge and ſenate, mulcted in a ſum of money, and the captains of the gallies were heavily fined and impriſoned. The people, who adored the generoſity and bravery of Piſani, murmured greatly at his unmerited puniſhment: they had publicly declared that envy rather than the public good actuated the ſenators; that many attempts had been made to ruin the glory of this hero, whoſe character was too exalted to be regarded with candor by narrow minds.

Piſani defeated.

Piſani impriſoned.

While the republic was thus divided, the Genoeſe reaped the fruits of her diſſenſions. Caorli and Grada fell into their hands; the Venetian trade, protected only by ſix gallies under Zeno, ſuffered conſiderably, ſeveral of their richeſt veſſels having been taken. Peleſtrina the Genoeſe took by aſſault, and they were now beſieging Chioggia,

Chioggia, after having already deſtroyed the ſuburbs, and ſeized upon Little Chioggia. The garriſon made ſo many vigorous ſallies, and diſputed every inch of ground with ſuch obſtinacy, that the enemy were obliged to quit the ſiege. They ſoon after returned, and took the city by ſurprize, putting the whole garriſon to the ſword, except Hemo the governor, and about fifty officers, who retiring into the palace, defended it ſo bravely, that the Genoeſe were glad to grant them an honourable capitulation. The ſlaughter here was prodigious; no leſs than ſeven thouſand citizens and ſoldiers were ſlain during the ſiege, and near an equal number made priſoners [p]. Carrario, we are told, aſſiſted at the reduction of this important city, and behaved with all the cruelty and inſolence of a tyrant unuſed to conqueſt: ſome of the priſoners of the firſt diſtinction he ordered to be ſcourged almoſt to death, and afterwards hanged; others were barbarouſly maimed, confined to dungeons, and fed upon bread and water. In every inſtance he gratified his natural diſpoſition, and ſatiated his revenge by the moſt wanton, ſavage, and inhuman cruelty.

Chioggia taken.

When the news of this loſs and the maſſacre of the priſoners arrived at Venice, the people roſe up in the moſt tumultuous manner, threatened the doge and ſenate, and refuſed to enliſt themſelves for the defence of a city in which they ſaid they were ſlaves to caprice, ignorance, and cowardice: they were not to be appeaſed by any authority, until Piſani was ſet at liberty, whom they looked upon as the bulwark of the republic, and the only prop able to ſtay the falling ſtate [q]. This report being carried to the palace ſoon produced a reſolution to releaſe him: an order was accordingly ſent to priſon to ſet him free, and reſtore him to his former employments. The joy of the people was extreme; nothing but ſhouting, bonfires, and demonſtrations of gladneſs was to be ſeen or heard: the tide of paſſion ran ſo long, that the influence of Piſani was equally neceſſary to moderate their joy, as his liberty had been to appeaſe their reſentment. When he came forth from his priſon, the tumult, noiſe, and diſturbance redoubled; the whole city flocked together to behold the ſuffering hero; every one preſſed with an eagerneſs to touch him, inſomuch that Piſani, who had juſt been delivered from the hatred of the ſenate, was near

A.D 1380.

Piſani reſtored to his former employments.

[p] Boniten. ubi ſupra. Sabel. et Blond. ibid. [q] Boniten. Comment. lib. iii.

falling

falling a ſacrifice to the love of the people: at length, getting poſſeſſion of a little eminence, he addreſſed the crowd with a dignity ſo commanding, and an eloquence ſo perſuaſive, that upon his promiſe to accept of their ſervices, which they ſo earneſtly preſſed, they ſeparated and retired[r]. Piſani then returned to his priſon, where he ſpent the night with his confeſſor: on the morning he went to the palace to maſs, and to receive the ſacrament; then he waited upon the ſenate, and threw himſelf at the doge's feet, who, raiſing him up, addreſſed him thus. "You were impriſoned, Victor, by our orders, for the loſs ſuſtained by the republic at Pola, under your conduct; you are releaſed that you may repair the diſgrace. Reſtrain your fire, exert your judgment, and uſe caution, without which the greateſt virtues in a general are but ſplendid vices, which often terminate in his own ſhame, and the ruin of his country. Go! and may you prove equally the terror of her enemies, as you are the darling of the republic[s]." Piſani anſwered with modeſty, took his leave, and then retired to his own houſe, which was crowded by the citizens, intreating him to enter their names for the ſervice, to accept of their fortunes to equip the fleet, and their lives to fight for him and their country. In the ſpace of three days ſix gallies were rigged, manned, and ready to put to ſea. Piſani then held a conference with the principal officers, in which it was determined that a ſtrong brick wall ſhould be run croſs the mouth of the haven, each end fortified with a tower, well garriſoned, to prevent the entrance of the Genoeſe, whom they every day expected. Several other works were raiſed round the city by Piſani's advice, and the charge of executing the whole committed to Caballa, an eminent ſoldier[t] (A).

Zeal of the people.

During theſe preparations a number of adventurers, in ſmall boats, made incurſions up the channels leading to Chioggia, ſurpriſed a number of Genoeſe traders, and entirely blocked the city up on that quarter. The garriſon, apprehending that a ſcarcity of proviſions would enſue, if a ſtop was not put to theſe proceedings, ſent notice of

[r] Chinat. Hiſt. apud Sabel. Blond Flav. lib. i. dec. iii. [s] Sabel. lib. v. dec. ii. [t] Sabel. ibid. Blond. ibid. etiam Bonfin. ubi ſupra.

(A) Sabellicus inform us, that thoſe works remained in his time; and Sanſovino ſpeaks as if he had ſeen them.

their

their situation to Doria, the Genoese admiral; upon which he came with a strong squadron to Malamoc, built a fort there, and landed his troops on the opposite side, to besiege Poveggia. As soon as the Venetians were acquainted with the enemy's approach, they shut up the channels towards Chioggia, by sinking large ships in the narrowest passages: here daily skirmishes passed between the light boats of each side, while Justiniano, who commanded five gallies, so annoyed the workmen at Malamoc, that they were unable to proceed in building the fort. Brisk encounters happened almost every day upon shore, in which Caballa had always the advantage over the enemy, both from his military abilities, and from the courage of his troops: however, the people were dissatisfied, they complained of being pent up by an enemy they had often conquered in the field and upon the ocean; an enemy, who but a little before was not in possession even of a retreat to sculk in from their victorious arms; they demanded a general action, which might at once bring either death or liberty; they were equally sanguine in their hopes, and ignorant of the means of obtaining victory. The doge and senate were pleased to see this forward humour in the people, and, to indulge them, ordered a fleet of forty gallies to be got ready. Some authors affirm, that so great was the alacrity with which the people enrolled themselves, and the artificers worked, that thirty-four sail were complete for action, and well manned, in the space of a week[n]. Prince Contareni took upon himself the command, appointed the officers, saw the troops disciplined, and the rowers instructed in their duty: by this exertion, he hoped not only to appease the people until the arrival of Zeno, who was soon expected with twenty-sail, but by that time to breed up soldiers and mariners fit to dispute victory with the enemy.

New works raised to oppose the Genoese.

Venice blocked up by the Genoese.

During these transactions at Venice, Charles, son of Lewis of Hungary, set down before Treviso with an army of fourteen thousand men: here commissioners were sent by the republic to treat of a peace, it being reported that Charles had full powers from his father to negociate an accommodation: Carrario, prince of Padua, and the Genoese ambassadors came likewise to the camp. When the Venetian commissioners had their audience, the terms proposed were so hard, unreasonable, and servile, that they determined to hazard all rather than comply with them. Breaking off the conference abruptly, they returned home

[n] Blond. de Gest. Venet.

and

and acquainted the republic with the extravagant conditions propoſed, which excited a ſpirit of reſentment in every breaſt, from the doge down to the meaneſt plebeian: this, and the ſcarcity of proviſions which began to prevail, made the people ſo eager to engage, that the doge thought it dangerous longer to reſtrain their impetuoſity [w]. A decree was now publiſhed, entitling thirty of thoſe who ſhould beſt ſupply the fleet with money and proviſions, to the privileges of ſenators, and the rank of nobility: five thouſand crowns was farther decreed to be yearly diſtributed to thoſe who by ſmaller ſervices ſhould diſtinguiſh their liberality and affection for the republic.

The ſiege of the city raiſed.

The Genoeſe having notice of the great preparations in the city thought fit to raiſe the ſiege, and retire to Chioggia, from whence they could deprive it of all ſuccour by ſea or land, and thus ſtarve the Venetians into ſubmiſſion. Intelligence being received in Venice of their intention, Victor Piſani propoſed to harraſs them in their retreat: for this purpoſe he lay concealed in the night, with three hundred ſmall boats, in a bay near the enemy, with intention to attack them next morning while they were buſied in deſtroying Malamoc, and breaking up their camp; but his deſign being diſcovered, a great number of gallies bore down upon him, which produced a ſharp action, to the diſadvantage of Piſani, who was quite expoſed to the enemy's arrows: he retreated in the beſt manner he was able, leaving the victory undiſputed to the enemy [x].

All this time Carolo Zelo was laying waſte the Genoeſe dominions to the very gates of the city, taking their ſhips, and ruining their trade, without a thought of the diſtreſs to which his country was reduced in his abſence. On advice of the ſiege he immediately crowded ſail; but before his arrival Venice was ſo much diſtreſſed, that the doge reſolved to run all hazards for its relief. Sailing with twenty gallies, he beat off the ſhips poſted for the defence of the harbour of Chioggia, and then ſunk ſome large ſhips to prevent the enemy from coming out to cut off the convoys. When the Venetian troops were landed an action enſued with the enemy, who advanced from Chioggia to give them battle; but the latter was ſo ſtrongly ſupported by freſh troops, that the Venetians were forced to quit the field with precipitation and take to their ſhips;

[w] Ibid. vide Caroſin. apud Sabell. et Boniten. ubi ſupra.
[x] Blond, lib. ii. dec. iii. etiam de Geſt Venet.

the

A party of the Venetians defeated.

the doge, undaunted by this defeat, sent Cornaro to block up the passages to Chioggia by Brondelli, a service which was effected without the loss of a man, although the enemy endeavoured to prevent it: thus the Genoese in Chioggia were as closely beset as the Venetians lately had been. Several battles were fought in the haven, in most of which the Venetians were victorious[y].

Notwithstanding this advantage, the troops, pinched with cold and hunger, began to murmur, and the authority of the doge and credit of Pisani were scarce sufficient to restrain them from mutiny, when Zeno unexpectedly arrived, to the great joy of the fleet. The senate no sooner descried him from the shore, than they sent him orders to join the prince at Chioggia, without slackening sail. The public satisfaction was greatly increased when it was known he had sunk about sixty, and taken near three hundred of the enemy's ships, some of them richly laden.

The Genoese defeated.

Now the Genoese were closely invested, and their sole endeavour was to contrive the means of escape; for this purpose several feints were made, and at length a sally, which terminated in a general engagement, where both sides fought with extreme bravery and conduct. At last the Genoese were totally defeated and driven back within their walls, with the loss of three thousand men killed and taken, among which was Doria the admiral, and several of their best officers. Next day Pisani took, burnt, or sunk ten gallies, which were placed for the defence of the pass of Brondelli, which the besieged had recovered a little before the late action. The enemy were so closely invested, that no hopes of escaping or relief remained but from Genoa.

They had made some overtures to surrender the town, which were rejected by the doge, when they received intelligence of a powerful fleet's being under sail for their relief: this gave the besieged fresh courage, and several sallies were made with doubtful success. Famine, however, pinched so severely that, quite spent with fatigue, and worn out with hunger, they sent ambassadors to the doge to solicit that they might be allowed the common privileges of prisoners of war. Their request was granted, and articles were signed; upon which the Venetians took possession of Chioggia, after it had been in the hands of the Genoese for above a year[z].

[y] Sabell lib. vi. dec. ii. Boniten. lib. iii. [z] Boniten. lib. iii. Blond. de Gest. Venet. Sanfov. delle Vit. di Contan. p. 226.

Thus

Thus Venice was delivered from a ſiege in which it had ſuffered all the miſeries of want, civil diſcord, and defeats, for the ſpace of nine months. It was remarkable that both cities were in a manner blocked up at the ſame time. The Genoeſe cut off all communication with the continent from Venice, and reduced it to great ſtraits, at the very time when they themſelves were blocked up and brought to the utmoſt extremity in Chioggia.

The doge, willing to purſue his good fortune, ſent a detachment to beſiege Bebia, thereby to open a communication for the merchants of the republic to trade into Lombardy. It was taken after a tedious ſiege, and the garriſon made priſoners. A.D. 1380. *Bebia taken.*

In the mean time the Iſtrians revolted, at the ſolicitation of the Forlians, and put themſelves under the protection of the Genoeſe. The capital having firſt taken arms, ſeized on the palace, the perſon of the governor, and all the Venetians reſiding in the city, whom they plundered and impriſoned. The doge had juſt returned to Venice, after ſettling the affairs of Chioggia, when intelligence of this rebellion was received: the ſame day came the news that the Iſtrians had delivered up the forts to be garriſoned by Genoeſe, a circumſtance which increaſed the people's uneaſineſs. The enemy's ſtrength immediately ſuggeſted to the Venetians the difficulty of recovering ſo valuable a province: however, the doge and ſenate were not diſcouraged, but began to make all poſſible preparations for retrieving their loſs. In the mean time farther advice was received, that the Genoeſe had reſtored it to the patriarch of Aquileia, after they were defeated in their attempt to reduce the ſtrong fortreſs of Piana, and the little town of Parenza: they were likewiſe informed of the ſucceſs of the enemy at Pola, which city they had taken, plundered, and laid in aſhes[c]. This intelligence quickened the preparations at Venice, and haſtened the march of the army into Iſtria. Upon the arrival of the Venetians at Pola the enemy retired to Zara, whither Piſani did not think proper to purſue them at that time: he ſent Delfino and Maripietro, with two gallies, to examine the condition of Cap-Iſtria, the firſt city which had revolted. Under favour of the night they broke down a bridge, which the patriarch of Aquileia had built between the city and the continent, by which means it was cut off from all ſuccours. In the morning the two gallies were *Iſtrians revolt.*

[c] Blond. lib. iii. dec. iii. Sabel. lib. vii. dec. ii. Boniten. Com. lib. iv.

joined

Cap-Istria taken by the Venetians.

joined by a squadron the admiral had sent to reinforce them, upon which the attack began upon the town: it was conducted with so much resolution that the garrison sued for quarter. Four hundred prisoners were made, the houses of the Forlians plundered and destroyed, and the city was committed to the care of the original inhabitants, supported by some companies of Venetians [d].

The Genoese were not idle in the mean time; they sailed to Scardona, and, after a tedious siege, forced the city Arbo to surrender.

Paduans besiege Treviso.

About this time the Paduans laid siege to Treviso, which was soon reduced to great extremities, all the passages by which the garrison could receive succour having been closely blocked up by Carrario. Two days were employed by the Venetians in attempting to force the enemy's works: at last the enterprize was dropt, and the fleet returned with the loss of a great number of men. The scarcity of provisions was now so great within the town, that a measure of wheat sold for five crowns, and every other article of food at a proportionable price; yet the garrison was resolved to hold out to the last, although they were deserted by numbers of the townsmen, who escaped to Venice [e]. The republic finding it impossible to succour the besieged, and fearing that it must shortly fall into the enemy's hands, thought of delivering it up to the duke of Austria, who might perhaps be induced by so valuable an quisition to make war in favour of the Venetians. Commissioners for this purpose were sent to treat with him, a circumstance which coming to the knowlege of the garrison the soldiers began to mutiny: long arrears were due to them on account of the low state of the Venetian exchequer; they demanded that either the governor, or one of the proveditors should go to Venice, and represent their grievances to the doge and senate, assuring him that they might be implicitly relied on during his absence. Dandolo was forced to comply, and the senate found means to raise their pay, which being remitted by the governor, the mutineers were appeased [f].

Leopold of Austria accepted the proposals made to him, and accordingly sent a detachment to take possession of Treviso, imagining the Paduans and Carrario would raise the siege when they were informed it belonged to a neu-

[d] Mont. apud Sabel. [e] Carosin. Hist. p. 83. Blond. lib. iv. dec. iii. [f] Sabell. lib. vii. dec. ii. Blond. lib. iv. dec. iii. Boniten. Comment. lib. iii. Sansov. delle Vit. Princip.

tral

tral prince: but being disappointed in this expectation, he marched into Italy, with a body of ten thousand foot and three thousand horse, to its relief. Buccenairo, Carrario's brother, who commanded the siege, hearing of his approach, sent ambassadors to treat with him. These the duke refused to see, contenting himself with acquainting them by a servant, that he would next day talk to their master. This haughty message being reported to Buccenairo, he instantly broke up his camp, and retired from Treviso, not being in a condition to stand an engagement. Thus was Treviso delivered from a siege, and the Venetians were deprived of their best city and province upon the continent[g]. *Siege raised.*

During this siege Pisani died, as he lay with the fleet at Mamfredonia. This great man was lamented as the protector and father of the people: he was so much beloved, that had not his moderation and prudence been equal to his other virtues, he might have been taken from prison to be seated upon a throne, with absolute power in Venice. Pisani was no less diligent in avoiding honours than others in acquiring them: he served his country, gained the love of the people, and the esteem of all men, from a principle of duty, and a natural sweetness of disposition. His bravery, his generosity, and his popularity, had excited the jealousy of the senate; but his modesty, his zeal for the republic, and his patriotic spirit, soon made converts of those who were most desirous of his ruin. At his death he was equally beloved, esteemed, and regretted by the doge, the senate, and the people. His body was carried to Venice, and interred with great pomp at the public expence, attended by the doge in person, all the nobility in mourning, and crowds of common people: an honour never before conferred upon a private citizen[h]. *Death of Pisani.*

Lodovico Loretano, as the next in rank in the fleet, taking upon him the command, immediately steered for the coast of Livornia. Here, by assault, he took and destroyed the towns of Senia and Brescia, carrying off some rich booty. At the report of his approach the Goretani submitted to the republic, and sent their bishop on board the admiral, to request that their city might be saved from the ravages of the soldiers; with which request Loretano complied. Upon his arrival at Pola he was acquainted, *The Venetian fleet takes several towns.*

[g] Aut. cit. [h] Sabel. Blond. ibid.

Zeno made admiral. by letters from the senate, that Carolo Zeno was appointed to the command; a circumstance which inspired the fleet with the utmost joy, Zeno, next to Pisani, being the most popular, as well as the most deserving general of the republic.

The finances of the republic were now entirely exhausted, several garrisons had mutinied, and some revolted for want of their pay. This consideration induced the doge and senate to think of peace; for this purpose Amadeus, duke of Savoy, was solicited to become mediator between the Carrarians and the republic. A negociation ensued; but hostilities were still carried on by both parties. Zeno, upon the coast of Dalmatia, fell in with a fleet of twelve Genoese ships, which he took, sunk, and destroyed. Soon after he made prize of a rich merchantman near the Morea, which he sent into Candia. Next day he got sight of the Genoese grand fleet, to which he gave chace for the whole day: at night he lost the enemy, and put in next morning to Ancona, where he left ten gallies for the defence of the city; with the rest he resolved to ravage the Genoese dominions, where he narrowly escaped falling into an ambuscade. Coasting along the shore, two gallies were sent to water, who discovered twenty-four Genoese gallies lying upon their oars, in a creek, covered by a woody mountain; they returned with immediate intelligence to Zeno. The admiral put his fleet in order of battle, expecting the enemy; but as their intention had been to attack him unprepared, being now discovered, they made the best of their way towards Livornia, Zeno pursuing for two days, until he lost sight of them.

Cap-Istria taken by the Genoese. In Zeno's absence another Genoese fleet attacked Cap-Istria, and in the space of two days compelled the garrison to surrender at discretion.

Peace concluded. At last, by the good offices of Amadeus, a general peace was concluded, six years and four months after hostilities had first commenced, and four years after the declaration

Conditions. of war: the conditions were, that the prisoners should mutually be released; that Carrario should restore all the cities, towns, and forts taken from the Venetians during the war; that the dispute between the Paduans and the republic about their boundaries should be left to the arbitration of Alberto d'Este; that the Venetians should withdraw their garrison from Tenedos, and put the island for two years into the hands of Amadeus, to be supported at the reciprocal expence of the two republics; that, at the expiration of that term, the fort should be razed, the island

island restored to the empire, both parties for ever renouncing their claims; that neither republic should trade to the river Tanais; that the Venetians should pay to Lewis a subsidy of one thousand crowns for ten years, as an equivalent for his suppressing pirates in Dalmatia, and preventing the manufacture of salt among the Sclavonians and Dalmatians. These conditions being signed by all parties, Amadeus and the Florentines taking upon them to be guaranties of the treaty, peace was proclaimed in the dominions of each state, and notified to all the other potentates of Europe. The prisoners on both sides were in a deplorable situation, above two thirds having perished from the filth and stench of the jails; the remainder were sickly, half-starved, and quite naked. The Venetian matrons made a collection, to a considerable amount, to clothe the Genoese prisoners, and defray their expences home; an act of generosity which, we are told by the Venetian writers, was by no means imitated at Genoa: there the prisoners were turned out, loaded with disease, famished, and naked, suffered to beg their way home; and, what was still more barbarous, reviled, buffetted, and abused through the streets.

This year, according to Sansovino, died Contareni, the doge, after he had governed the state for fifteen years and four months. Andrea Contareni was a man of strong natural talents, rough and unpolished; of a saturnine, severe, and morose temper; which disposition, the misfortune of being involved in a tedious and dangerous war increased: he was, however, a good prince, who commanded the esteem without ever gaining or even affecting the love of his subjects [1]. A.D. 1381.

[1] Sansov. delle Vit. Prin. Sabel. lib. vi. vii. dec. ii.

END OF THE TWENTY-THIRD VOLUME.

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